Survey of race relations in South Africa: 1979

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### Survey of race relations in South Africa: 1979

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS:
WHITE POLITICAL 
PARTIES
National Party (NP)
New Policy Initiatives
After the parliamentary session, which was dominated by the Information scandal (see below) and during which there was little legislative change away from the traditional apartheid structure the Prime Minister, in various key speeches to party congresses and other forums, set the mood for an increased tempo of change. There was intensive discussion in Nationalist circles and the NP-supporting press on new situations facing the Afrikaner and how to deal with them, where change would lead to, and forces resisting change. Fundamental to new government thinking was a comprehensive 'national strategy', designed to unite white and black 'moderates' in a combined military and socio-economic assault on a common enemy: 'Marxism.' The Prime Minister and Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Police perceived a threat of revolution from within and foreign intervention from without in the form of sanctions and guerrilla warfare, and warned that security could not lie solely in the hands of the military and police.
Economic growth was seen as essential to survival, as it was hoped thereby to maintain internal stability by averting the political threat of large-scale unemployment, and giving blacks a stake in the status quo by raising living standards and co-opting a growing middle class. A strong economy was also essential for defence capability. A free enterprise economy was stressed, with a contraction of government, an increasing emphasis on partnership with the private sector in attaining national strategic goals and a removal of restrictions to facilitate equal access to economic opportunities. It was announced that a committee chaired by the Prime Minister's economic adviser would work on a plan to restructure the economy and bring it into line with the 'total strategy'.
The other priority seen as essential for survival was the defusion of racial tension by the development of a 'multinational' constitutional pattern through which African population groups could exercise self-determination over their own affairs, while retaining white self-determination. Included in the changed pattern as seen by the NP was a division of power between white, coloured and Indian.
RRS - B

2 To give effect to a comprehensive strategy the Prime Minister embarked on a rationalisation of state departments and the public service (see below). National Foreign policy shifted to a position of qualified neutrality with reParty: relation to the West, in which the interests of SA and the Southern AfriPolicy can region would be of paramount importance. The Prime Minister pinned his hopes on the ability of the NP to absorb the necessary change, which was presented not as a change of basic principles, but as a restructuring to suit modern circumstances.
A greater consolidation of the homelands and a speeding up of the consolidation process was seen as a necessary basis of the proposed constitutional pattern. In a significant departure from previous policy the Prime Minister announced that the quota of land laid down by the 1936 Land Act could be exceeded if necessary. In considering new consolidation proposals the Commission for Co-operation and Development (previously Bantu Affairs Commission) would be assisted by an enlarged Consolidation Commission comprising representatives of the public and private sectors and four regional committees (see chapter on Homelands). This move was explained to followers as being necessary, as meaningful land areas in which Africans would govern themselves were essential if the alternative-sharing of power in a unitary state-was ruled out. Greater consolidation was a prerequisite for the constellation of states, another concept which was aired during the year.

This was described as a voluntary co-operation by independent and non-independent states in the region in matters of common concern, with the aim of promoting a regional order in which freedom and material welfare could be maximised. The idea was that private enterprise would provide economic growth within a regional order provided by the state. The type of co-operation envisaged was technical, relating to matters such as food production, transport, telecommunications, tourism, health and security.

In November the Prime Minister chaired a closed meeting attended by most of the cabinet, senior civil servants, commerce and industry, semi-public bodies, city councils and professional organisations and institutions, aimed at representing a broad cross-section of expertise irrespective of political views, to launch the constellation proposal.

He described the constellation not as a formal organisation, but as a grouping of states with common interests and developing mutual relations, between which a desire existed to extend areas of co-operation. He appealed to businessmen to assist. The purpose of the meeting was to consult on how the resources of the community could be mobilised for a more equitable regional distribution of economic development which was necessary for structuring economic cooperation.

Official thinking on the political dimension of such a constellation was cautiously aired. Apart from stating that it was not policy that such a move would lead to federation, confederal options were left open. It was stated that expanding relations in economic and technical fields would strengthen the political will to co-operate, which was ultimately decisive in allowing co-operation to thrive fully.

A new style of rhetoric was adopted officially in dealing with discrimination relating to social patterns or 'petty apartheid'. Speaking during his vote the Prime Minister said that the sort of apartheid SA's enemies held up as government policy was dead. Doubtful supporters National at party congresses and meetings were told that they had to learn to co-operate, which was ultimately decisive in allowing co-operation to thrive fully.
privilege was no longer compatible with white survival, and that 'irritating and hurtful measures' would have to be removed.

It was made clear however that the absence of political powersharing was not regarded as an unnecessary discriminatory measure. The policy of separate development or power division was termed 'good neighbourliness', which encompassed mutual respect, the acknowledgement of each other's rights, self-determination and consultation over matters of common concern. Supporters were also reassured that the Government still considered that better race relations would be served by adhering to the principle of separate schools and residential areas. Enumerating the party's principles to the Natal Congress the Prime Minister listed 'vertical differentiation', which was explained as self-determination in as many areas as possible.

A political dispensation for the urban African remained an unclarified aspect of party policy. It was acknowledged that previous policy that urban Africans were temporary sojourners was finally shelved. The whole issue was thrown into the melting pot by the appointment of a cabinet committee on the urban African, advised by multiracial regional committees (see chapter on the urban African), and by the undertaking that Africans could give evidence to the Constitution Commission (see below).

The community council system was phased in during the year. Speaking to party congresses the Prime Minister intimated that a higher form of government than municipal powers was envisaged. However this was not clarified beyond the mentioned possibility that the whole question could be accommodated within the concept of the constellation of states. Party thinking however was divided as to the actual mechanics of this accommodation and whether it should be linked with homeland representation or regarded as a separate category. The grievance of loss of SA citizenship connected with homeland independence was also relegated by some spokesmen to consideration within the constellation issue.

Certain concrete initiatives were taken which underlined the acceptance of urban African permanence and also the Government's determination to limit the rate of urban African population growth in existing centres. The acceptance in principle of the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions had a bearing on these twin policies, as did the reversal of previous policy regarding the squatter settlement of Crossroads; the redevelopment of Alexandra, previously earmarked as a migrant township, as a family residential area; the legalisation of the position of 'illegal' workers; the stepping up of penalties for influx control offences; the electrification of Soweto; the lifting of restrictions on township businessmen and opening the way for partnership between white and black capital; and the inclusion of town-

4    ship financing within the terms of reference of the Browne committee investigating local government finance. (See chapter on the urban African.)

National Party: The most significant concrete move was the recognition of ecoParty: nomic interdependence and the importance of optimal use of
manConstitutional power contained in legislative moves to allow African trade unionism and remove job reservation (see chapter on Labour Relations).
Proposals Other concrete moves, the significance of which were symbolic, were the Prime Minister's tour of all the non-independent homelands, his tour of Soweto—the first such visit by a Prime Minister—and meetings which took place between NP MP's and Inkatha leaders.
Constitutional Proposals
During the first months of the year discussions continued with coloured and Indian leaders. It was announced that legislation had been prepared, based on the plan the Government had put forward at the elections in 1977, with some amendments, and that it would be introduced and referred to a parliamentary select committee after the second reading. After widespread opposition criticism for undue haste in imposing a new constitution about which there was no agreement, and representations by coloured and Indian leaders with whom no consensus had been reached, the Minister of the Interior stated that the legislation might be referred to a select committee before the second reading. This would mean the committee would not be bound to the principles of the legislation and thus the issue would be more open and more evidence would be received.
In February the Senate Act No 5/79 was passed, extending the term of office of senators until December 1980. The Minister of the Interior stated that time had been lost in discussion of the proposals with the people most closely concerned. A new constitution had to be passed by both houses of parliament, and this would allow further time for consideration. The bill was supported by the NRP and opposed by the PFP, as a forerunner of what it termed the Government's inadequately conceived new constitutional legislation.
At the end of March the Government, in a departure from previously stated intentions, took the unusual step of referring its constitutional proposals (in the form of draft legislation) to a joint select committee of both houses of parliament before the legislation was introduced. This move was supported by the opposition parties. The committee's terms of reference were that it consider the introduction of a new constitution for the Republic. It had powers to take evidence and call for papers and to submit draft legislation.
The official reason given for this move was that the postponing of the introduction of the new system would allow an opportunity for the widest possible consultation. The whole issue would theoretically be negotiable. It was stated that all races would be able to give evidence.
The Government's draft legislation was released as the Republic of SA Constitution Draft Bill. The Bill's clauses were similar to the plan put forward in 1977 (for details see 1977 Survey pp 7-10). However there was a shift of power away from the white chamber to the State President and Council of Cabinets. Contrary to assurances given to NP congresses that the white parliament would have the exclusive right to delegate powers to the coloured and Indian parliaments, the draft bill
provided for the mixed Council of Cabinets to decide what legislation would be referred to what parliament. Party supporters had also previously been assured that the coloured and Indian chambers would only be given powers over matters exclusive to their population groups. According to the new draft the Council of Cabinets could vest any legislative power in respect of any matter in the coloured and Indian parliaments, and also refer any proposed legislation relating to any matter to the other two parliaments.
The ministry of any communal department (and the State Presidency) was theoretically open to all three groups. The Public Service Commission was to be replaced by a 5-member Administrative Commission which was not racially designated. The proportional racial composition of the advisory President's Council was no longer fixed.
The Minister of the Interior had stated previously that if the coloured people and Indians were not prepared to accept the legislation they could carry on according to existing legislation. The draft Bill contained clauses in sections dealing with the Electoral College, the Council of Cabinets and the President's Council to ensure that it would be possible for them to come into operation even if the coloured and Indian groups did not participate. At a conference held at Potchefstroom University in April, legal experts were highly critical of the proposals. As in 1978, there was much discussion in the press and elsewhere of various constitutional models.
At the end of the parliamentary session the joint select committee was converted into a 24-man commission, consisting of 5 cabinet ministers, 14 MP's-7 NP, 4 PFP, 2 NRP and 1 SAP, and 5 senators. It was ruled that evidence would be heard in public unless otherwise specified. Sittings of the commission to hear evidence were held in various centres. It seemed unlikely that the commission would complete its work before the end of the 1980 parliamentary session. Thus, draft legislation could be put before parliament only in 1981 at the earliest. The Minister of the Interior stated that if the commission made recommendations that were not in accordance with Government policy and these were accepted by the cabinet they would be put to NP congresses, after which there would be further negotiations with the coloured and Indian communities. (See also chapters on coloured and Indian politics.)
Changes in administrative structure
A new management style emerged, aimed at the overall co-ordination of policymaking and its implementation. Speaking during his vote the Prime Minister said that with the constitution of the new cabinet he had begun a process of placing portfolios that were functionally related under the auspices of the same ministry. The approximately two dozen cabinet committees had been reduced to six. These were concerned with state security, finance, economics, legislation and parliamentary affairs, internal affairs and welfare. Co-ordinating the work of the committees was an innovation-a cabinet secretariat, the secretary of which was the secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister. The various security services, DONS, the police and military intelligence, were co-ordinated and the State Security Council, responsible for co-ordinating defence and social,
economic and constitutional matters (the 'total national strategy'), was invigorated and placed at the
5
National
Party: Administration
6 core of the system. The military were also reported to be more closely involved in inter-departmental planning.
It was also announced that the public service would rationalise National and consolidate the number of government departments from forty to Party eighteen.
Following the final report of the Erasmus Commission Mr Vorster resigned as State President and was replaced in June by Mr Marais Viljoen, former President of the Senate. An extensive cabinet reshuffle then took place, described as a first instalment of the rationalisation plan. Three senior ministers left their posts. These were the Ministers of Transport, Mr Muller, who resigned; Justice, Mr Kruger, who became president of the Senate; and Mr Cruywagen, National Education, who was appointed Transvaal Administrator in place of the retired Mr Van Niekerk. Dr Treurnicht was given a cabinet post as Minister of Public Works, Statistics and Tourism; Dr Hartzeng, also previously a deputy Minister, was given Education and Training and Dr Munnik, previously Cape Administrator, Health, Welfare and Pensions. Three new Deputy Ministers were appointed, two-
Dr de V. Morrison and Mr Wentzel as Deputy Ministers of Cooperation and Development. There were a number of changes in the groupings of departments. Coloured Relations was grouped with Indian Affairs, the SABC was moved from National Education to Posts and Telegraphs, and Justice was separated from Police and Prisons.
Various ministers were moved to new portfolios.
In November the number of state departments was reduced to 22, divided among the 18 ministers. (See section on Public Authorities in chapter on Employment for details of departmental restructuring.) Existing legislation was also to be revised with a view to consolidation, simplification and rescinding of obsolete measures. The Prime Minister announced that along with this would go identification of functions for allocation to coloured and Indian authorities under the new dispensation.
Three private sector leaders were appointed to the Public Service Commission. A smaller but more effective and better paid public service was aimed at. This was presented as one move in a policy of cooperation between Government and the private sector, including selected academics.
Internal party matters
Disunity gained momentum with the revelations of the Information scandal, the election of Mr P.W. Botha as Prime Minister and the resignation of Dr C. Mulder, and Mr P.W. Botha's new initiatives.
Differing interpretations of party policy were given publicly by key figures, notably Dr P. Koornhof, 'verligte' Minister of Co-operation and Development and Dr A.P. Treurnicht, conservative leader of the Transvaal NP after Dr Mulder's resignation. A split in the party was widely predicted. Commentators with an interest in party unity claimed differences were 'merely those of accent and emphasis. The Prime Minister commented that conflicting statements were inevitable until a new leader had established himself, and claimed that differences about basic principles did not exist.

What was described by the media as the 'verkrampte' revolt centred on the Transvaal NP, where members were reportedly campaigning to purge the party of 'verligtes.' However Dr Treurnicht reportedly suffered various setbacks in his bid for greater power, as, while publicly lukewarm about the new initiatives, he avoided an open clash with the Prime Minister, thus eroding his standing with conservatives. In the June cabinet reshuffle he was appointed finally to the cabinet, but given what were regarded as 'junior' portfolios.

The Prime Minister attempted to establish his authority more firmly during the congress season. His tactics for dealing with a substantial grassroots backlash were firstly to paint a sombre picture of threats to the survival of whites, who had to 'adapt or die'. Secondly, he threatened resignation if the direction in which he wished to move was not accepted, and warned cabinet ministers who did not publicly adhere to principles agreed to in cabinet that they would be fired.

Thirdly, he made a bid for greater flexibility in policy-making by attempting to divorce 'policy' from 'principle' and deprive congresses of their power by maintaining that their realm was concerned with matters of broad principle, to which he claimed he and his cabinet remained loyal.

However, while there was no outright revolt, there was evidence that conservative supporters who formed the bulk of party delegates remained concerned and discontented.

Before the round of congresses a meeting of the Transvaal caucus and after that of the national caucus had given the Prime Minister full backing. Discussion had apparently centred around constituency disquiet. The Government regarded the HNP as the main threat in white politics. While claiming that their potential for growth in support was limited, the Prime Minister attacked the HNP on various occasions as negative, based on hate and a blight on Afrikanerdorn, creating a caricature of what Afrikaners stood for. Advertisements were placed in Afrikaans newspapers explaining policy changes to reassure the wavering supporter.

The Information scandal and its effects on NP Government

The reverberations of the scandal continued. (For an account of previous events see Survey 1978 pp 3-5.) The Erasmus Commission's mandate was extended to 31 May. Public debate continued on the collective political responsibility of the Government for the scandal, the involvement of any current members of the cabinet, and the internal and external implications of the covert activities of the former Department of Information. At the insistence of the Prime Minister Dr
Mulder, who had previously resigned from the cabinet and leadership of the Transvaal NP, resigned as a member of parliament before the session began. In March he agreed to withdraw completely from active politics or further statements about the affair. He was later expelled from the party after disregarding an ultimatum to accept publicly the interim findings of the Erasmus Commission. He clashed publicly with the State President, Mr Vorster, over when Mr Vorster, as former Prime Minister, had become aware of the scandal. Mr Horwood, Minister of Finance, survived politically although his complicity was alleged by Drs Mulder and Rhoodie, and he was repeatedly attacked by opposition members in the Assembly and Senate. The Prime Minister stated that he was prepared to resign if it could be proved that he or any member of the current cabinet had known of the scandal before September 1978 when the cabinet had been offici-
time purposeful steps to put an end to this wrong state of affairs he was jointly responsible for the fact that irregularities continued, including the Citizen. When the Commission had prepared its first report it had no certainty as to when he became aware of state financing of the Citizen and so gave him the benefit of the doubt. The uncertainty was cleared up by Mr Vorster himself in a press statement he issued attacking Dr Mulder.

Mr Vorster resigned, eight months after taking office, and the President of the Senate subsequently became State President.

Following this, Mr Botha told parliament that all evidence would be submitted to a parliamentary committee with the instruction that it identify evidence prejudicial to state security, following which the rest would be made public.

The first Advocate-General, Mr Justice van der Walt, was appointed in a part-time acting capacity, to investigate all allegations of Government malpractice. This post was created as a consequence of the scandal. Nationwide criticism was expressed over censorship clauses in the Advocate-General Bill, which were subsequently withdrawn (see chapter on Media).

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking during the Information Service vote, said in future a secret project would only be approved if definitely in SA's interest. Approximately 60 of the former projects had been retained on a new basis after evaluation. He enumerated newlyimplemented checks on projects, including approval by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Information and Finance and auditing by the Auditor-General's staff. Opposition information spokesmen were invited to examine all current secret projects.

Some secretly supported projects which had been uncovered, including the Institutes for the Study of Plural Societies and Strategic Studies of Pretoria University and the Centre for International Politics at Potchefstroom University, would be openly funded if the Institutes wished.

It was reported in February that most of the work of the Pretorius Committee, evaluating secret projects, had been completed. The State Trust Board Act No 88/79 passed with the support of the opposition, created a Board to enforce all rights, liquidate all assets and fulfil all state liabilities arising from agreements concluded by or on behalf of the former Department of Information or from the application of secret state funds. The purpose was to sort out the finances of the secret projects.

The passage of the Information Service of SA Special Account Act No 108/79 was opposed by the official opposition. The Act provided for a special account for the secret projects of the Information Service of SA, money for which would come from the Secret Services Account established by the Secret Services Account Act No 56/78. Projects would be determined by the Minister responsible for the Information Service with the concurrence of the Minister of Finance and the account would be audited by the Auditor-General. The Act thus legitimated the concept of funding information projects deemed to be of a secret or sensitive nature.
The Act also legitimated the previous irregular transfer of funds to the former Department of Information from the Special Defence Account or through the Department of National Security, by deeming them to have been appropriated for the Department of Information, and deeming expenditure to have been a charge against thus appropriated funds. Sections of the Act validated certain past contracts by the former department.

The opposition charged that the Act would enable the Minister to approve irregular and unauthorised contracts entered into by the former Department and would validate one of the most contentious aspects—secret transfer of funds without parliamentary sanction. It would allow a cover-up to continue, as all facts had not yet come to light.

Clauses in the Finance Act No 101/79 amended the Foreign Affairs, Security Services and Defence Special Accounts Acts by providing that they would be audited by the Auditor-General, as would the Security Service Account. The Auditor-General would report to the Minister of Finance who after consultation with the Prime Minister and Auditor-General would decide which funds were to be disclosed to parliament.

Dr Mulder was charged with contravening the Commissions Act by refusing to testify when recalled to give further evidence after the mandate of the Erasmus Commission had been extended, claiming that the commission had acted malefide. He was acquitted. The judge said a commission's mandate had to clearly specify the ambit of its investigations. The Erasmus Commission's second mandate was an extension of its first and specified that it look into facets and terrains which had come to light in the first. The two secret projects on which the commission wanted Dr Mulder to testify had only come to light in January and so could not be included in the mandate.

In August Dr Rhoodie was arrested in France and extradited. He was convicted on five counts of fraud and sentenced to twelve years, some of which were to run concurrently, making the sentence effectively six years. He was given leave to appeal and freed on bail. His assistance was requested in untangling the secret expenditure. Despite an earlier statement by the Minister of Police that the Commercial Branch was sifting the Erasmus Commission's findings with a view to prosecutions, no-one else involved had been prosecuted at the time of writing.

By-elections

It was widely predicted earlier that a general election would take place in early 1980, to give the new Prime Minister his own mandate after the revelations regarding the former Information Department and to give a final mandate to the new constitutional dispensation, following which it would be implemented.
However, the constitutional issue was referred to a commission which was expected to report only in 1980. In addition a supplementary general registration for the compilation of a new voters roll was set in motion. Voters rolls were outdated and the earlier plan to compile these from the Population Register had been decelerated. A Delimitation Commission was announced, to commence work in April 1980. It was stated that a new delimitation was necessary because of population movements from city centres to suburbs, the decentralisation of economic centres, causing migration, eg to Saldanha and Richards Bay, and the change in certain electoral divisions due to homeland independence.

Several by-elections took place, which were seen as tests of the Government's standing with whites after the Prime Minister's moves to neutralise the effects of the Information Scandal and introduce adaptations to policy. With a few exceptions the pattern was one of low, in some cases historically low, percentage polls in which the Government lost support to both right and left.

In Swellendam and Beaufort West early in the year, both rural Cape constituencies, there were high polls and NP victories by large margins. Beaufort West was a NP/NRP contest and in Swellendam the PFP stood as well. It lost its deposit but the the NRP did relatively well.

In Randfontein, in a by-election to fill the seat vacated by Dr Mulder, there was a 4-cornered NP/NRP/PFP/HNP contest. The HNP candidate stood as an independent as new electoral regulations had led -to the party's not yet regaining registration as a political party. In a 53,5 % poll the NP gained 5 891, HNP 2 428, NRP 1 415 and PFP 681. The NP's previous majority was halved and the HNP increased its support 5fold. There was a large stay-away factor. Conditions were adverse for the NP. Apart from the fact that Dr Mulder had been the constituency's MP, the publishing of the final report of the Erasmus Commission and Mr Vorster's resignation took place immediately prior to the election. It was also commented that the large numbers of working class voters, particularly miners, in the area were receptive to HNP claims that the Government's acceptance of the Wiehahn Commission recommendations were a sell-out of the interests of the white worker.

A miner's strike had also recently affected the area (see Labour Relations).

In the South Coast provincial by-election, in a 65 % poll the NRP beat the NP convincingly, gaining its first seat since its formation in 1977. The seat included for the first time some voters who had previously been in the Cape constituency of Griqualand East.

The trend evident in Randfontein continued in Koedoespoort, a conservative Transvaal constituency where, in a 50,5 % poll, the NP won with a reduced majority. It was opposed by the HNP whose 2 866 votes against the NP's 4 603 were the most it had achieved thus far in an urban seat.

In Johannesburg West the NP won with a reduced majority in a low percentage poll, gaining 4 520 votes to the PFP's improved performance of 2 064 votes.
Substantial voter stay-aways more than halved NP majorities in the constituencies of Brentwood, Germiston, Prinshof and Rustenburg. In Rustenburg, in a 50.8% poll, the HNP gained 4 022 votes to the NP's 4 868, doing better than it had in Koedoespoort and coming within 846 votes of gaining a parliamentary seat. Its advance in the urban areas of Germiston and Prinshof was small, the NP retaining both seats in historically low percentage polls. In another low poll in a NP/PFP contest in Brentwood, an urban East Rand constituency, the NP won, with the PFP gaining support slightly.

The NP retained the Natal North Coast seat of Eshowe with a reduced majority against the NRP, which claimed that they had lost the election due to the influx of NP supporters to the growing area of Richards Bay. The NP was elected unopposed in Ceres. In another Cape seat, Worcester, the NP beat the NRP and HNP by a large majority, and in an urban Cape seat, Durbanville, beat the PFP convincingly.

However in the eastern Johannesburg area of Edenvale, in a 70% poll, the PFP gained the seat back from the NP in a 3-cornered contest, polling 6 029 to the NP's 4 867 and the NRP's 2 503. This was the first parliamentary seat lost by the NP since the 1977 election, and the first seat the PFP took from the NP.

The by-elections were characterised by ongoing disputes between the PFP and NRP as to which party stood a better chance against the NP, as it was widely felt that there should be maximum opposition unity, particularly where a split opposition vote could result in a NP gain. On several occasions the PFP called for an agreement on which seats to contest where a divided vote could result in a NP victory. The NRP denied that an 'opposition vote' existed, claiming that its policies were distinct from those of the PFP and should be put to the voters and that it would contest every seat where it had a reasonable chance of success or of improving its share.

The NP blamed its declining majorities on loss of voter trust due to the Information scandal, uncleanness about new policy directions, rising prices, outdated voters rolls and bad party organisation, particularly in the Transvaal.

Dr Mulder's new party

Following his expulsion, Dr Mulder and sympathisers formed an Action Front for National Priorities with the aim of gaining support for the foundation of a new party. Its founding principles included the

11
National Conservative
Party

Progressive Federal Party

preservation of the identity of each nation, and territorial separation and political self-determination as the best means of improving race relations.

At a series of public meetings, mostly in Transvaal platteland areas, Dr Mulder distanced himself from new developments in the NP, and attempted to place his movement politically between the NP and the HNP, contact with which he also rejected, stating that its policies were too one-sided. Dr Mulder expected support from nationalists who were discontented with developments in the NP. He pointed
to the low by-election polls, stating that there was a place in the political spectrum left vacant by the NP's shift to the left.

Among examples of the shift he mentioned the constitutional proposals, which eroded the sovereignty of the white parliament; the acceptance of the Wiehahn Commission recommendations regarding African trade union rights; the apparent willingness to deviate from the 1936 Trust and Land Act; and a trend towards concession-making in domestic and foreign policy.

In an interview he said the new NP leaders were overreacting to the whole so-called 'total onslaught' and change should not be brought about at such a pace that the electorate could not be taken with the government.

In November, at a meeting in Verwoerdburg attended by 164 delegates, the new National Conservative Party was formed with Dr Mulder as leader.

No public representative or prominent member of the NP left to support the new party. General comment from NP quarters was that the party, while having the potential to damage the NP by undermining its fragile unity, had no real future, and Dr Mulder's real reasons were not basic differences of principle with the NP but personal ambition and a sense of grievance.

Progressive Federal Party (PFP)

The party continued to campaign for an open society in which racial discrimination would be eliminated, there would be equality of opportunity, and all SA citizens would have a reasonable share in decision-making in a constitutional framework in which group domination of minorities would be made impossible. The party claimed that, as opposed to the NP and other parties, it had the clearest and most detailed programme of principles and policy, accepted at its national congress in 1978. (For details, see Survey 1978 pp 6-8.)

No national federal congress was planned in 1979, and it was announced that there would instead be one provincial congress and a series of regional workshops. However a special national congress was called in September to elect a new leader. Following dissatisfaction in certain party circles with the leadership of Colin Eglin, a majority of the party's federal executive voted in July for a change of leadership. There were various reasons for the felt need for a change.

Many analysts commented that while Mr Eglin was an able administrator and strategist he was less successful at projecting the party's image in parliament and elsewhere.

Matters were accelerated when dissatisfaction was expressed early in the year over Mr Eglin's handling of an attack on him by the NP,

which accused him of leaking confidential information to Mr McHenry, an American negotiator on South West Africa/Namibia. It was felt that while the attack was an attempt to divert attention from the Information scandal, Mr Eglin's handling of the issue had lost the party its initiative in debating the Information affair. The only leadership candidate was Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, who announced that he was available if Mr Eglin decided to resign.

The congress, at which Dr van Zyl Slabbert was elected leader, ended with an image of disunity.
The federal executive appointed a tribunal to investigate a complaint by Mr Jan van Eck, editor of the party's magazine Deurbraak, that his integrity had been impugned by claims that he and other staff members had misused their positions by being involved in a campaign to oust Mr Eglin.

The entire leadership structure was changed. Mr Eglin became national chairman in place of Mr Ray Swart. Mr Swart was elected national vice-chairman in place of Mr Japie Basson. Mr Gordon Waddell replaced Mr Harry Schwartz as federal executive chairman, and Dr Alex Boraine was elected deputy federal executive chairman in place of Mr Derrick de Villiers. Messrs Basson, Schwartz and de Villiers were members who had been brought into the party by the two earlier mergers in 1975 and 1977, while Messrs Swart, Waddell and Boraine who took over the senior posts in the federal structure had belonged to the original Progressive Party.

Members who had joined when the mergers took place claimed that this represented a purge of former UP members, and Mr Schwartz accused a left-wing power clique of having plotted to oust him because of the 'moderate' approach he stood for.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert offered Mr Schwartz the chairmanship of an economic commission, appointed by the party to formulate the party's economic policy. In his resignation speech as party leader to his Seapoint constituency Mr Eglin posed certain questions about the future role of the party, pinpointing the ongoing issue of whether the PFP should concentrate on expanding its support among the white electorate, thus strengthening its power base within white politics or whether to stress the opposition role by maintaining a healthy distance from Government policy and viewing the retaining of credibility among blacks, who were not involved in the political system, as the major priority.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert stated that he saw the party's most important role as persuading both white and black that negotiation was preferable to confrontation and that an acceptable constitutional solution could be negotiated at a national convention. His own political philosophy was outlined in a book, written jointly with Dr D. Welsh of the University of Cape Town South Africa's options: strategies for sharing power, which was published during the year.

In his first address to the party as leader he posed four questions, the yes or no answers to which, he stated, would establish whether South Africans would face a future of negotiation or confrontation and highlighted the essential differences in principle between the PFP and the NP.

First was whether whites alone should decide on a constitution. The PFP's policy was that there could only be peaceful evolutionary development if a new constitution was the outcome of joint decision making which was the result of negotiation and compromise. The NP, by placing the
evaluation and decisions in the hands of an all-white parliamentary team, was confusing consultation with negotiation.

The second question was whether the government should maintain legally enforced racial or ethnic group membership. This was NP policy, whereas the PFP stood for a natural pluralism based on voluntary association.

Third was the question of African citizenship of SA. The PFP accepted the African as a fellow citizen, with whom a constitutional solution had to be found. Related to this was the issue of the NP's proposed constellation of states. The PFP view was that it would be shortsighted not to anticipate the political consequences of a large-scale economic offensive. An increasingly integrated economy could not be governed without conflict by a fragmented political system. A constellation would imply either federal or confederal government, at the heart of the difference between which was citizenship.

Fourth the PFP questioned whether it was necessary to use means such as detention without trial and bannings to maintain law and order. Extraordinary security measures could not be ruled out, particularly in times of change: laws could, however, not be devoid of justice. Peaceful change could not take place while there was a denial of the rule of law.

The new leader committed the PFP to a role of constructive opposition, i.e., support for the Government where it moved towards negotiation politics or improved living standards.

The party criticised the NRP for refusing to come to an election accord. Dr van Zyl Slabbert attacked the NRP leader, Dr Vause Raw, saying that an agreement with the NRP would be impossible as long as he remained leader and that in those circumstances the PFP had no option but a fight to the finish.

New Republic Party (NRP)

The party ended the year less confidently than it began. An election arrangement with the PFP for the series of by-elections which took place during the year was turned down. Party confidence that it could break out from its Natal power base and gain substantial support in the other provinces and that it could attract both the Afrikaans and English-speaking voter was fuelled by gaining better results than the PFP in three-cornered contests in Swellendam and Randfontein, faring relatively well in Beaufort West and winning the provincial seat of South Coast from the NP (see NP: By-elections).

The party's Natal congress in September supported its leader Mr Vause Raw in his stand against a united opposition, predicting NRP victories in Eshowe and Edenvale. He claimed that the gap in ideology between the NRP and PFP was too great for co-operation and that if the parties horse-traded seats the fundamental right of choice of the voter between clear-cut alternative policies would be removed.

The party maintained its policy of a federal/confederal approach, with devolution of maximum powers to local option (see Survey 1977 and 1978).

It put forward its Natal local government plan as a concrete working model of party policy, (see 1978 Survey p 25) and called on the Government to allow the Natal Provincial Administration to proceed with implementation of the plan,
which had been passed by the Natal Provincial Council in May. The State President had been advised by the Government to withhold his assent to the Ordinance for the reason that mixed voters rolls and councils were not Government policy. Mr Raw stated that the NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Council would re-introduce the legislation.

On the issue of homeland independence the party took the line that SA would be throwing away its trump cards in the international struggle for survival by dividing its vast strategic mineral wealth among non-viable states vulnerable to outside pressures.

At the Natal congress the party welcomed Mr P.W. Botha's new initiatives in the sense that they represented a search for new policies and a new style but stated that they had no real substance. Congress called on Mr Botha to implement his appeal for co-operation by creating a Council of State for National Strategy, representing all communities, in order to create the unity of purpose essential for the security of SA and the atmosphere and mutual understanding to make it possible to solve political problems later.

Doubt and disunity surfaced towards the end of the year. Electoral defeats by the NP in Eshowe and the PFP in Edenvale, where the NRP had come third in a PFP/NP/NRP contest, proved earlier predictions to have been over-optimistic. It was reported that there was dissatisfaction with the decision against any election arrangement with the PFP. Predictions were made that the small party, wedged between the NP and NRP, would lose support in both directions.

The party was shaken by the resignation in November of its MP for Pietermaritzburg South, Mr Gerrie de Jongh, who claimed dissatisfaction with the NRP's constitutional proposals, drawn up by Bill Sutton, chairman of the party's policy committee, and submitted to the Schlebusch Commission. He claimed that in its detailed proposals the party had shifted to the right and they had been submitted without proper party debate.

The state of the party was discussed by its combined provincial and parliamentary caucus after the resignation. Various commentators predicted that Mr Raw's leadership was in question. In December the party's Transvaal congress adopted a motion of confidence in him.

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and other right-wing groups

The HNP alarmed the NP by demonstrating substantial gains in support in certain Transvaal constituencies (see NP: By-elections).

The first by-election it contested, in Randfontein, was fought by an independent candidate as the HNP was not registered as a political party. Its first application in January in terms of new electoral regulations requiring parties without any public representatives to comply with certain formalities had been refused, the reason given being that it had not supplied a deed of foundation. Its reapplication was also rejected by the Secretary for the Interior on the grounds that there was Herstigte Nasionale

Party
uncertainty as to whether the deed of foundation supplied was an original document.

The party then applied successfully to the Supreme Court for an order that it be registered as a political party. This enabled its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, to contest the Koedoespoort by-election as an official party member.

The party experienced a measure of success in exploiting voter uncertainty about policy changes, claiming that the NP was betraying all it had formerly stood for, and that the HNP represented a continuation of true Nationalist policy. This meant, inter alia, the white group as kingpin of the economic, social and political structure and allowing Africans into the white area only on the understanding that they never be given the same economic or civil rights.

Voter shock at revelations of the Information scandal was exploited to portray the Government as corrupt and power-hungry. The party praised the PFP for refusing to honour the State President. It claimed that the greater involvement of the military in strategic planning was part of a strategy to rule with a military junta. It also attacked the Government for allowing communist governments to exist in Angola and Mocambique and one man one vote in SWA/Namibia and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, and claimed that provision had been made by transferring funds covertly to Switzerland for a future government-in-exile.

The party's Randfontein candidate was suspended from membership and his post as HNP organiser following reports that he had earlier had relations with African women in Swaziland.

The activities of other far right-wing groups caused concern, particularly as they were accompanied by violence and threats of violence. The Minister of Justice was asked by PFP representatives to take action against the National Front, an offshoot of the British party, whose leaders and many of whose supporters were immigrants who had not taken out SA citizenship. It distributed pamphlets in Johannesburg inciting racial hatred and campaigning against coloured and Indian residents of central flatland areas such as Hillbrow. Its antisemitic views led to a violent confrontation with Jewish youths. The Minister, Mr Kruger, said the matter was referred to the Attorney-General for attention. It was reported that local leaders had been interviewed by the security police and that a British National Front leader was denied a visa. A local leader who had left for Britain, however, returned later. It was also reported that the Front was forming branches in various centres and planned to become a political party. It claimed friendly relations with the HNP.

The Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging became salient when it tarred and feathered Prof van Jaarsveld, a historian at the University of Pretoria, during a lecture he was delivering on the desanctification of the Day of the Covenant. It was reported that the AWB aimed to scrap democracy and favoured a return to a boererepubliek. In Pretoria the movement held its first public meeting since its founding in 1974. It claimed it intended becoming a political party. Various Afrikaans newsmen and academics were threatened by the AWB. Its leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, and 13 supporters were prosecuted on charges of assault, trespass, criminal injuria and malicious damage to property for the attack on Prof van Jaarsveld and convicted on some of the char-
ges. Their heavy fines and costs were allegedly paid by supporters of the movement.

Another group, Boerenasie, gained prominence when it was reported that its premises had been raided and searched by the police and the home of its leader had been firebombed.

The Odal clan, a Nazi-type youth movement, was reported to be recruiting and gaining supporters in certain Transvaal Afrikaans schools. The right-wing Christian League of SA was also reported to have gained many adherents.

Three men with right-wing sympathies were tried and two convicted after an attack on the house of Mr Colin Eglin of the PFP.

17 Herstigte Nasionale Party

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS:

COLOURED PEOPLE

Funds voted for coloured affairs

Expenditure of the Coloured Persons Representative Council 1977/78

The total expenditure of the CRC on the various services it controlled, viz local government, education, welfare and pensions, rural areas and settlements and agriculture, during the financial year 1977/78 was R219069478, leaving an unexpended balance of R4490522 of which R500000 was retained by the council and R3 990 552 was refunded to the Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations.1

Expenditure of the Department of Coloured Relations

The department's total expenditure during 1977/78 was R239 908 732. In addition to the transfer payment of R219 069 000 to the CRC R4m was added to the share capital of the Coloured Development Corporation, R5 570 992 was spent by the University of the Western Cape and R48 000 on the promotion of sport and recreation. The Department's expenditure on its administration and on agricultural training during 1977/78 was R11 220 262.2

In the state budget for the financial year 1979/80 R338 033 000 was allocated to the Department of Coloured Relations. This included R311 026 000 for the CRC and R7 485 000 for the University of the Western Cape.3

Political Parties

Labour Party

The party continued its membership of the SA Black Alliance and its rejection of a future political dispensation dividing SA into Africans and non-Africans. At the party's 13th annual conference in December 1978, the theme of which was 'A New South Africa' delegates stated that they saw themselves as blacks and did not want to be called 'coloured' or 'brown'. The conference was opened by the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Mr Mopeli, who called for all SA blacks to consolidate politically to reinforce their bargaining power. Mr David Curry, the national chairman, said the coloured people would only be free when the African was free.
Whites should understand that coloured people would not side with them. The new leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse, in an interview following the conference, said the SA Black Alliance, representing a drawing together of coloured, Indian and African, was the real force of the future in SA. The party would also continue to consult with the leaders of groups rejected by the Government such as the ANC, PAC and SWAPO whose objectives, but not strategy, they supported.

Party leaders requested a mandate from delegates regarding their standpoint in future negotiations with the Government on new constitutional proposals in the light of Government moves to reopen discussions with coloured leaders on this issue. A paper read at the conference stated that blacks should guard against schemes that did not afford full, unqualified and real equality for all people. The conference reaffirmed its rejection of the Government's proposals and called for a national convention to work out a new constitution. The end remained one man one vote in a unitary state in which no differentiation should be made between rural and urban Africans. The PFP's proposals were also rejected for placing too much emphasis on minorities and pluralities. The PFP was criticised for being too concerned with its position as the official opposition and in the process losing credibility with blacks.

At its regional conference in the Eastern Cape it was announced that the party would not give evidence before the Government commission investigating constitutional proposals as by doing so it would negate its negotiating power. The Government had to complete its own investigation as the CRC had done by appointing and accepting the proposals of the Du Preez Commission. Negotiations could then proceed on the basis of the proposals of both. The CRC, an elected body, could not lay its proposals before and work through the commission of another Government body.

Commentators on the party during the year noted that it was moving away from its previous boycott and confrontation strategy to one of more planned and purposeful negotiation and dialogue as an equal on the basis of substantial alternatives. This was attributed to changed leadership, the new situation created by the Government's willingness to re-examine its constitutional proposals, and the changed atmosphere being created by the new prime minister in which Labour Party leaders felt that more fruitful dialogue could take place. The most important move by the party was the appointment of the CRC Du Preez Commission to formulate its own constitutional viewpoint. Mr Jac Rabie, former Transvaal leader of the Federal Party who had joined the Labour Party, said that the coloured community through its leaders was moving away from emotional reaction politics toward in-depth study of the current situation and taking more initiative. The Rev Hendrickse declared his party's willingness to negotiate short term goals such as housing, local government and education without losing sight of long term ones and to consult with all groups, organisations and the Government on the country's future. He appealed to whites to exploit the goodwill which still existed.

The party did not accept the 12-point strategy the prime minister proposed to the NP congress. The Labour chairman stated that his party was ready to talk but the
agenda should not be restricted in advance by proposals decided by NP congresses before negotiation had taken place. Words were not sufficient. The party wanted to see more action in moving away from discrimination and a new dispensation

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based on mutual decision-making. A more correct atmosphere for the holding of talks would be created by the repeal of legislation such as the Prohibition of Political Interference, Immorality, Mixed Marriages, Group Areas and Race Classification Acts, and the removal of the Government-nominated chairman of the CRC executive, Mrs A. Jansen, so that elected leaders could lead discussions. The party also expressed its policy towards various issues during the year. At its conference motions were passed calling for the charge or release of political detainees and the lifting of the ban on various organisations. The party was in favour of economic sanctions and the continuation of the sports boycott as the only non-violent forms of external pressure. At the Eastern Province congress Rev Hendrickske said the party believed in free enterprise but there were fundamental industries, such as the mines, which would have to be nationalised in a future dispensation if there was to be an equitable redistribution of wealth. The key to the future was sharing and whites would have to give a portion of what they presently had.

During the year the Labour and Freedom Parties moved closer together. The Labour Party adopted a wait-and-see attitude to the call by Mr Bergins, then Freedom Party leader, for talks between the parties to thrash out differences, saying that a basic policy difference was the Freedom Party's rejection of the SA Black Alliance which it termed racial. The Labour Party did not see SABA as a racial alliance but as a common strategy of people fighting for their rights. Later the party expressed willingness to talk to other groups in the CRC in order to approach the Government jointly on points of negotiation rather than as a delegation comprising various groups each with its own demands. A breakthrough was made during the CRC session in September when the two parties agreed on the points contained in a 'motion of concern'. (See Proceedings of the CRC.)

Mr L. Adams was asked to resign as chief whip of the party after he embarked on a nationwide speaking tour in November, which he termed a 'peace crusade'. It was reported that his continued membership of the party would be discussed at the forthcoming conference.

Freedom Party

At a meeting of the party leadership in December 1978 to discuss the previous CRC session the view that the CRC should be disbanded was supported, and the party also decided that the constitutional action committees had served their purpose. In the new year Dr Bergins said the party would distance itself from those elements in SWAPO and the SA Black Alliance seeking the destruction of the coloured people and other minority groups. SABA would subjugate coloured to African interests and a central parliament would be dominated by Africans. He
claimed that his party was growing. Since the party's formation in June 1978 Labour Party members had crossed the floor of the CRC, the party had won the Tafelberg by-election and new branches were being formed. Mr Bergins said his party was negotiating with the Government for the removal of discrimination and full and equal citizenship. In an address to the Afrikaanse Studentebond Congress in July he said coloured people did not want to be seen as a nation-in-the-making.

They were a population group within a SA totality. The CRC and coloured management committees should be abolished as they did not enable the coloured people to make decisions concerning themselves and carry them out. Regarding the Government's constitutional proposals, he had originally felt that a three-parliamentary system was a first phase towards an acceptable political system. He now suggested a phased change from an initial single parliament with ethnic representation to a final system with coloured, Indian and white on a common voters role.

Party disunity surfaced in July when Mr Bergins suspended four CRC party members for publicly criticising his leadership. In August he announced new policy proposals, to be submitted to his party's national council and later to the congress, containing significant departures from the party's previous pro-coloured and pro-Government stance. Stating that he could no longer support Government policy as he was disillusioned with the NP, he advocated a single parliament representative of all South Africans including Africans who were not resident in independent homelands. He supported a decentralisation of power on a geographic basis and a federation or confederation of economically integrated states formed after bilateral national talks. This proposal would be put to the Schlebusch Commission investigating constitutional proposals. He also proposed the scrapping of all discriminatory legislation, a 'national convention' type of meeting to work out a new constitution and a referendum of the various race groups to ratify any new system of government. He appealed for the abolition of the CRC and the formation of a united front with the Labour Party to form a powerful pressure group to negotiate directly with the Government. Economically he supported free enterprise but with a greater redistribution of resources. Explaining this change of policy he said that in the past he had been accused of being too preoccupied with coloured rights but this was because African leaders had not come out strongly against discrimination against coloured people. He believed the coloured community felt that a common front, perhaps with differences of accent, should work towards fulfilling the political aspirations of all who did not have the vote. There remained differences of accent in that the Freedom Party did not favour economic sanctions and was opposed to racial alliances like the SA Black Alliance, preferring instead a non-racial pro-SA Alliance. The party also did not believe in one man one vote in a unitary system. The party split during its national council meeting, ostensibly on the issue of the reinstatement of the four suspended members. Dr Bergins resigned when the council voted in favour of their reinstatement, taking with him eight other members of which three were CRC members. At a meeting of supporters in
Stellenbosch he formed a new multiracial political movement called the SA Alliance. It was announced that its constitution would be based on the new policy he had outlined and that, in striving for a united coloured front, the Labour Party would be approached in order to find common ground. Dr Bergins announced that he would remain in the CRC as an independent. He did not see the need at that stage for a third political party, but for a third viewpoint which could form the nucleus of a party to contest elections outside the CRC when and if a new dispensation came about. At pres-

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ent there was a climate of reconciliation and there should be on-going discussions between all population groups.

Mr W. Afrika, national chairman and Eastern Cape leader of the Political Freedom Party, was elected as acting leader.

Affairs: The SA Alliance was officially launched as a political movement in Coloured October. Mr V. Herbert, a former Labour Party organiser, was elected national chairman.

People Constitutional proposals: coloured reactions and Government responses

As reported in 1978 the CRC Executive appointed a five-man committee chaired by Mr L. Du Preez to formulate the council's views on constitutional matters which would serve as a basis for future negotiations with the Government. The Freedom Party declined to serve on the committee due to differences in approach and fear that the committee would be one-sided. Their offer to send observers was not accepted.

It was reported that the Du Preez commission consulted a broad spectrum of national opinion including the cabinet committee dealing with the Government's constitutional proposals.

At talks in February between the Prime Minister and certain cabinet ministers and the CRC Executive, the Labour Party members outlined their preconditions for continuing negotiations on the constitutional issue. These were that the Government-nominated chairman, Mrs Jansen, not be party to any CRC delegations in future; that the cabinet council formed by the previous Prime Minister to consult coloured and Indian leaders be dissolved and that the introduction of new constitutional legislation be held over until the Du Preez Commission had tabled its report, enabling the CRC to formulate its own proposals. Coloured leaders stated that the Prime Minister's attitude during the meeting gave cause for guarded optimism.

The Du Preez report was tabled in the CRC in April. Its proposals included the following:
"extension of the vote to all persons over 18 and retention of the present unitary Westminster system," abolition of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act to
enable parties to be formed representing ideologies, not groups; " elections for parties, not individual candidates-this would circumvent the need for redelimitation, stop the present system of constituency loading and was the only way to overcome the geographic separation of races in ethnic constituencies which had been created by apartheid;
* parties to nominate individual candidates to parliamentary seats on the basis of proportional representation. Provincial and local elections to be conducted on the same basis; " retention of Assembly and Senate. Assembly to be considerably enlarged. Senate nominations to be abolished. Senate to be elected by an electoral college comprising Assembly and provincial councils; " majority party to form the cabinet; " a ceremonial State President;
" independent judiciary and courts to have the right to test legislation;
" entrenched Bill of Rights;
" English and Afrikaans as official languages;
" new flag and anthem;
* population to accept constitution in a referendum.
The commission found that most of the constitutions put forward by whites tried to avoid conflict but in fact created it. The committee agreed with the views of all the black people it had consulted. All attempts to accommodate white fears in a new constitutional structure were unacceptable and would create greater problems in the future as they would ensure a weaker position for the rest of the population. The oppressive policy inspired by white fear had contributed much toward polarisation. Whites could dispel their fears by immediately making use of the large measure of goodwill still existing among blacks. The committee found that black fears, for example of unemployment and legal harassment, were more real and tangible.
The report criticised the Government's constitutional proposals, stating inter alia that they vested superior legislative powers in the white parliament, which retained the portfolios of common interest, decided on the status of the other two parliaments and had a monopolistic veto on the abolition of discriminatory laws. The right to take legislation on review to the courts was excluded and a bill of rights was lacking. The State President would be chosen by an overloaded white majority and nothing in the constitution bound him to consultation.
The commission rejected the Government's contention that SA consisted of a number of separate nations. It stated that concern with identity was concern to retain social, economic and political privilege. The maintenance of civilised standards was the important criterion.
An annexure to the report contained some Government replies to questions raised by the commission relating to the proposed constitutional dispensation. The commission concluded that a comparison between these replies and the provisions of the Government's draft Constitution Bill as it stood revealed that the Bill could not give concrete effect to the Government's intentions as contained in its replies. At a special session of the CRC in April the Labour Party moved that the council discuss and accept the report of the Du Preez commission on alternate proposals as a basis of negotiation with the Government. In moving the motion the Rev
Hendrickse said the Government's proposals represented a perpetuation of white domination and, for the first time, an entrenchment of racism in the constitution. The Freedom Party moved in an amendment that the council reject the report and form a special committee to consult with the proposed parliamentary Selection Committee on the Government's proposals. Dr Bergins, then leader, said the Du Preez Commission was not representative of the CRC or the coloured community and was party-politically motivated. Its report was based on and was a critique of the Government's draft legislation which was not a final document. Although his party would not accept a constitution which excluded African participation, it rejected a unitary state based on majority rule. After a Freedom Party walkout the CRC accepted the Du Preez report. During parliamentary debate on the coloured vote Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, PFP, claimed that it was clear from ongoing countrywide debate on the constitutional proposals that the coloured people would not accept proposals which excluded Africans and that Government Political Affairs: Coloured People

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negotiations with coloured people did not appear to be completely straightforward, as evidenced by replies given to questions raised by the Du Preez Commission. Replying, the Minister of Coloured Relations said the Government's draft bill had been made available confidentially to the Du Preez Commission as a working document as it had not been finalised by the cabinet committee concerned. He criticised the Commission for publishing it. The Government's replies to questions from the Commission which were published in the Commission's report represented only a portion of a fuller discussion which had taken place and which the Commission report had omitted. 6 The CRC Executive decided not to give evidence before the Government commission investigating constitutional proposals (see Labour Party), with the chairman, Mrs Jansen, dissenting. The Labour Party stated that if the Government commission was changed into an independent commission on which all population groups were represented this decision would be reconsidered. Mr H. Smit, then Minister of Coloured Relations, expressed regret saying that the Government, through the appointment of a commission, had given proof of throwing open the question of constitutional change.

Later in the year, after talks between the Executive and the new Minister, Mr S.J.M. Steyn, Labour Party leaders stated that they would be willing to give evidence if a firm undertaking was received from the Prime Minister that this would not prejudice the rights of the coloured people to future constitutional negotiations.

Addressing a Cape NP youth conference, the Prime Minister advised coloured leaders to revise their attitude and be more prepared to negotiate with the Government. Coloured leaders said they were prepared to co-operate with the Prime Minister as they had taken appreciative note of his performances at NP
congresses. Further talks with the Prime Minister were proposed. Mr Middleton saw the talks as a continuation of discussions held in February, and said coloured leaders were under the impression that the era of ‘consultation’ had ended.

A meeting between the Prime Minister and the CRC executive in November ended in deadlock. The Labour Party executive members refused a request that they use the machinery of the constitutional commission and maintained their stand that there was a difference between giving evidence and negotiation. The Prime Minister said change could only come about through parliamentary action, and parliament was the appropriate channel through which bodies could make representations for change. Therefore, the Labour Party was not co-operating. The delegation also stated that they were against participation in defence force training run along racial lines. They were against the extension of the Faure centre as a military base and the school cadet system. They would not co-operate in racially segregated local authorities or take part in forthcoming republican celebrations.

They stated that political development was their first priority. The Prime Minister accepted the delegation's assurance that they rejected violence. He said that Labour Party executive members were failing in their administrative duties by refusing to co-operate in handling the CRC budget. Mrs Jansen's appointment as executive chairman was necessary in this regard and could be compared to that of a provincial administrator. The Prime Minister stated that he believed that the Labour Party leadership was not representative of the coloured people as a whole. A full transcript of the discussion was made available by the Government.

Following this breakdown of consultation, labour leaders embarked on a series of nationwide meetings to explain their standpoint to supporters. They ascribed Mr Botha's approach to a white racist attitude. They stated that the parliamentary commission consisted of whites only, therefore blacks would have no say in its recommendations. The Prime Minister was attempting to dictate to them. The CRC Executive postponed further meetings until they had been informed of the source of the Prime Minister's allegation that they did not spend enough time on their duties. They announced that they would return to the negotiating table if the Prime Minister wished to call another meeting. A letter would be written stating their point of view. The fact that they were in the CRC showed that they were moderates.

The Government and the Afrikaans press depicted the Labour Executive as a group of militants, more concerned with confrontation than with the interests of the coloured people. The Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Steyn, said that the CRC might be allowed to phase itself out naturally by not planning further elections when its current five-year term of office ended in March 1980, unless its leadership took a more reasonable line over consultations. It had been stated by the Prime Minister that the parliamentary commission's report would not necessarily bind the Government. Either an interim committee of coloured people would be formed, or the department of Coloured Relations would take over the CRC's functions until parliament approved a new constitution.
The Labour Party leaders stated that it did not matter how the life of the CRC was ended, as that was what they wanted anyway. The existence of the party would not depend on the CRC and in fact Labour support would be enhanced, as many people had not supported it because of its participation in the CRC. Tensions surfaced within the party following the meeting. Mr Les du Preez, speaker of the CRC and author of its constitutional proposals, resigned. He stated his willingness to give evidence to the parliamentary Commission. Later he said he would reconsider his position if the 'right decisions' were taken at the Labour Party Conference.

Election matters
Registration

A countrywide general registration of coloured voters was gazetted in January. All voters, which included for the first time those over 18, had to register before 1 May. Registration, but not voting, was compulsory and failure to register could result in prosecution.

During the debate on the CRC Amendment Act the Minister of Coloured Relations said the details already processed from the just completed registration showed a figure of close on 600 000, which was considerably more than the 1974 registration. It was difficult to assess what percentage this represented as the total number of potential voters was not known. Mr Keyser, the electoral officer of the Administration of Coloured Affairs, estimated that there were approximately 1.237 000 potential coloured voters in the Republic. As at 31 May 1977 there were 583 204 registered voters.

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Delimitation

Coloured Representative Council Amendment Ad No 57 of 1979

The Act amended Section 8 of the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act of 1964 which concerned the delimitation of electoral divisions. The maximum interval permissible between delimitations was extended from ten years to fifteen years. During debate the Minister said the previous delimitation had taken place on 23 May 1969, so in terms of the Act as it stood a delimitation commission would have to be appointed before 23 May 1979. This was neither possible nor desirable because a general registration was in progress until May, after which time was needed to process the data. Moreover, a delimitation in terms of existing legal requirements would provide for only 40 constituencies. The Government had already undertaken that on the termination of the period of office of the present council a fully elected council would be constituted which would require 60 constituencies based on its existing number of members. The Government's new constitutional proposals laid down 82 constituencies for the coloured parliament. Accordingly delimitation was not appropriate until the uncertainty relating to
future development in the constitutional sphere was removed. The CRC Executive had agreed. The amendment was supported by both opposition parties.
In reply to a question on the position of the CRC after its current term of office expired in April 1980 the Minister said that the Act made provision for an extension of office in order to make the necessary arrangements for an election, but this was an issue which would be considered next year.8

By-election in Swartberg
An election took place in this rural Cape constituency on 6 June to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the sitting Labour Party member. The results in a 59.3% poll were:
Labour Party (P.S. Harmse) 6 835
Freedom Party (A.J. Moses) 4 168
giving Labour a majority of 2 667. In the previous election Labour's majority had been 1 164 in a 66.6% poll.

Proceedings of the CRC
Changes in the party political balance of power in the CRC were described in last year's Survey. During 1979 there were further changes due to members changing parties and the split in the Freedom Party, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beginning 1979</th>
<th>Start of CRC session September</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour Party</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom Party</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>(including SA Alliance 4)</td>
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There was one vacancy.
After meeting briefly in special session in April to debate the constitutional proposals contained in the Du Preez Commission report, the council commenced its 7th session in September. The Labour Party boycotted the official opening by Mr Steyn, the new Minister of Coloured Relations, stating that they were doing so in protest against continuing removals under the Group Areas Act. The Minister in his opening speech said that the CRC was to be disbanded as it was not able to give practical expression to the principle of shared political responsibility. He said it was the duty of people to eliminate discriminatory measures on a personal as well as an official level. SA was a plural society and the rights of every group had to be protected against domination by other groups. The Labour Party leader commented that it had taken the Government ten years to realise the futility of the CRC.

In a deviation from the customary no-confidence motion the leader of the opposition Freedom Party moved a 'motion of concern'. The motion was found unacceptable in part by the Labour Party which called on the Freedom Party to
discuss its motion, if necessary in a combined caucus, in an attempt to arrive at a joint decision. The leaders of both parties, in a historic act of unity, together drafted an amended motion which was moved by the Labour Party and accepted unanimously by the CRC with the Government nominated chairman of the executive, Mrs Jansen, and Mr Bergins' SA alliance absent from the chamber. In the motion the council resolved to accept the following principles:

"SA to be governed by all its people;
"all discriminatory legislation to be repealed as a matter of urgency to encourage true patriotism;
* the people to share in the wealth of the country on a fair basis;
"land set aside for industrial, residential, farming and business purposes to be available to any purchaser without legal restrictions;
"all to enjoy the same privileges and protection before the law;
o equal rights as a principle to be accepted;
* work opportunities to be created and guaranteed for all; * all educational institutions to be opened on a free basis;
* housing and security to be provided for all as an investment for stability;
* all to strive for peace, friendship and co-operation;
* SA to be defended by all its peoples as a common strategy against its enemies provided that all enjoy full citizenship rights;
* whereas the present political system with its separate institutions does not meet the demands of these principles for effective government of SA, the council further resolves that the present SA Government call a national convention representative of all South Africans to determine the principles essential for a new form of government acceptable to all South Africans.

Mrs Jansen submitted the CRC's R311 026 000 budget. This included R1 582 235 000 for education (8,81 % increase) R144 208 000 for welfare and pensions (21,06 % increase), and R3,8 m for rural areas and settlements (29,28 % increase). She said the Executive had requested R440 775 000 to provide for parity in salaries, pensions and grants.

The leader of the opposition, with Labour Party support, moved that the council not go into committee to discuss the budget until a select committee comprising the Executive and other members had held discussions with the Government to achieve parity for coloured people. There was consequently no discussion of the budget, nor of the part appropriation budget. Among other matters discussed by the council was the report of its six-man Adams Commission of Inquiry into coloured welfare institutions, including
reform and industrial schools. The commission had investigated conditions at the Faure coloured cadet training camp and 17 other institutions under the Administration of Coloured Affairs. Recommendations included several aimed at improving the calibre of institutional staff, the standard of care and rehabilitation, including training for employment and disciplinary methods. The CRC voted unanimously to leave further action in the hands of the Executive, which had accepted all the recommendations. Mr Middleton, Executive member responsible for welfare and pensions, said that progress had been made in the institutions studied since the commission's appointment in 1977. The three youth camps at Wellington, Upington and Humansdorp had been closed down. The Faure camp would be closed and converted into an industrial school and alterations were in progress at other institutions.

During discussion of the Rural Coloured Areas Bill Mr Curry again criticised the permit system applying to coloured farmers wanting to buy land in white areas, calling for the removal of discrimination. The state should encourage coloured people to leave their present overcrowded rural areas by allowing them to buy farm land on the open market and by itself acquiring land for the purpose of making land and loans available to coloured farmers.

The council unanimously passed a motion urging the Government to reintroduce a national feeding scheme immediately.

Other matters concerning coloured people

Political attitudes

As mentioned in last year's Survey the parties in the CRC did not represent the full spectrum of coloured political opinion. A growing faction did not participate in the Government-created system of political representation.

Several spokesmen warned that the present generation of coloured youth, who had grown up in isolation from other groups, was becoming militant and alienated. Prof Theron, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, in an address to students of the University of Port Elizabeth, warned of growing despondency and impatience. She said many coloured people, especially leaders and the youth, felt bitter, discouraged and powerless. Coloured youth was not prepared to negotiate with whites. Mr F. Sonn, rector of the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education, speaking at the Institute of Race Relations Conference, said that consultation and negotiation were becoming dirty words among sections of the coloured community.

Relations committees

In September the Minister of Coloured Relations reported that there were 138 committees with 2 500 white and coloured members. The Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, in its report, stated that the committees' most important achievement so far was their influence on the general public. This was discernible in decisions taken by local authorities, employers etc. The Department had decided to hold regional conferences within its seven service areas to create further opportunities for discussion.
white and coloured had improved since the founding of the commit- People tees. He quoted the findings of an HSRC survey of the Western Cape in 1978 that relations of most coloured people with both whites and Africans were improving as proof that, on the whole, claims of worsening relations and greater polarisation were unfounded.

**Political implications of demographic change**

Prof J. Sadie, director of the Bureau for Economic Research of the University of Stellenbosch, announced that marked demographic changes were taking place among the coloured community. Although precise details would only be obtainable after the 1980 census, the coloured birthrate had declined significantly. The trend towards smaller families was leading to an appreciable improvement in socio-economic status. Between 1960 and 1977 the percentage of the workforce employed in agriculture declined from 22 to 13. The percentage in skilled and semi-skilled blue collar occupations increased from 27.7 to 34.6 and in skilled and semi-skilled white collar work from 8.7 to 18.6. A cohort analysis showed that the school drop-out percentage had decreased over the past decade and higher percentages of school starters were reaching the final years of high school. The correlate of the development of a substantial middle class was that discrimination was more keenly felt.

**Department and Administration of Coloured Relations**

In reply to a question in parliament on progress in implementing the recommendations of the Theron Commission Report which had been accepted, the Minister said that the majority had been implemented and continuous attention was being given to those remaining. This was a comprehensive task which involved the majority of state departments, required thorough planning and had financial implications.

In reply to another question the Minister said that 996 teaching and 332 non-teaching posts in the Administration of Coloured Affairs were filled by whites. The department’s policy was to employ coloured people as far as possible. As at 31 March 1977 (the latest available official figure) 95% of teaching and 91.97% of non-teaching posts were filled by coloured staff. The employment of coloured staff at the most senior level however still presented problems. It was reported that the Government appointed a white official to the post of Deputy Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, which fell vacant when the previous coloured incumbent was made Director of Education. Labour members of the CRC disagreed with the Minister of Coloured Relations that there had been no suitably qualified coloured person to fill the post.

The Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations continued to render the same services as before in SWA/Namibia, but pol-
pending court case arising out of the election, the legislative council for the Rehoboth had not yet been formed. The Administrator-General had empowered the magistrate of the area to execute certain governmental functions. A new election was expected shortly.

After Walvis Bay ceased to be administered as part of SWA/Namibia matters such as education and welfare were transferred to the CRC. For electoral purposes Walvis Bay was incorporated into the Tafelberg constituency.

Coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape
The Department’s Report stated that from 1962-1977 there was an increase of 32,968 coloured workers and a decrease of 4,227 African workers in Government departments in the Western Cape. Local authorities showed an increase of 9,753 coloured and a decrease of 1,809 African workers during the same period. During the debate on the Coloured Vote the opposition again criticised the Government's coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape. A report by the Bureau for Economic Research of the University of Stellenbosch referred to possible adverse implications for Western Cape industry resulting from an upward trend in coloured labour which caused vacancies in the lower categories, particularly if viewed in the light of a possible easing of the Physical Planning Act restrictions on African workers in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area. The Minister in reply stated that there would always remain many unskilled coloured workers who had to be catered for.ø7

During parliamentary debate in previous years Government spokesmen had referred to recommendation 42 of the Theron Commission which recommended that the Government reaffirm its declared policy that the Western Cape was mainly a white and coloured labour preference zone. However in October Dr Theron and Prof J.B. du Toit, the Commission's secretary, announced that in view of the coming new labour dispensation and the Government's general policy changes this policy should be reviewed, as its disadvantages outweighed its advantages.

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Survey 1978 p 13
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Alpha April
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS:

INDIANS

Electoral matters and status of the SA Indian Council

As reported in last year's Survey the term of office of the current SA Indian Council was extended until November 1979. The composition of a future fully elected council, as outlined by the provisions of the SA Indian Council Amendment Act of 1978, was also described. In the meanwhile preparations were being made for a November election of the new council. It was announced later in the year that the elections would be held in March 1980. At the time of going to press it was announced that the elections had been postponed and that the terms of office of SA Indian Council members would be extended. A delimitation of constituencies and polling districts was proclaimed.2 The Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Steyn, explaining the election postponement, said at least one supplementary voters' roll had to be published before the elections and he had also been approached by party organisers for an extension. The Electoral Act for Indians Amendment Act No 41 was passed with the support of both opposition parties. This amended the Electoral Act for Indians of 1977 in order to bring its provisions as far as practicably possible into line with those of the white Electoral Laws Amendment Act of 1978.4 Approximately 300,000 voters, over 70% of the estimated potential total, were registered.

Political parties

During the year Indian politics revolved around the twin issues of the Government's proposed new constitutional dispensation and whether the Indian community should express its views on the matter by participating in the forthcoming elections and using the SAIC as a platform or by boycotting the elections. The issues caused party-political realignments within the SAIC and stimulated political groups outside the SAIC into action. The aim of each political grouping was to unify the Indian community as far as possible in support of its viewpoint on constitutional strategy.

Reform Party

It was generally felt that there would be no place for independents at the coming elections and it would be necessary to go to the polls on a party ticket. The Reform Party aimed to enlist as many sitting members of the SAIC who were not attached to any party as possible before the election. The party gradually gained strength within the SAIC and by July was in the majority. Mr Reddy, chairman of the executive, joined the party. However Dr Moolla, SAIC chairman, finally decided not to join.
The party launched a drive to recruit members, establish branches, Indian open offices in all the main centres, and approach local leaders who political had indicated that they would contest the elections, to join. Together Affairs: with the SA Black Alliance, of which it was a member, the party rejected the Government's constitutional proposals. However, it viewed political control of the SAIC as important as it was a recognised forum for the Parties' expression of Indian opinion. If the party won the elections the SAIC would have a mandate from Indians to reject the constitutional plan.

Both the pro-Government National Federal Party and Republican Labour Party explored the possibility of a merger with the Reform Party. The party's leader, Mr Chinsamy, said the party would not sacrifice its principles in order to accommodate those seeking a platform for the coming elections. Those parties should dissolve and their members apply individually to join the Reform Party. The Reform Party made overtures to supporters of the congress movement who were reported to be reconsidering their stand on non-participation in the elections. The party's objectives, as outlined by Mr Rajbansi, PRO, were peace and goodwill among all races; co-operation with all organisations striving for democracy by non-violent means; elimination of all discriminatory legislation; the right of all people to maintain and develop their religion, language and cultural heritage; equitable sharing of political power by all citizens with safeguards against domination or oppression of one race by another; protection of life, liberty and property and access to the judiciary in defence of those rights; equal and compulsory education for all according to age, aptitude and ability; economic equality of opportunity for all and raising the status of workers, and housing at economic standards with home ownership.

Mr Reddy was elected to the Reform Party's delegation to the SA Black Alliance meeting at Nelspruit in July and was reported to have been well received. Mr Chinsamy, in an attempt to dispel doubts among certain sections of the Indian community about the party's membership of SABA, stated that according to the Alliance's constitution each constituent member retained autonomy and the alliance was not intended as a 'ganging-up' against whites.

Although the party rejected the constitutional proposals it had not yet publicised its own views in a clearly stated formulation. Party members, as delegates of the official SAIC opposition, held discussions with the Prime Minister in January. At a report-back on these discussions to the party's national executive the importance of dialogue was stressed and it was resolved to request the Government to delay the introduction of constitutional legislation until representations had been received from all sections of the nation. The party's spokesman on constitutional matters, Mr S. Abram-Mayet, welcomed the subsequent decision to establish a parliamentary select commission. It appeared from various statements made by the party during the year that its ultimate constitutional objectives did not differ significantly from those of the coloured Labour Party, also a member of SABA. It was, however, prepared to adopt a gradualistic strategy.

It was announced in August that the Reform Party would testify to the Schlebusch Commission. The preamble to its evidence would state RRS - C
that it believed in one man one vote as the ultimate goal although it recognised that there were different roads to reach it. In this regard it advocated a national convention to map out the road. Indian Political Affairs - At the NIC's November 1978 conference Mr G. Sewpersadh, whose 5 year banning order had expired, was re-elected president, Political with Mr M.J. Naidoo as vice-president. Following an address by Adv Parties H. Mall criticising the constitutional proposals, the conference resolved not to participate in any attempt by the Government to divide its people by the imposition of constitutional proposals based on race. Conference rejected what it termed the fraud of the SAIC and the political organisation envisaged by the NP in which different 'so-called' governments represented different races. The constitutional proposals were an attempt to compel the black people into accepting the semblance but not the substance of power. The NIC was against dismembering the territorial integrity of SA. The conference wanted universal adult suffrage without special concessions to minority groups, and a national convention with, as a prerequisite, the repeal of discriminatory laws in order to create the correct climate, the release of political prisoners and the right of return of exiles. Mr Naidoo said the NIC would submit a memorandum to the select committee investigating constitutional proposals which would be based on the Freedom Charter of the Congress Alliance and call for one man one vote in a unitary state. The NIC would not associate itself with federalism, confederalism, consociation or ethnicity. The NIC maintained its previous decision not to be party to the SAIC or its elections and to call on the Indian public for an abstention vote in its favour. During the year there were reports of dissension among radical Indian political figures. A group of younger congress supporting community leaders, intellectuals and professionals were confidentially urging a reconsideration of non-participation in the elections. They advocated the formation of a Congress Party which it was stated stood a good chance of winning the election, working within the system in order to destroy it and preventing the emergence as recognised leaders of people they viewed as unrepresentative. The NIC repudiated this viewpoint at its executive council meeting in May. Mr Sewpersadh pointed to recent events in Africa and the record of non-achievement of separate development institutions in SA as a vindication of the NIC view that it saw no change in the political situation to warrant a change in its policy. Mr Naidoo said exponents of the new strategy should realise that participation in the SAIC would have a negligible political effect, give the Government's plan credibility, divert the NIC from participation in the national democratic struggle and separate the Indian community from other black communities. The leaders of the group behind moves to reassess NIC policy later made public a letter stating that after due consideration they believed the SAIC elections should be boycotted, committing themselves to the
NIC programme and pledging support to its leader. In May prominent Indians from various organisations in Johannesburg launched a new group, the Anti-Constitutional Proposals Committee (ACPC), to oppose the SAIC elections. Among the groups represented was the Lenasia People's Candidates Party chaired by Dr R. 35 Salojee which had withdrawn previously from the Lenasia Management Committee, the Lenasia Action Committee under Dr I. Variava, members of the dormant Transvaal Indian Congress and students. It was reported that prominent Soweto politicians had expressed solidarity. The ACPC expected to broaden its campaign with the help of the Affairs: NIC in Natal.

In Natal the Anti-SAIC Committee revived its activities. Mr M.J. Political Naidoo of the NIC was elected chairman and Dr K. Ginwala vice-chair - Parties man. The Committee elected three organisers for the Durban area and began campaigning to make the public conscious of the issues underlying the elections and involve as many organisations as possible in a strategy to prevent participation. The Committee issued a newspaper, The Call.

In June Chief Buthelezi issued a warning in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly about the implications of the Anti-SAIC campaign. He stated that he did not wish to interfere in Indian politics but the campaign was aimed at the SA Black Alliance as well as the SAIC and the Anti-SAIC movement had allies among certain organisations that attacked him and his non-violent stance. He said the Indian community's reactions to the Anti-SAIC campaign would determine whether they would be accepted in brotherhood or regarded as political enemies.

In reply Mr Naidoo said the Anti-SAIC campaign was aimed at a non-racial democracy in a unitary state and was a non-violent one.

A former Transvaal Indian Congress activist, Mr B. Bhana, now unbanned, announced that he wanted to form a Black alliance that would work outside the system and oppose SABA, which he believed could not be effective in bringing about change. He believed the NIC could play only a supplementary role and could only follow whatever leadership the Africans chose.

In July three Muslim organisations, the Islamic Council of SA, Muslim Students' Organisation and Muslim Youth Movement, said they would not participate in 'apartheid-oriented' elections. The SAIC election was racist in nature because it confined Indians in a separatist political structure and Islam was against racially separate institutions.

In August a new alliance, the Solidarity Front, was formed in the Transvaal, which replaced and broadened the base of the ACPC to include black consciousness groups. Dr Salojee said the Front would not be confined to Lenasia and would not be a political party but an alliance of various autonomous groups and individuals. The Front elected a nine-man interim committee to draw up a manifesto to put to a mass meeting.

A one-day convention was planned in Durban, hosted by the Anti-SAIC Committee to launch a campaign against participation in the elections. Nearly 200 delegates and observers representing 31 black organisations were invited including the NIC, Solidarity Front, Azanian People's Organisation, Soweto
Committee of Ten, SA Council on Sport, Congress of SA Students and other civic and sporting bodies.

Violence erupted before the meeting when a Soweto delegate of the Solidarity Front, mistaken for Dr Motlana who was invited but not present, was tarred and feathered by a group of men which included some alleged Inkatha members. The convention was postponed indefinitely. The NIC stated that this was done in order not to create inter-racial ill-will. Inkatha spokesmen disassociated the movement from the attack and black commentators said black strife would play into Government hands.

Indian Democratic Party
Political The Reform Party did not succeed in gaining the support of all groups and individuals prepared to take part in the SAIC and its elections. At a meeting in August called by conservatives who were reluctant to join the Reform Party and who advocated the need for a centre party, which was also attended by representatives of the National Federal Party and the Republican Labour Party, it was agreed to form one strong party to oppose the Reform Party. At the launching of the new Democratic Party in September Dr M.E. Sultan was elected leader and the Rev E.J. Mannikum deputy leader. The national chairman was Mr J.B. Patel, chairman of the Natal group of the SAIC.

The party claimed support from prominent Natal and Transvaal businessmen and intended to contest every seat. Mr Patel said the party believed in a democratic solution with safeguards to protect minority rights and avoid domination by one group over any other. The party was not pro-Government. It would strive for direct representation for all races at local, provincial and government level. The fundamental difference between the Democratic and Reform Parties was that the Democratic Party was not aligned with any other racial group and was committed to an independent stance. It rejected confrontation and would seek a mandate from the electorate to negotiate with the Government on issues unacceptable to the Indian people.

The party had the tacit backing of Dr Moolla, SAIC chairman, who was the guest of honour at its launching. In an address he warned the Indian community that its future depended upon continuing political and economic stability, which was necessary for peaceful change.

More could be achieved through dialogue with the Government than by confrontation. Indians should work for change in an evolutionary way. Revolutionary change would lead to the destruction of law and order, loss of outside confidence, increased terrorism and eventual communist takeover. The Indians were a minority group and should not become involved in alliances with white or African but remain neutral.

Proceedings of the SA Indian Council
It was announced at a meeting of the SAIC in November 1978 that a nine-man deputation led by the council chairman, Dr Moolla, would meet the Prime
Minister to discuss outstanding issues. The meeting took place on 14 and 15 March. Among the issues raised were the new constitutional proposals, the SAIC election, economic discrimination, issues arising out of the application of the Group Areas Act, agricultural land, disparities in welfare and pensions, and public transport facilities. Before the meeting Mr Reddy, the council's executive chairman, said the deputation would put before the Prime Minister all the council's decisions which it claimed had been ignored by the Government, causing the council to lose credibility with the Indian community. It was reported that after wide-ranging discussions the Prime Minister undertook to refer the matters raised to the Ministers concerned for discussion.

At its March session the council discussed the deputation's report 37 of its meeting, unanimously resolved to record its appreciation of the Prime Minister's understanding reception and expressed its desire that he would soon hold discussions with the cabinet with a view to re-Indian responding favourably. Political

The chairman reported on discussions he and the executive committee had held with the Prime Minister on the proposed new constitutional dispensation. The Prime Minister had informed the delegation SAIC that the plan was a point of departure. It would be referred to a parliamentary select committee. When the new dispensation came into being its provisions would not be applied to the Indian community until specifically requested. The Prime Minister appealed to the SAIC to view the Government plan in the light of its intentions. The Government's prime concern was political stability and political development should proceed by evolution not revolution. The Council reaffirmed its rejection of the Government's constitutional model and appointed a committee with co-optation powers to make recommendations and put forward alternative proposals. These proposals would include African participation.

It was reported that more than 150 people had made themselves available to fill four nominated vacancies in the council. The executive committee reported on discussions with the Ministers of Environmental Planning and Community Development and Indian Affairs concerning the deproclamation of Cato Manor. The assurance given that the Government stood by its previous undertaking that a portion of the area would be proclaimed Indian and a final decision would be taken only after further discussions was noted with satisfaction. The executive committee chairman also reported on actions taken in respect of other group areas.

The council supported the executive committee's representations to the Minister of Community Development to refrain from acting against illegal residents in white group areas until suitable alternate accommodation was available. It also called for an acceleration of the tempo of housing provision.

The council approved the representations made by the chairman and members to the Slatter Commission of Inquiry into local government that Indians should be granted direct representation on local authorities.

Following reports of problems experienced at various schools the Reform Party moved that a committee be appointed to review the powers delegated to the
Director of Indian education with a view to withdrawing them and placing control of policy and major decisions in the hands of the executive committee. The executive committee was directed to review all the regulations framed in terms of the Indians Education Act of 1965.

The SAIC met again from 17-19 July. Several councillors had in the interim joined the Reform Party, giving it an overall majority in the council. The other members were independents. The chief whip of the Reform Party, Mr S. Abram-Mayet, said that as the party was now the majority party it should control the executive and called on executive members who were not Reform Party members to resign. Mr Reddy, the executive chairman, had recently joined the Reform Party; however his colleagues on the executive had not. Mr Carrim resigned,

38 stating that he differed in principle with the Reform Party. The other members stated they would have to consult the constituencies they represented.

Indian The council noted the development of the preliminary organisPoliticalational requirements for the elections and recommended that elections be held on or before 26 March 1980. It was decided that in view Affairs: of the importance of the matter discussion of constitutional issues SAIC should stand over for consideration of the report of the sub-committee appointed to formulate the council's views.

The council was divided over a request that it be represented on the national Republic Day Festival Committee to plan the 1981 celebrations. The Reform Party contended that the celebrations would commemorate the achievement of the Afrikaner in building the Republic, in which Indians were not full citizens. It was decided that the executive committee discuss the matter further.

Mr Carrim, executive member, reported on representations to the Government on the admission of foreign-born wives and families of SA Indians. In 1978 the then Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, relaxed the ban on admission. The council disputed the ruling of the new Minister, Mr A.L. Schlebusch, that the relaxation applied only to those Indians who had married before January 1977. The SAIC claimed that the relaxation was understood to be a continuing process and accused the Minister of not honouring the undertaking given to them previously. Mr Carrim claimed that this would damage the credibility of the SAIC.

A wide range of educational matters was discussed. The council urged the Department of Indian Affairs to investigate the vocational training available at Chatsworth and Phoenix in the light of the Riekert and the Wiehahn recommendations. The Government was again urged to refrain from taking action against disqualified persons in white group areas and the council called for the establishment of a judicial commission to investigate all aspects of the application of the Group Areas Act. The council doubted whether the housing backlog would be eliminated within five years as had been claimed by the Minister of Community Development. The Government was urged to make more agricultural land available to Indian farmers.
The council noted the progress being made by the Van Wyk Committee engaged in identifying land for Indian farmers and the indication by the chairman of the Group Areas Board that permits were being granted more freely to Indians who wished to acquire land, especially on the Natal north coast. It reaffirmed its previous resolution that agricultural land be freed from the operation of the Group Areas Act and that financial assistance be given to Indian farmers on the same basis as whites. Other motions adopted called for the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, the repeal of certain provisions of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the subsidisation of transport and the abolition of general sales tax on food products.

At a special council session in September the Reform Party gained control of the executive. Mr Munsook joined the Reform Party, Mr Kathrada resigned and the two vacancies were filled by Messrs Rajbansi and Abram-Mayet, Reform Party office holders.

It was reported in September that the SAIC was reconsidering whether to give evidence to the Schlebusch Commission on constitutitional proposals. This followed a statement by Mr Schlebusch at the 39 OFS NP congress that the cabinet would have the final say in accepting or rejecting the constitutional plan. If there were any deviations from the principles accepted by the NP's four provincial congresses the pro-Indian proposals would be brought back to the congresses for approval again.

Political Executive committee members said in the light of this statement giving evidence could be a purposeless exercise. Mr Reddy, chairman of the executive, called for an urgent meeting with the Prime Minister to obtain clarity.

References
Survey 1978 p 18 and 19

BLACK POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Inkatha
According to the Secretary General's report to the general conference of Inkatha held in Ulundi from 27 June-1 July, the movement had accumulated a retained income of R131 553 at 31 December 1978. Fifteen regional branches had been established in the East Rand and 26 on the West Rand. Branches were also being established in the Southern Transvaal and Vaal Triangle.

The general conference amended the constitution of the movement by removing all references to KwaZulu and officially opening membership to all blacks. In May the organisation claimed to have 250 000 card-carrying members' 20 % of
whom were non-Zulus. Membership in Soweto was estimated in September to be more than 1 000.
The Women's Brigade decided to undertake a number of projects to commemorate the Year of the Child. These were to encourage all children of school-going age in the Transvaal to attend school, to force fathers in the Transvaal to pay regular maintenance for their illegitimate children, to cultivate vegetable gardens and to organise fundraising activities to raise money for university scholarships, creche buildings and donations to charity.2
The annual conference of the Youth Brigade held in March was attended by 2 000 delegates. The conference resolved to support Chief Buthelezi's non-violent stand, to attempt to prevent disturbances and to secure sound human relationships in schools, to assist with literacy programmes in the black community, to support the idea of work camps for youths and to support the decision of the central committee to expel the former Secretary General, Dr S.M. Bhengu. In June the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr O.D. Dhlomo, also Secretary General of Inkatha, announced in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that Inkatha was to be made a compulsory subject in all KwaZulu schools. Any principal or circuit inspector who failed to implement this decision would be charged with misconduct. He said that the removal of white teachers who obstructed the Youth Brigade would be requested. Reports of ill-treatment of Youth Brigade members by white principals at the Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College and the Eshowe Training College had been received.4 In October the Natal African Teachers Union decided to ask the KwaZulu Department of Education to extend Inkatha guidelines to all subjects.
The above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General also announced the formation by Chief Buthelezi of a 'Think-Tank', the aim of which was to initiate dialogue with other groups, for example Afrikaner academics, theologians, journalists, military strategists, industrialists and politicians, with a view to bringing about peaceful change in SA. Several meetings had been held and in July the 'Think-Tank' had initiated a meeting with NP MPs to discuss an acceptable political future for all South Africans. Another meeting was held in August, about political which Mr O.D. Dhlomo said that the Afrikaner power structure understood the enormous political power wielded by Inkatha which was the reason why they sought dialogue with the movement.4 A similar meeting with the SRC of Stellenbosch was being considered. This dialogue was seen as aiming to persuade the white electorate to force the Government to join Inkatha at a national convention, for which the 'Think-Tank' would prepare constitutional alternatives to apartheid.4
The Inkatha central committee decided in April that it would give evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee on constitutional proposals for SA. In July Chief Buthelezi gave his support to the idea of a multi-racial democratic alliance of moderate South Africans suggested by the former leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin. He said that national dialogue was necessary to save the country from bloodshed.6
Chief Buthelezi, as President of Inkatha, made several statements clarifying Inkatha policy on various matters. Its opposition to disinvestment on the grounds that black people were dependent on employment for survival was reiterated. Foreign investment was also necessary for the economic development of the underdeveloped regions which would increase the chances of peaceful change. As long as the majority of the people had no stake in the capitalist system its future was in the balance.'

On the issue of peaceful versus violent means of change, Chief Buthelezi, addressing the annual youth conference, said that the military and economic power of the white establishment made violent solutions unrealistic. While guerillas had a role to play in the liberation of SA, Inkatha's role was to get whites to the conference table and to prevent violence. If peaceful means proved to be fruitless, it would become necessary to take the road of violence but premature action must be avoided as it not only failed but also created disillusionment. It was necessary to build up a strong, disciplined organisation to prepare for any action. Inkatha was still at the stage of marshalling its forces, he said. In December he urged the Women's Brigade to attempt to prevent people leaving the country for exile.

In a speech at the third international conference of the Association for Public Justice in America, Chief Buthelezi demanded that the ANC accept that peaceful change was possible in SA. He said that 'people power' should be used in democratic opposition to persuade the rulers to become allies. On the issue of a future political system he said that it might not be realistic to aim for the full inclusion of blacks on the basis of one man one vote into the political process, both because of the reality of racial hatred and the fear of entrenched power groups, but also because peasants and semi-literate people might not find it possible to influence political decision making in such a system.'0

At the talks between Inkatha representatives, and NP MPs in August the former proposed the idea of the partition within a unified state of the country on a geographic (not ethnic) basis for local government purposes. A non-negotiable principle was the protection of individual rights."

42 One of the strategies envisaged by Chief Buthelezi was the use of consumer boycotts. Mobilisation of worker power and consumer power was the most powerful non-violent method of liberation. AdAfrican dressing the inaugural meeting of the Natal branch of the Black ComPolitical Catering and Allied Workers' Union, Chief Buthelezi said that Afia irs: the separation of trade union interests and political interests was a divide and rule tactic. A joint effort to mobilise the people should be undertaken, though this did not mean a merger between Inkatha and the trade unions. He said that the mobilising power of Inkatha would have to be recognised in any attempt to organise a successful strike in the Transvaal and Natal. According to the Secretary-General's report Inkatha had established relations with the trade unions. Meetings had been held with the Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council, the African Black Workers' Union, Black and Allied Workers' Union and the Marine Workers' Union. Inkatha was
concerned that its members, the majority of whom were workers and peasants, were fairly treated by employers and for this reason contact with the trade unions was maintained and the Women and Youth Brigades were involved in the monitoring of employment codes at factories.

In October in response to the announced Inkatha strategy towards trade unions Mr F. Botha, Minister of Manpower Development, said that no political interference in the trade unions would be tolerated. Registered trade unions which allowed Inkatha or any other political party to do this would summarily lose their registration."

Another of the strategies outlined in the report of the Secretary General was the upliftment of people in rural areas through self-help programmes and their involvement in the McCrystal Plan for the development of KwaZulu. At the opening of the Urban Foundation workshop in Durban on 10 August Chief Buthelezi said that the development of black rural areas was part of the liberation struggle in that it would guarantee peaceful change.‘4 In a special supplement to the Financial Mail on the problems of the economic development of KwaZulu, the role of Inkatha as an instrument for mobilising the peasantry for this purpose and for encouraging them to accept new ideas was stressed. Chief Buthelezi described Inkatha as the economic arm of his government.5

Finally, non-compliance in the further evolution of homeland policies would force the Government to include blacks in the political process.

In October at a rally in Cape Town, Chief Buthelezi said that despite the differences in methods used by Inkatha and the ANC, close links existed between the two organisations which shared the same ideals of liberation. A meeting between Inkatha and the ANC had taken place in a neighbouring state in 1978 and consultation occurred almost monthly. Dr Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, expressed scepticism saying that the ANC would not collaborate with traitors. Mr Manthatha, a member, said that Chief Buthelezi’s ability to make such claims depended on the fact that ANC officials were jailed, banned or in exile and could not be quoted. The Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, said that while the ANC was planning a fullscale violent revolutionary war against SA, it was disappointing that links between the ANC and Inkatha were being strengthened. Chief Buthelezi’s attempt to sit on two chairs, he said, was unconvincing. In reply 43 Chief Buthelezi said that his links with the ANC were not aimed at furthering the aims of banned organisations but at establishing common grounds where all South Africans could find each other. His links African with the Government and the ANC were a great asset for SA, he said, Political because they meant that he could play a conciliatory role.‘6

Affairs:
In October Chief Buthelezi together with 17 members of Inkatha including members of the KwaZulu cabinet and the leaders of the Inkatha Youth and Women’s Brigade visited London to meet a delegation of the ANC at the latter’s request. Reports of the meeting differed. Chief Buthelezi said that the
reality and legitimacy of applying different strategies for change in SA and the role that Inkatha was playing through non-violent methods was acknowledged. A united front of black opposition to apartheid had been proposed, with the ANC and Inkatha forming the central, dominating force which would eliminate the growth of third force factors such as the Black Consciousness Movement. The ANC had, according to Chief Buthelezi, sanctioned his decision to oppose the Government by using a government platform. The issue of Inkatha participation in the community council elections had been discussed and the ANC was alleged to have said that relevant people whose aim was to fight apartheid should serve on these councils. A meeting with leaders of the Patriotic Front also took place. Scepticism on the part of some black leaders was expressed over the nature of the talks, the point being made that ANC leaders could not be quoted in SA. Sources in London were reported as saying that Chief Buthelezi was claiming endorsement from what in reality was merely dialogue. The ANC was seen as being valuable to Chief Buthelezi because of its strong support inside SA while it could not dismiss him as Inkatha was a powerful organisation. In a signed statement the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, was reported as denying aspects which gave the impression that certain fundamental principles had been abolished and stressing the need for unity of all those who opposed apartheid. Commenting on the meeting Prime Minister Mr Botha said that as long as the leaders of the 'black nations' followed a constitutional path they would not come into conflict with SA.

There were indications of conflict both within Inkatha and between Inkatha and other organisations and individuals during the year. According to the report of the Secretary-General, the Inkatha central committee had been involved in preventing members in the Transvaal from undermining the authority of regional officials. In January at a meeting of the central committee Chief Buthelezi said that political opportunists had infiltrated the movement which they wished to use for their own purposes. These people had attracted the attention of the security police, who had arrested several members of the Youth Brigade in the Nseleni area in connection with meetings alleged to have taken place at Mrs Sizakele Gumede's house. Mrs Gumede, an alleged supporter of the fired Professor Bhengu, resigned from the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and from the central committee of Inkatha in January.

Conflict also arose in May over the decision by Mr Gibson Thula, chief urban representative of KwaZulu and strategies chairman of Inkatha, to accept the invitation of Dr Koornhof to serve on the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging regional committee. Mr Thula said that Inkatha would have dialogue with anyone if this exercise would mean African ingfully explore the possibility of dismantling the apartheid system. He would however withdraw from the committee if he found that its aim was merely to glamorise apartheid. Mr Msuthu Madlala, a member of Affairs: the central committee in Soweto and of the KwaZulu Legislative AsInkatha sembly, criticised the decision as being contradictory to Inkatha policy
because advising the Government within the framework of existing Nationalist policy implied the acceptance of such policy. In addition, he said, Mr Thula had acted without a mandate from Inkatha. In June Chief Buthelezi gave Mr Thula a mandate to serve on the committee saying that his presence would block the implementation of apartheid and prevent sellouts from misleading the people further. He criticised Mr Madlala and also the refusal of Bishop Desmond Tutu of the SACC and Mr Nthatho Motlana, Chairman of the Committee of Ten, to serve on the Committee. The result of such an attitude, he said, would be bloodshed as whites and blacks either had to decide to talk or to prepare for military conflict. In October, after refusing to apologise to Mr Thula, Mr Madlala resigned from Inkatha. In July Professor Sibusiso Nyembezi, a member of Inkatha's central committee, resigned from Dr Koornhof's regional committee for the Durban-Pietermaritzburg area on the grounds that his participation in the committee was a futile and frustrating exercise given his rejection of apartheid. He doubted the capacity of the white members of the committees to truly project the feelings and aspirations of blacks. At its annual conference in June-July Inkatha conditionally endorsed participation in the committees provided that they were not used as machinery to 'whitewash' apartheid. It reserved the right to withdraw its members if this was their purpose. In February, conflict between Inkatha and the SACC erupted with the publication of an article in the Inkatha newspaper, The Nation, alleging that because of its failure to present proper financial statements on the use of donations, overseas donors were threatening to sever relations with the SACC. The report also said that while the SACC had always backed the World Council of Churches on the question of financial assistance to guerillas operating against minority regimes, the SACC condemned violence whenever confronted with the issue in SA. After publication of the report, donors sent messages to the SACC pledging their support and repudiating The Nation's report which Bishop Tutu described as 'nonsense'. SACC lawyers sent a letter to Chief Buthelezi as Chairman of Sizwe-Sechaba (Pty) Ltd, the proprietors of The Nation, demanding an apology, failing which charges of defamation would be considered. In April in an open letter to Bishop Tutu, Chief Buthelezi criticised the SACC for political opportunism and doing harm to Inkatha in discussions with overseas visitors, for actively identifying with black consciousness groups in order to extract money from European churches, for publicly dissociating itself from Inkatha by its refusal to say anything constructive about it and for privately attempting reconciliation with Inkatha while simultaneously preparing to take legal action against the organisation. On 30 July the Rev Jesse Jackson, while on a visit to SA from America, organised a unity meeting between Dr Motlana, Bishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi as he felt that unity was imperative in the black liberation struggle. After the meeting, the three leaders said that they would meet again for further talks. The following day Mr Tom Manthata, a member of the Committee
of Ten, publicly criticised Rev Jack- African son for his role in engineering the
talks between the leaders and re- Political jected any accommodation with people
working within governmentcreated institutions. Dr Motlana said that he would
consult with the Affairs: Committee of Ten before deciding on the next step. On
15 August Dr Inkatha Motlana said that there was no hope of establishing
common ground with Chief Buthelezi as he was involved in implementing
Government policy. Chief Buthelezi replied that he did not need Dr Motlana in
order to be recognised as the leader of SA’s black people, that he had the support
of the PAC and ANC and that Dr Motlana was attempting to establish himself as
the only authentic black voice at his (Chief Buthelezi’s) expense. The East Rand,
West Rand and Pretoria branches of Inkatha issued a statement accusing Dr
Motlana of being a ‘front man’ for Mr Tom Manthatha, an exponent of black
consciousness. Mr Manthata said that Chief Buthelezi was a political nonentity
who was afraid of the authentic voices of black leadership and black
consciousness. Bishop Tutu said that black leaders should learn to keep their
political disagreements private.24

In October at a meeting of the Anti-SAIC Committee in Durban, a group of about
70 blacks, alleged members of Inkatha, tarred and feathered Mr Alex Mabata
whom they mistook for Dr Motlana who was supposed to address the meeting.
The group demanded that Dr Motlana address them in the townships before he
addressed Indians and whites and that Indians should join the SA Black Alliance
if they regarded themselves as black. Mr Dhlomo, secretary general, dissociated
Inkatha from the attack saying that Inkatha disapproved of violence. The
participation of a leading member of Inkatha, Mr Winnington Sabelo, would be
investigated.

Chief Buthelezi delivered a scathing attack on Dr Motlana and other black
organisations in a speech at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on 21 October.

In December the Secretary-General, Mr Dhlomo, said that the precondition for the
success of the black liberation struggle was the elimination of the black
consciousness movement, which introduced division amongst blacks. He said that
a difference should be made between the strategy of using government institutions
and the rejection in principle of those institutions. Mr Thebehali, chairman of the
Soweto Community Council and a member of Inkatha, said that Soweto belonged
to Inkatha. There were indications that Inkatha intended to launch a campaign to
create a strong base in Soweto.

Inkatha decided to contest the community council elections in Soweto partly in
order to block the strategy of the Government to create a privileged middle class
to buy off black anger, to separate the urban from the rural blacks, and to prevent
its opponents from controlling the destiny of blacks. Its participation was,
however, conditional on the clarification of the financial resources of community
councils.

In February a pamphlet 'Defend Your Rights', distributed by Inkatha in the
Transvaal, urging blacks not to sell their SA birthright by taking out citizenship of
the Transkei or Bophuthatswana and offering them KwaZulu citizenship, was
declared undesirable by the Publications Control Board. The banning was lifted
later. Chief Buthelezi said
that this banning, together with that of several issues of The Nation, would have the effect of pushing black people further on the road to violence by prohibiting all means of democratic opposition." African
Political Affairs: Towards the end of 1978 the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Chief
Kenneth Mopeli, announced that he had joined SABA. In February a meeting of homeland leaders including Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Chief Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane, took place to discuss constitutional alternatives for SA. It was decided among other things that a delegation of Chief Ministers be sent to SABA's meeting in Port Elizabeth later that month in order to brief SABA on their strategy for a new dispensation.16 Chief Mopeli, Chief Sebe and Professor Ntsanwisi did not attend, while Chief Phatudi sent a representative. Their non-attendance was criticised by Chief Buthelezi. Each of the constituent members of SABA submitted reports on their strategies towards preparing for a national convention. Inkatha's strategy of establishing a 'Think-Tank' was endorsed, as was its decision to present evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on constitutional change. The formulation of an alternative constitution was one of the key issues discussed, especially in the light of the rejection by the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party of the Government's proposed constitution which excluded Africans. It was also resolved that the Government be asked to grant trade union rights to all races, that arrangements be made for a conference on the economic position of SA, that all constituent bodies enter into a partnership with the State to effect the redistribution of wealth, and that strategies be embarked upon to force whites to press for a national convention, for example by calling on blacks to boycott white-owned businesses or to withdraw their labour.27
At a public rally after the meeting the leaders of SABA committed themselves to oppose communism. Speaking at the rally Chief Buthelezi said that the alliance was necessary to prevent a self-destructive civil war amongst the oppressed. He also informed the public that SABA had written a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, informing him of the problems faced by black people and of SABA's intention to seek accommodation with whites.28
A second meeting was held on 22 July hosted by Mr Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane. Chief Buthelezi, chairman of SABA, said at a public rally after the meeting that SABA's strategy was firstly to show people that it was relevant by organising them around everyday issues and secondly to build bridges between blacks and whites. It was necessary, he said, for SABA to tighten its grip on the political scene and thus force the Government into a negotiating position. It was also necessary for SABA to adopt the policy of Inkatha towards trade unions.29
In August Dr Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, criticised SABA saying that exclusive organisations would sow the seeds of discord. In May SABA leaders
met with representatives of the Broederbond, the PFP and the NRP. In June Chief Buthelezi, speaking in the KwaZulu

Legislative Assembly, criticised those organisations and individuals involved in the campaign to boycott the SA Indian Council elections. He said that this campaign was not only aimed against SABA; if Indians responded positively to the campaign this would mean that co-operation with blacks was rejected and violence endorsed. SABA later attacked Dr Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, for his participation in the campaign and his statement that only government stooges would contest the elections.30 In reply Mr M. Naidoo, chairman of the antiSAIC Committee and President of the Natal Indian Congress, said that the opposition to the SAIC by Various committees arose out of a belief in a non-racial democracy for all SA's peoples in a unitary state. There was no endorsement of violence in the campaign and the brotherhood with other oppressed black communities was the same as during the Congress Alliance."

Committee of Ten
Mr George Wauchope, former chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Black People's Convention, was co-opted onto the committee in January and Ms Manekelu Mahlangu and Rev Lebamang Sebidi, former chairman of the Soweto Action Committee, in May, to replace Mr Thandiswe Mazibuko and Mr Sedupe Ramokgopa, both of whom were banned in 1978, and Mr Veli Kraai who withdrew from the committee.

In a statement issued after its meeting in January the committee said that as its immediate task it would work towards the creation of a Soweto Civic Association, with the committee hopefully acting as a central committee of the Association. It also aimed to educate the people on local government and guide them on problems of Soweto. The original blueprint of the committee outlining an autonomous system of local government for Soweto, would be adhered to with one change, namely that Soweto would not be divided into wards for voting purposes.

Towards the end of 1978 Dr Koornhof, Minister of Plural Relations and Development, said that he was willing to meet with the Committee of Ten. In April the first public meeting of the committee since its formation was held in order to get a mandate from the people regarding discussions with Dr Koornhof, a mandate as to whether the committee should continue to function as a representative body or not and to discover the attitude of the people towards the blueprint. The meeting, attended by 2 000 people, was addressed by Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of Post, Bishop Desmond Tutu, President of the SACC, Rev Lebamang Sebidi and Dr Motlana. The meeting resolved that no meetings with the Government take place until the community councils and the pass laws were abolished.33

A member of the committee, Mr Douglas Lolwane, in an open letter to Post, criticised the decision of the meeting saying that it was grossly irresponsible for Soweto residents to stipulate terms to the Government for dialogue as the Government had nothing to lose by this attitude. Closing the avenue of dialogue was an exercise in futility. The decision, he said, was neither that of the
committee nor of the majority of the people of Soweto. He said that it was important for Soweto residents to review their stand and to give the committee a
African Political Affairs: Committee of Ten

mandate to meet Dr Koornhof with no strings attached so that the implementation of the committee's blueprint could be accelerated.34

Mr Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Community Council, said that the resolution pleased him as it gave the Council a monopoly over negotiations thus making the Council the only body which could meet the needs of Soweto residents. He criticised the Committee as having no mandate from the people and of consisting of self-appointed leaders whereas the Council was elected by the people.5 He appealed to government authorities not to communicate with members of the Committee of Ten.36

After the formation of the Soweto Civic Association (see below) Mr Thebehali threatened to make it inactive by not permitting it to help the residents with their problems. In October when a branch of the Association in Diepkloof wished to hold a service for the victims of a bus accident, the Diep-Meadow Community Council refused the use of the local hall. At the funeral a boycott of the hall was called for.

In March Dr Motlana rejected the invitation by the Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, to urban black leaders to submit evidence to the Select Parliamentary Committee investigating a new constitution for SA. He said that restricting the invitation to urban blacks was a 'divisive subterfuge' which presumed the acceptance of the homeland concept by the black population. The invitation would be accepted on condition that a new dispensation for SA included all blacks.37

In May Dr Motlana was one of the people invited by Dr Koornhof to participate in a regional committee to advise him on the position of urban Africans. Dr Motlana refused on the grounds that this would mean an acceptance of apartheid policy. He would participate only if the dismantling of apartheid was being discussed, although the fact that the Government was prepared to consult with people it had previously rejected was an encouraging sign.38 Post newspaper commissioned Intercontinental Marketing Services to conduct a survey amongst blacks in order to determine their views on whether their leaders should serve on the committees proposed by Dr Koornhof and whether there should be consultation between black leaders and the Government. Of the 521 males and females over the age of 16 who were living and working in the Johannesburg area, 21 refused to respond. Of the remaining 500 54.2 % (271 people) believed that their leaders should agree to serve on the committees and 45.8 % (229) that they should refuse. Of the latter category 66.1 % (229) said that there should however be discussion between black leaders and the Government and 38.9 % said that there should not be. Thus of the total number of people interviewed 82,2
% (411) were in favour of some form of consultation between black leaders and the Government and 17.8% (89) were not. Women, old people and those in the lower income and educational bracket favoured consultation and discussion while those in the higher brackets and young people tended to be opposed to it. Dr Motlana said that he was sceptical of surveys such as these because many urban Africans were wary about giving militant answers to interviewers because they feared reprisals. The people who favoured participation, he said, were labourers and less educated people who were not politically aware. These people welcomed any opportunity to talk, not realising that the discussions were set up within the framework of separate development. The task of the leaders, he said, was to guide and lead the broad mass of labourers and to move ahead of their thinking and not simply to reflect it. The better educated group in his constituency, the black consciousness movement, was fully behind him.39 This attitude was criticised as being elitist by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

In August the Committee participated in the protests against rent increases in Soweto.

In September the Committee of Ten organised a conference entitled 'Soweto-An Introspection' to discuss the problems of Soweto. In addition the conference was intended to provide more information on the structure and membership of the Committee of Ten which would lead to an expansion of its activities. Branches of the committee had been established in Dobsonville, Meadowlands, Mapetla and Dieploof. Dr Motlana said that the committee had been compelled to form a real association with branches in the different areas in Soweto and to enlist card-carrying members/s One of the failures of the committee was that it had tended to cater for an educated elite without developing a grass roots organisation. At the conference, attended by approximately 600 people, the Soweto Civic Association was formed with the Committee of Ten acting as an executive until such time as elections were held. Each branch would have its own six member executive and membership fees would be R2.50 per year. It was also intended that similar organisations with common goals and a common programme of action would be formed. Dr Motlana reiterated the refusal of the committee to negotiate with the Government or to participate in community council elections unless the community council had complete autonomy, there was freehold tenure and the Government made Soweto a large grant. There would also be no collaboration with homeland leaders who were assisting the Government in the final solution of apartheid.

The creation of a Soweto Civic Association was criticised by Mr Gibson Thula who said that the demand for an autonomous town council was a perpetuation of Government policy in that a homeland of Soweto would be the result.41 Mr Sam Solomon, a member of the Coloured Management Committee in Johannesburg, supported this argument, saying that the SCA should be striving for direct representation on the Johannesburg City Council. Soweto could never be run as an autonomous municipal area because it lacked the revenue producing machinery of the central business districts. Blacks, he said, had a right to share in the wealth
which they created. Later Dr Motlana said that a fully autonomous Soweto should participate in a Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Board which would also comprise other African, Indian and coloured townships. He said, in an address at a meeting in Lenasia organised by the People's Candidates Party opposing the SAIC elections, that the SCA hoped to collaborate with organisations in coloured and Indian townships that were opposed to participating in state-created institutions.

In response to an announcement by Dr Koornhof, Minister of Plural Relations and Development, that Soweto would be granted municipal status, Dr Motlana said that this would be futile because Soweto lacked rateable property, industry and commerce from which the area could draw its finances. Another member of the Committee, Mr Leonard Mosala, said that it was necessary to reconsider the standpoint of the committee if it was to remain relevant. Branches of the SCA were formed in Moroka, Orlando West, Dube and Chiawelo. A Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) was formed and links were established with the SCA. The need for a national body comprising all civic bodies was articulated. At a rally of PEBCO in November the chairman, Mr Tomazile Botha, said that the groundwork for a parent body for PEBCO had been laid in the Eastern Cape. He also said that he was prepared to negotiate with the Government only at an all-race national conference, that blacks shouldn't involve themselves in 'dummy bodies' like community councils and rejected the idea of autonomous townships. He also rejected the idea of dialogue with Inkatha. He later said that the method of demand and pressure would be adopted.

As at 9 December nine branches of PEBCO had been formed, including one in the coloured township of Bethelsdorp. Mr Botha had appealed to coloureds and Indians to join PEBCO and a meeting between PEBCO and the coloured and Indian management committees in Port Elizabeth was planned. (For the role of PEBCO in the Ford strikes see chapter on Labour Relations.)

AZAPO

The inaugural conference of the Azanian People's Organisation was held at St Ansgars Conference Centre, Roodepoort on 30 and 31 September. Two hundred delegates from all over the country, including representatives from the Congress of SA Students, the Committee of Ten, the Writers' Association of SA, the SA Teachers' Action Committee, the Solidarity Front and others, attended. An executive committee was elected consisting of Mr Curtis Nkondo (president), Mrs Nombulelo Melane (vice-president), Mr George Wauchope (publicity secretary), Mr Letsatsi Mosala (national organiser), and Mr Sammy Tloubatla
Regional committees were planned. At the congress, a policy document was adopted stating that black consciousness was a framework, the internal dynamics of which gave form to the entire nature of black aspirations; was an irreversible process of self-understanding and self-assertiveness of the black people of Azania in the face of the oppressive socio-political structures imposed by the white Government and a firm expression of the will of black people to participate fully in the power structure of a democratic government; a philosophy that translated itself into an active opposition to government policies bent on estranging black people from themselves; an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to black people and a bulwark against sectionalism by creating a united front.43

The problem in SA was identified as being basically an economic one, racism being used as an instrument of economic exploitation and oppression. Workers would be the vanguard of the organisation for liberation. All blacks were defined as workers as they were voiceless, had no opportunity for advancement and did not own the means of production and distribution.

The aims and objectives outlined were: 1) 'to conscientise, politicise and mobilise' black workers through the philosophy of black consciousness to strive for their legitimate rights; 2) to work towards the establishment of an educational system that would respond creatively towards the needs of Azanians; 3) to promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to the black struggle; 4) to promote and encourage research into various problems affecting the people; 5) to expose the oppressive exploitative system in which African black people are denied basic human rights; and 6) to work towards Political the unity of the oppressed for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania. In the envisaged society of the future all Affairs: persons would have the right of ownership of property and complete AZAPO participation in the political machinery of the country. Capital and profits accruing from labour would be distributed equitably.

It was decided that the national executive would set up a labour committee which would meet with trade unionists and start a programme of education for workers. A statement said that "realising the imbalance of power between the owners of capital and black workers, we acknowledge trade unions as an instrument that can bring about the redistribution of power. In the unique situation that is SA, trade unions should go beyond the problems of management and labour., We envisage a persistently militant system of trade unions which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the white minority government and thereby bring about change".

The Government acceptance of the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Rieckert Commissions was strongly condemned as a move to control workers so that they would pose no threat to the status quo. The idea of separate black trade unions was supported because the problems faced by blacks in the economy were
different from those of whites. In December Mr Nkondo attacked the existing black trade unions for avoiding an involvement in politics. The executive suspended Mr Nkondo from his post of president in December. Support was pledged for the Solidarity Front formed to oppose participation in the Indian Council elections. It was stated that there would be no co-operation with homeland leaders and white liberals, who were seen as being part of an oppressive system, enjoying all the rights and wealth of that system.” There would be no participation in government-created institutions as liberation could not be achieved through the process of participation and negotiation. Mr Nkondo, speaking at the Southern Transvaal regional conference of WASA in October, attacked black professional bodies for not allying themselves with the liberation struggle but looking for elitist material privileges.

To assist in the education of black youth AZAPO planned to organise classes to enable the youth to write examinations. Branches of the organisation were formed in Soweto, Springs, Kimberley, Cape Town and the Eastern Cape.

Soweto Action Committee
In March the Soweto Action Committee (SAC) dissolved and its members committed themselves to supporting the Committee of Ten. The SAC had been formed to act as a caretaker committee when the members of the Committee of Ten were in detention in 1977.

Student Activity
Most of the activities of Soweto students centred around educational issues, details of which are provided in the chapter on Education.

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The Congress of SA Students was formed during the year (see chapter on African Education). Student organisations were involved in organising funeral services for students shot by the police, commemoration services for 16 June, services to mourn the execution of Solomon Mahlangu and a commemoration service for Steve Biko on 12 September. On 9 October 100 students of the University of the North marched through the Mankweng township protesting against the removal by the Government of the Makgatho tribesmen in the Northern Transvaal. On 15 October thousands of school children marched in protest against the removals and the fact that they would adversely affect the education of the children. They called for the release of all detained Makgatho students. The students marched to the office of the circuit inspector to deliver a petition calling on the Lebowa government and the Department of Education and Training to allow the 740 Makgatho students to write their examinations in local schools. The Batlokwa African Youth Organisation was formed.

In November Students from Fort Hare, Turfloop, Ngoye, Natal and Durban-Westville universities and the Maphumulo and Howard Colleges met at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre to form a national student organisation, the Azanian Students' Organisation (see section on Universities).

Political Refugees and Movements in Exile
The flow of refugees from SA into neighbouring countries continued during the year. In May it was reported that there were 1 000 SA refugees in Botswana, 5 000 in Swaziland and 5 000 in Lesotho. Others had left the Southern African states and were dispersed throughout the world.

In January it was reported that the files of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) containing information on the names, background, and family details of refugees in Swaziland had been stolen. The refugees were concerned that the theft was perpetrated by the former Bureau for State Security and that their families inside SA would be intimidated by the security police. In September Mr Godfrey Sibiti, Swaziland representative of the UNHCR, said more SA refugees were fleeing to Swaziland than ever before. The Swaziland government established a school for Soweto students.

In May the Botswana government complained about the detention of Botswana citizens by the SA security police who had questioned them about SA refugees in Botswana. The Botswana government created a camp for SA refugees near Maunpolole. The refugees objected to being moved, claiming that as the camp was in an isolated position they would be made vulnerable to cross-border raids by the SA Police. In April the SACC appointed an officer to examine the problems of refugees in Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Some of the refugees joined the ANC or PAC and underwent military training. In April Mr Kruger, then Minister of Justice, said that 600 trained ANC guerillas were preparing to infiltrate SA from the Angolan capital, Luanda.

The Swaziland and Botswana governments continued to enforce their policy of not allowing the ANC and PAC to use their countries as bases for attacks against SA. In January the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, threatened that SA would carry out 'hot pursuit' operations into Botswana after a guerilla attack near Zeerust. The guerillas fled from the police into Botswana. A spokesman for the Botswana government said that the government could not guarantee to stop all incursions into SA from Botswana as it was not able to exercise complete control over insurgent groups. Later in January the Botswana military police captured 60 armed guerillas. In March four black South Africans were arrested in Botswana after raids on houses in Gaberone in which explosives, automatic weapons and a large quantity of ammunition were uncovered. Mr Shorty Thohome was sentenced to three and a half years, Mr James Rantau to four and a half years, Mr John Maruo to four years and Mr Zachariah Tolo to two years on charges of being in the unlawful possession of arms. In March the Botswana government handed Mr Baldwin Hlanti and Mr John Muyango, a former member of the PAC and alleged co-conspirator in the PAC Bethal trial, to the security police in SA. Mr Hlanti was believed to be a member of a splinter group of the PAC, and it was alleged by members of the Azanian People's Revolutionary Party that the leaders of the PAC, Mr Sibeko and Mr Leballo, had instigated the Botswana government's actions. In May four more exiled SA blacks were arrested in Botswana on charges of being in unlawful possession of arms.
The Swaziland authorities continued to hold members of the PAC detained last year. By April Messrs Colin Tshabalala, John Manzi, Robert Mabusela and Mrs Rose Ndziba were still being held in the Matsapa Prison. In May Mr Abel Xakaza and Mr Jerry Seleke, previously from Soweto, were convicted of unlawfully possessing firearms. They had crossed the border from SA to escape capture by the security police.

In August two members of the PAC presidential council, Mr Vusumuzi Make and Mr Elias Ntloedibe, held talks with the Lesotho government, representatives of which announced that while Lesotho would continue to grant political asylum to refugees from SA, it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard from which to attack SA. In February, four members of the PAC who had fled from SA, Messrs Thamasanqa Adams, Dadla Nonqauza, Vuyo Fetcha and Vusumuzi Biko, were charged with the murder of an alleged informer in Maseru, Lesotho. In January the Transkei government arrested five members of the PAC, Messrs Sabelo Gqwetu, Mack Maboya, Synod Madlebe, Xola Mketi and Mawethu Vitshima. Mr Maboza and Mr Madlebe were still in detention in October. In March Mr Koyana said that several people who had received military training in China and Libya had been arrested in the Transkei between October 1978 and March 1979. They had been mobilising for an onslaught on SA, the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. The men, he said, had attempted to create cells in the Umtata, Xalanga and Cacadu districts. Among their aims were the spread of communism throughout the Transkei so that a socialist democratic government could be established there, the preparation of recruits for guerrilla warfare against SA, the establishing of contacts and safe places for trained members of the PAC, the establishing of arms caches and the regular reporting to a high command on progress made in the campaign.

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In September the Transkei government deported a former ANC exile, Dr Mxolisi Ntlabati, who was assistant to the President of the United Methodist Church in SA, to SA.

At a meeting in London in March to launch a campaign against military and nuclear links with SA, an official of the ANC, Mr Seretzi Choabi, accused governments in Africa of denying ANC members access through their countries, and refusing them admission to ports. ANC guerillas, he said, could only continue to wage war against SA if they had freedom of movement and access to weapons.

There was not much reportage on the state of organisation of the ANC or its internal activities. (For further information see section on security trials.) In May pamphlets entitled 'Why hate the Communists?' were distributed in several townships in Durban as well as at two depots and railway stations in Johannesburg. In March pamphlets were distributed in Soweto urging people to support liberation by means of guerrilla warfare. In June pamphlets were distributed in Soweto calling on workers to stay away from work in
In September pamphlets commemorating the 70th birthday of Dr Yusuf Dadoo, chairman of the SA Communist Party and former member of the Indian National Congress, were distributed in Durban and Johannesburg. They called on people to unite and fight for the motherland. Other pamphlets written by the ANC were distributed at the Venda Independence Stadium on the eve of Venda independence, which was condemned. In March it was revealed that the ANC and other groups, such as the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, had a 'hit list' of about 60 policemen and prison warders alleged to have tortured and killed opponents of apartheid.14 Towards the end of 1978 it was reported that Okhela had split from the ANC on the grounds that it was dominated by the SACP. It allegedly accused the ANC of blocking any new initiatives and of causing disruption in the new generation of militants. Okhela felt that the Black Consciousness Movement was an important bulwark against Soviet designs for SA.55

On 25 May the 35 PAC members who were expelled from Swaziland in 1978 announced the formation of a splinter organisation, the Azanian People's Revolutionary Party, due to their dissatisfaction with the PAC leadership. In May Mr Potlako Leballo resigned as leader of the PAC and a three-man presidential council consisting of Mr David Sibeko, Mr Vusumuzi Make and Mr Elias Ntloedibe took control of the organisation. Mr Sibeko, director of foreign affairs, was shot in Dar-es-Salaam on 14 June and Mr Make, administrative secretary, was wounded. Eighteen young South Africans including Stiudo Mahlangu, Titus Soni, Daniel Monakgotla, Gilbert Nhlapo, Abraham Tatu and James Hlongwane were charged with the assassination of Mr Sibeko who was apparently regarded as an ally of Mr Leballo, who had co-operated in arranging the arrest of PAC members in Botswana and Swaziland in 1978.7 There was also apparently dissatisfaction over the failure of the leadership to implement the plan of action. Mr Sibeko was buried in Gaberone on 1 July at a funeral attended by more than 2,000 people. A statement issued by the PAC national executive on the occasion of the funeral said that the outbreak of violence in the PAC was part of the malaise which had bedevilled the movement for the past decade. Mr Sibeko was not killed as a result of any power struggle in the PAC, it said, but as a result of the infiltration into the organisation of enemies intent on destroying the organisation.58 At the OAU conference in Monrovia later in the month, Mr Make was reported to have said that the PAC had split into two well-armed factions waging open war against each other. Gross indiscipline and gangsterism were rife in the organisation. The split in the organisation had widened after the formation of the Azanian People's Revolutionary Party (APRP). It was highly critical of Mr Leballo's actions during the sixties and accused him of having received money from a Western intelligence agency. A number of PAC central committee members and about 60 supporters in Dar-es-Salaam were ordered to dissociate themselves from the APRP and to declare their loyalty to Leballo or face expulsion. Almost all were expelled and this was followed by Mr Leballo's own resignation.59 In October at a meeting in Dar-es-Salaam Mr Vusumuzi Make was elected as chairman.
In July it was reported that Tsietsi Mashinini had been deposed as leader of the banned and exiled Soweto Students' Representative Council. He was seen as having distanced himself from the real issues facing students, accused of flirting with the press and of misrepresenting the students in his tours abroad. He was also criticised for having given an interview to the alleged government-funded magazine, Pace, without the consent of his colleagues. The SSRC changed its name to the Young Revolutionary Council with Khotso Seathlolo as leader.

A new exile movement, the Black Consciousness Movement of SA (BCMSA), was formed in June with offices in London, New York, Bonn, Lesotho and Central Africa. It represented the Black People's Convention, SA Students' Organisation, Black Community Programmes, National Youth Organisation, SA Student Movement and the Black and Allied Workers' Union. It saw itself as an external wing complementing the black consciousness leaders banned or detained inside SA who were never voted out of office.

It aimed at providing information to refugees, assisting them with their problems and attempting to create unity between the ANC and PAC. The organisers of the new movement said that many black exiles became disillusioned by the disunity they found in exile politics and called on the Black Consciousness Movement to initiate a process of unification. They also wanted to escape from confining their loyalties to either of the particular organisations. A conference to elect the leadership was organised in August, before which the organisers hoped to meet with ANC and PAC officials. In the interim leaders were appointed. The president was Mr Ranwedzi Nengwenkulu, (Botswana) chairman of interim committee, Mr Barney Pityana, secretary and vicechairman, Mr Lingham Moodley, treasurer, Ms Dimza Pityana, organising secretary, Mr Molefe Pheto, education and welfare secretary, Ms Nomtuse Mbere, publicity secretary, Mr Ujebe Mosokoane, administrative secretary, Mr Haroun Variava, New York committee chairman, Mr Andrew Lukhele, vice chairman, Mr Zondi Mkhwanazi, secretary, Mr Tau Mokgoro, treasurer, Mr Ben Koape, Bonn representative, Mr Mogobe Ramosi, Central African committee chairman, Mr Bafana Buthelezi and Lesotho representative Mr Thami Zani.

The ANC dismissed the BCMSA as 'divisive' in that, however well intentioned, the attempt to create another organisation served to divide the revolutionary forces and mislead people. Before its banning and subsequent exile the ANC, according to reports, had recognised

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the black consciousness movement as a genuine force for revolution in SA. Attempts by the ANC to establish more contacts and to seek common ground with black consciousness leaders outside the country in the early seventies had been rejected. These external representatives apparently criticised the leadership, policy and strategy of the ANC when reporting back to the internal leadership. The ANC regarded these individuals as careerists motivated by personal interest. They were
concerned about the fate of black consciousness members outside SA and not with planning action to be taken against SA.63
A conference held in October with the aim of explaining the meaning of black consciousness and of unifying the ANC and PAC was attended by representatives of the ANC, PAC, SAYRC and the AntiApartheid Movement (British). At the conference capitalism was identified as the problem in SA, and the fear was expressed that the emphasis on colour and bourgeois nationalism by the black consciousness movement would result in a future SA being dominated by capitalism and imperialism.

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THE CHURCHES
Relations between the English-speaking churches and the Government remained strained with all churches questioning the compatibility of christian teachings with Government policy. Criticism by church leaders, particularly of detention
without trial, action against squatters, the migrant labour system, influx control and resettlement camps, was voiced throughout the year.

Outspoken criticism occurred when the Government decided to proceed with the execution of the convicted Goch Street guerrilla, Solomon Mahlangu, despite pleas for clemency made by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, and other church leaders. Leading a commemorative prayer meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand, Bishop Tutu warned that SA was heading for a bloodbath if whites did not recognise and accommodate the aspirations of their black fellow-countrymen.2

Dissension between the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk and its black 'daughter' churches came to the fore once again. The black churches continued to reject their white counterpart's policy of providing separate churches for different racial groups, perceiving this as an extension of the apartheid policy of the Government.

Reaction to the World Council of Churches

The appeal directed to the SA Government for clemency for Solomon Mahlangu by Dr Philip Potter, general secretary of the WCC, renewed the debate over the continued membership of the body by SA churches. Reacting to this, and the earlier WCC decision to continue funding the Programme to Combat Racism, the Rev Fred Shaw, leader of the extremely conservative Christian League of SA, called on the grassroots membership of SA English-speaking churches to pressurise the leadership of the churches to withdraw from the WCC. Bishop Tutu and other church leaders in SA, such as the Rev Donald Veysie, president of the Methodist Conference of Southern Africa, had earlier rejected withdrawing from WCC membership on the grounds that there was a definite willingness on the part of the WCC to listen to local churches.

SA Council of Churches

The annual conference of the SACC, held at Hammanskraal in July, had as its theme 'The Church and the Alternative Society'. Bishop Tutu attacked the political order in SA as unchristian and said that for a christian SA, as it was at present ordered, was not worth dying for. In a wide-ranging address Bishop Tutu called on the new Minister of justice to restore the rule of law, condemned the use of violence whether perpetrated by "so-called terrorists or by defence and security forces" and condemned the failure of whites to condemn the killing of civilians in hot pursuit raids or the structural violence inherent in SA's political system. Earlier Bishop Tutu had commended the Minister of Co-operation and Development Dr P. Koornhof's actions in respect of Crossroads and Alexandra and the moratorium on raids for so-called illegals in the Johannesburg area, but noted that there was still no sign of fundamental change in SA. He explained his reasons for refusing to serve on one of the regional committees on urban Africans which were set up by Dr Koornhof (see section on urban Africans). Bishop Tutu said that the preconditions for meaningful dialogue in SA were the abolition of the pass laws and bantu education, the abandonment of removals and resettlement of people, and a national convention.
Addressing the conference Rev Jesse Jackson, the US civil rights leader, called for black unity in order to promote the cause of national liberation in SA. Describing apartheid as "legal genocide with social acceptance" Rev Jackson said blacks were in a state of slavery in SA.
The conference resolved to offer moral encouragement to those who contravened race laws in order to commit themselves to acts of inter-racial fellowship. It also resolved that it believed that churches should withdraw from co-operation with the State as far as possible and recommended that churches should withdraw from the legal formalities of marrying people because racial laws imposed restrictions on clergymen licensed as marriage officers. In accordance with these resolutions the SACC's Justice and Reconciliation Division was instructed to examine the 'strategies of resistance' which should be adopted.
The resolutions were passed after speeches on the subject by Dr Allan Boesak, who proposed a massive civil disobedience campaign, Ds S. Buti, who said that apartheid worked "because we co-operate with it", and Bishop Manas Buthelezi, who expressed the feeling that the time for issuing pious statements was passed and that action must now be the watchword. In an open letter to the Prime Minister, Ds Buti appealed to him to lead SA in a new direction-one of conciliation and negotiation with representatives chosen by the black community from the banned ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement. Die Vaderland expressed serious misgivings about Ds Buti's political and economic acumen. Beeld, another Johannesburg Afrikaans daily, attacked Bishop Tutu's statement that the law had suffered more from law-makers than law-breakers in SA, described him as politically mishievous for advocating negotiations with the representatives of the ANC and PAC and suggested that the SACC was condoning acts of terrorism. Bishop Tutu rejected this suggestion.
In September while on a visit to Denmark, Bishop Tutu stated he found it "rather disgraceful that Denmark is buying SA coal and increasing a dependence on SA, whereas one would hope that we could get SA having a weaker position in bargaining, so that we would get this change as quickly as possible".5 There was widespread criticism of this statement as it was construed as advocating trade boycott. The Minister of Justice, Mr A.L. Schlebusch, expressed his disgust at the call and the managing director of the Transvaal Coal Owners Association, Mr R.C. Bird said about 40 000 black workers on SA coal mines would suffer if overseas countries stopped importing SA coal.
On a number of occasions during the year Mr Schlebusch accused the SACC of distorting christian doctrine for political gain and warned that it must be "prepared to face the results" of its actions. Following Bishop Tutu's statement in Denmark he warned that action, which he declined to specify, might be taken against the Bishop.
On 8 October Bishop Tutu was summoned to a meeting with the Minister of justice and the Minister of Co-operation and Development. The Bishop was reportedly issued with an ultimatum either to retract his Denmark statement or face the possibility of action against both himself and the SACC.6 Two days later Mr Louis Le Grange, Minister of Police, attacked the SACC, warning it and leftist ministers and spiritual leaders to desist from irresponsible actions and encouraging people to break the law, and condemning its 'propaganda actions'.

Following a meeting of the executive council of the SACC in midOctober, the council issued a statement to the effect that Bishop Tutu, because of his calling, was under an obligation to express his convictions on the situation facing SA. The Council, while acknowledging differences of opinion among its members on the nature and extent of economic pressure to bring about change, shared his belief that any retraction or apology for his statement in this instance would constitute a denial of his prophetic calling. The council declared its willingness to participate in meaningful discussions with the Government on fundamental change.

Bishop Tutu repeated his call for economic pressure to promote political change in SA at the annual conference of the Methodist Church. Describing it as the last means of achieving peaceful change in SA he said that SA exported coal which was needed in the country, so as to increase the dependence of other countries on it. Actual economic boycotts might however not be necessary, he said, since if "the threat of economic sanctions could bring us to the negotiating table, that is all one requires"9

The English-speaking Churches

Roman Catholic Church

The clash between the Government and the church on school admissions flared up again during the year. After the hard line adopted by the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Sybrand van Niekerk, Catholic school authorities said they would close their schools rather than give up the right to admit pupils regardless of race. The dispute was defused by the resignation of Mr van Niekerk in June and the undertaking by his successor to investigate the whole question before making any decision on the matter (see Chapter on Education-General Matters).

The right wing SA Catholic Defence League continued to oppose the direction taken by the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, urging the bishops to turn away from secular protest and concentrate on propagating the gospel. However, the SABC continued to issue statements on matters of conscience regardless of whether these were construed as interfering in secular affairs or not. The guiding philosophy behind this

stand was that christianity was a way of life and as such affected every aspect of life in SA.

Anglican Church

The statement by the Right Rev Burnett, Archbishop of Cape Town and head of the Church of the Province of South Africa, that the Church of the Province rejected the "apparently unconditional support for, and identification of the Church with, particular political movements, or governments for that matter" provoked opposition in the Anglican church. Questioning the raison d'être of the
Anglican church in SA, Fathers John Osmer and Michael Lapsley accused the church of supporting the status quo in SA by its actions. They warned that the church was in danger of losing its credibility as a force for change among the black community in SA.

Calling for compulsory education and better wages for all, Archbishop Burnett attacked the continued separation of Christians on racial grounds and stressed the need for the church and its individual members to be involved in attempting to improve the worst aspects of oppressive social structures.

In September the synod of the diocese of Johannesburg adopted a resolution calling on church schools to open their doors to pupils of all races. Noting that provincial opposition to integrating private schools was the most blatant in the Transvaal, the synod resolved that "church schools should be guided by the laws of God in the matter of integration" and challenged Anglican church schools to admit black pupils without regard for the consequences.

The synod of the Anglican church was held in Grahamstown during December. Archbishop Burnett told the synod that he was prepared to see the church as an institution in SA disappear due to defiance of Government policy on permits.

Other controversial synod resolutions were the decision to give qualified approval to the WCC’s programme to combat racism and the recognition that some Christians felt morally bound to use armed force to challenge the SA political order.

Methodist Church
The debate in the Methodist Church over the role of ministers in the SA military was renewed in 1979. A resolution calling on Methodist chaplains to avoid wearing military uniforms was presented at the annual synod of the south-western Transvaal district of the church by the Rev Walter Mbete. The debates on the role of Methodist chaplains in the military and on the World Council of Churches emphasised the continuing tensions in the church over the use of violence by those attacking and defending the SA State.

The controversial resolution adopted at last year's annual conference when it was decided to examine ways in which Methodist ministers would be able to minister to both the SA military and the guerrilla forces opposing it, still had to be given effect. According to the Rev Peter Storey, deputy-chairman of the synod, the church was still looking into the ways in which the resolution could be applied.

The annual conference of the Methodist Church held in October resolved to refer the SACC's appeal that it support the civil disobedience resolutions passed at Hammanskraal to its local governing bodies for their decision.

Presbyterian Church
The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa met in September. In a report entitled Church and Nation presented to the assembly, the indivisibility of politics and religion was stressed. To attempt to separate them,
the authors said, would be "to condemn the world to godless powers, atheistic programmes and human self-centredness". Among the resolutions adopted by the assembly, the church supported "the right of young men to be conscientious objectors in SA, provided their motives are sincere" and called for the restrictions on open debate of conscientious objection to be abolished. Presbyterians were urged to make inter-racial contact, support bodies exposing conditions promoting bitterness and strife, speak out as christians in public life and pray for the SA authorities.

Other resolutions included the expression of concern at forced resettlement, calls for the phasing out of the pass laws and influx control and for increased wages for farm labourers. A resolution calling for the withdrawal of the church from membership of the WCC was decisively defeated. Opposing the motion, the Rev David Wanless said that the church must retain its membership so that it could "make its own voice and opinion known" in the World Council.

The Dutch Reformed Churches

The possibility that links between the Dutch Gereformeerde Kerken and the SA NGK would be resumed soon was mooted in April when according to press reports the Dutch group reacted positively both to the SA church's definitive report 'Race, People and Nation' and to suggestions that links between the two churches should be renewed. The suggestion was apparently made despite the Dutch delegation's confirmation that their church would continue to support the WCC's special programme to combat racism and the Patriotic Front. Ties were broken last year after the Dutch church's decision to resume contributions to the WCC programme. Discussions between the NGK and the Swiss Federation of Protestant Churches resulted in the issuing of a joint declaration on the role of the church in SA as bringing about "reconciliation and mutual understanding and acceptance" and not as a vehicle to preserve the cultural heritage of its members. Despite the possibility of the resumption of links with the Dutch churches, the possibility that the black churches would split off from the NGK became an issue in 1979 once again. The black churches expressed increasing opposition to the concept of segregated churches and threatened to break off all ties if complete unification at all levels was not introduced.

The possibility of a split in the NGK was averted at the General Synod of the black NGKA which was attended by observers from the Dutch and Swiss churches. The synod decided to refer the matter of a united multiracial NGK to a General Synodal Commission for study. Attempts by conservatives to gain control of the high offices of the church were largely successful. Ds Buti was narrowly defeated in his bid to become moderator of the church by the conservative Ds M. Le-

bone of Vryburg, and two other conservatives, one of them white, were elected to the positions of assessor and actuary respectively. Ds Buti was elected scriba. The conservative assault on positions previously adopted by the African church's synod at Worcester in 1975 where for the first time the church took a strong stand against apartheid was partially successful. The synod agreed that although white missionaries must now become members of the black church the white NGK
would still have some control over them. However, an attempt to bring about the break-away of the African church from the SACC was defeated after the intervention of Ds Buti who, although strongly attacked by the conservative faction at the synod, proposed that the question should be referred to a special committee which would report to the next National Synod in two years' time. Ds Buti expressed the opinion that "perhaps things will have changed for the better then".

Following the synod the three black NGK churches, the African NGKA, the coloured Nederduits Sending Kerk and the Indian Reformed Church in Africa, formed an ecumenical alliance, the Broederkring. In July it was announced that the Broederkring had been admitted as a member organisation of the SACC.

The disclosure that the NGK was one of the recipients of the defunct Department of Information's secret funds sparked off a serious row in the church. The former Secretary for Information, Dr Eschel Rhodie, said that the money had been given to the church so that it could assist in the plan to undermine the WCC. The disclosure re-opened the possibility of a split between the white NGK and its three sister churches. Some black churchmen viewed the funding as further proof of their contention of collusion between the Afrikaners' main church and the NP.

Dr J.D. Vorster, Cape Moderator and brother of the former Prime Minister and State President, Mr B.J. Vorster, and the general synod's Moderator, Dr E.P.J. Kleynhans, defended the church's acceptance of the money on the grounds that the church had acted honourably since it had accepted the money for use against "the enemies of our yolk". Dr Vorster's interpretation was attacked by Prof J.J.F. Durand of the University of the Western Cape. Prof Durand said that Dr Vorster's defence was predictable but incorrect since it blurred the distinction between church and 'yolk'.

Donations to enable the church to repay the money were sent to the general synod. Despite the announcement by Dr Kleynhans in August that donations would be returned to the donors, individual members of the church continued to send unsolicited donations for the purpose of repaying the money.

Earlier two prominent NGK theologians, Prof David Bosch and Prof Ben Marais both of Unisa, called on the church to confess that it had been morally wrong to accept the money. They said that the church's acceptance of the money was not an error of judgment but a moral error which had to be confessed.

In October the Cape synod of the NGK resolved that "all racial discrimination which conflicted with the ethical norm of love for one's neighbour, which included justice, and conflicted with the principle that all people enjoy equal status before God, was in conflict with the Biblical message" and that it was the duty of the church to proclaim

63 Dutch Reformed Churches

64 that all such forms of racial discrimination were in conflict with the word of God. However, the synod also resolved that "the practical implementation of this principle does not imply that in practice the diverMixed sity of people may not be taken into account".10
Worship

Mixed worship at churches in the common area

After the decision to leave the question of mixed worship largely to the churches themselves several churches decided to desegregate their congregations. Disputes arose in some churches as to how the desegregation was to be implemented, while others refused to desegregate.

The South African Christian Leadership Assembly

The decision to hold the SACLA conference, the theme of which was 'Christian Leadership in SA Today', met with opposition from various circles in SA. The conference was attacked by elements in the leadership of the NGK, the right wing SA Catholic Defence League, the Christian League of Southern Africa and Action Moral Standards on the grounds that it would bring about unrest in the country, and that it was a front for the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly and the WCC. The claim was denied by one of the conference's organisers, Prof David Bosch.

The multiracial, interdenominational conference, attended by 5 000 churchmen and women, issued no statements and passed no resolutions and could best be described, in the words of one participant, as an exercise in communication. The wide divergence among groups attending the conference was reflected by the crushing by the chairman of a proposal that SACLA pledge itself to trying to eradicate the pass laws, mass removals, unemployment, differential education, the migratory labour system, the Group Areas Act and the Immorality Act.

Explaining the conference's avoidance of resolutions, Prof Bosch said that it was too diverse to adopt a meaningful joint approach and that in such a situation statements could become a substitute for action. Professor Bosch said he hoped that regional and denominational committees would be established as a result of the conference.

Christian League of Southern Africa

Allegations that the Christian League was a recipient of secret funds from the defunct Department of Information were made during the year. In September the former secretary of the Department of Information, Dr Eschel Rhoodie, released a purported Government document to the Dutch magazine, Elseviers, containing a list of secret funds totalling R229 314 to the year ending 31 March 1978, which the Christian League had allegedly received. This allegation, like earlier allegations of funding by the Department of Information, was denied by Rev Fred Shaw, head of the Christian League and by Dr John Mitchell, chairman of the body.

At the conference of the Methodist Church held in October a resolution was adopted to establish a commission to investigate the allegations because in the opinion of the conference the Rev Fred Shaw, a Methodist, had not adequately refuted the allegations. In December the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R.F. Botha, acknowledged that the Christian League was partially funded by the Department of Information.

Mixed Worship

References
LAY ORGANISATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

The activities of many organisations, eg trade unions, service organisations and employers' organisations, are necessarily to a greater or lesser degree involved in the field of race relations. This section deals solely with those organisations whose aims are clearly defined as the betterment or study of race relations in SA.

SA Institute of Race Relations

The Institute commemorated its 50th Anniversary during the year. The 50th Anniversary Conference was held in Johannesburg in June, the theme being 'Towards Racial Justice'. The following papers were delivered:

- 'Comparative approaches to the resolution of racial conflict' by Mr Mark Bonham-Carter;
- 'International pressure and the resolution of racial conflict' by Mr Connor Cruise O'Brien;
- 'Suggested directions for the future' by Dr Francis Wilson;
- 'Guidelines for the private sector' by Prof Jill Nattrass;
- 'Political structures for multiracial societies' by Prof L Schlemmer;
- 'Planning for a multi-racial democracy in Azania/SA' by Prof David Welsh.

The 1979 Alfred and Winifred Hoenl& Memorial Lecture was delivered by Mr Alan Paton, ex-President of the defunct Liberal Party and noted author, and was entitled 'Towards racial justice: will there be a change of heart?'.

The Presidential address, entitled 'Independent Homelands failure of a fiction' was delivered by the Institute's president, Prof John Dugard.

In September the Institute appointed a new Director, Mr John Rees, ex-General Secretary of the SACC, to replace Dr F van Wyk who retired. In November Mr René de Villiers was elected President of the Institute.

Various activities of the Institute are dealt with in the relevant sections of this Survey.

The Urban Foundation

Founded in March 1977 with the aim of improving the quality of life in SA's black townships, the Foundation has concentrated on four specific areas: housing, improvement of the physical environment, employment and education and training. The Foundation aims according to justice J H Steyn, the organisation's executive director, not to be viewed as a charitable organisation but rather an organisation which initiates self-help projects among the black community. It perceives its role as acting as a catalyst in motivating and focussing the resources of the private sector in the fields in which it is active.
During the period 1 March 1977 to 28 February 1979 the Foundation approved projects in the following areas:

Housing:
Education/Training: Community Facilities: Health Services: Other:
Investigation, Feasibility Studies:

R
Total Cost 1 778 740 2 156 668 1 827 054
860 315 190 150 159 100
67
Organisations Concerned With Race Relations
% of Total
26
31 26 12
3
2

As at 28 February 1979 the following projects had been completed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing:</td>
<td>4      50900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/Training:</td>
<td>26     923 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Facilities:</td>
<td>18     449 928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Services:</td>
<td>2      23996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>16     53940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Foundation had raised loans totalling R439 300 000 from foreign sources for use in its projects.

From the beginning of 1979 the Foundation decided that it would shift its emphasis and concentrate on education and training particularly in three areas. These were the provision of education and training facilities for adults, particularly where this related to employment opportunities, pre-school education and schooling itself. As a part of this shift in emphasis it was decided in March to donate R40 000 to establish an Adult Education Centre offering Senior Certificate courses in Landsdown, Cape, and invest Rlm in the Jabulani Technical Centre in Soweto. The centre began operating in April. Up to 31 August the Foundation had spent R5 744 000 (44% of its total expenditure to date) on educational projects.

A conference organised by the Foundation in August stressed the need for rural as well as urban development. Through its shift of emphasis the Foundation had become involved in the rural areas of KwaZulu earlier in the year. As a result of the conference the expectation was raised that it would go truly country-wide and attempt to assist blacks in both the urban and rural areas.

The Black Sash
Despite the severe limitation on public protest due to SA's security legislation, the Black Sash continued to oppose injustice by all possible means.

Organisations Concerned With Race Relations
legal means. As the Riotous Assemblies Act is still applicable to the holding of open air public meetings, the members of the Sash held single person public protests in the country's major centres to protest against continued pass law arrests, detentions without trial and bannings. Other methods included letters to the press, members of parliament, cabinet ministers and the lobbying of opposition MP's. The Sash also strongly opposed to the 'press gag' clause of the Advocate-General Bill.

Branches of the organisation operated in six regions. The Eastern Cape branch, closed last year due to Security Police harassment, was not re-opened. Seven Advice Offices, offering legal advice and assistance to the many Africans who fell foul of the country's laws, particularly the pass laws, continued to be operated by the organisation. After the increase of the fine (to R500) for employers employing 'illegal' Africans, the Sash's offices were overrun with Africans seeking assistance.

Human Awareness Programme
The Human Awareness Programme, established by the SA Institute of Race Relations in 1977, is a national group of programmes which promotes an informed public opinion and encourages the realisation by whites of the need for other groups to participate in decision-making processes.

The Programme is registered as an educational trust. It has branches in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban and functions as a resource and information centre concerned with promoting attitude change.

The Human Awareness Programme aims at assisting organisations in communicating the need for change. It also initiates its own projects towards this end.

Current programmes include meetings on a regular basis with groups which feel they have a role to play in attitude-change, eg businessmen, teachers, church and community workers, etc. The Human Awareness Programme is also involved in setting up a media resource centre by making and collecting audio-visual programmes. The Media Department offers video equipment and slide/tape equipment to organisations and individuals keen to make their own programmes. The Print Department offers low-budget printing facilities. The Information Department is involved with the initiation and consolidation of informational resources in specific areas.

Centre for Intergroup Studies
The centre continued its activities under the directorship of Prof H.W. van der Merwe. A major national project - 'The Constructive Programme for Sound Intergroup Relations' - was launched during the year. The Constructive Programme's aim is to give general guidance to the public, community leaders and organisations in order to overcome racial and economic discrimination.

As part of the programme the centre embarked on research to prepare a handbook, entitled 'Statutory and Customary Discrimination and Current Trends in SA'. The book is to be published in 1980. In February the centre, in co-operation with the Human Awareness Programme, organised a workshop on the role of voluntary organisations.
in the promotion of an open society. A book, Democracy at work in SA: The Role of Organisations in Promoting an Open Society, which was based on the workshop, was published during the year.

The centre also conducted a survey into Shell SA's commitment to eliminate racial discrimination. Results revealed that some segregation still existed, a feeling among white employees that the company was advancing blacks too quickly, and scepticism among black employees of the company's commitment to advance blacks because there were relatively few blacks in senior posts. The latter two points revealed the continuing gap between black and white perceptions in SA. A followup study, the purpose of which is to develop in more detail a number of recommendations which are to be presented to Shell SA in order to overcome the remaining instances of discrimination, is being undertaken.

The centre was engaged in other areas of research as well.

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA)

The publication of a book by Schalk Pienaar Getuie van Groot Tyd (Witness of Great Times) earlier in the year containing an attack on exPrime Minister, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, for destroying SABRA and turning it into a third-class organisation the sole purpose of which was to act as an exuberant exponent of Government policy, drew immediate response from Dr C.J. Jooste, director of SABRA. Defending Dr Verwoerd's role, Dr Jooste said that the part of SABRA destroyed by Dr Verwoerd needed to be destroyed as it had fallen under the leftist-radical influence of the SA Institute of Race Relations.4

At a SABRA youth congress jointly organised by SABRA and the Department of National Education in April, Dr Jooste called for the redrawing of SA's borders and for greater consolidation of the homelands so as to achieve the ideal of each people in their own country under their own authorities.' Describing massive population resettlements as impractical, Dr Jooste advocated the planning of new urban industrial areas near to the supply of labour. In these areas the local population should have primary access to work opportunities. Dr Jooste repeated this call at various times during the year.

The following organisations remained active in the field of race relations (see last year's Survey, pages 47-49, for details of their aims):

Mowbray Inter-Race Group
Aksa (Action South Africa)
Women's Legal Status Committee
Women for Peace
Kontak

References

'The Urban Foundation, Supplementary Progress Report, November 1978 to February 1979
2 Sunday Times 28 January
'Sunday Tribune 12 August
Transvaler 22 January
Ibid 12 April
6 Ibid
69
Organisations Concerned With Race Relations

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Population Estimates and Vital Statistics

Estimates of the population of SA (excluding Bophuthatswana and the Transkei) for mid-1978 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4408 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2494 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>778 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>16214000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23 894 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mid-1977 estimates of the SA population including Bophuthatswana and the Transkei were given in last year's Survey p 49. Estimates of the total SA population including Bophuthatswana and the Transkei for 1979 were given as 27 400 000 by the Bureau of Market Research.2

A breakdown of the estimated African population by ethnic group (excluding the estimated de facto population of Bophuthatswana and the Transkei) is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>3040000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>5244000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>611 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>2 037 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1 364 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seshoeshoe</td>
<td>1 686 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangaan</td>
<td>788 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>466 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>579 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Africans</td>
<td>399 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16214000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population of the Homelands
The following projections for 1978 were provided by Benso (Bureau vir Ekonomiese Navorsing: Same Ontwikkeling-Bureau for Economic Research: Cooperation and Development-formerly Benbo).

They are based on the mid-year estimates of the Department of Statistics and take into account resettlement figures and border alterations as far as possible:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>De Facto Population</th>
<th>Population of South Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>1 246 700</td>
<td>26 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>553 700</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>353 200</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>219000</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Birth, infant death, death and natural increase per 1,000 for the white, coloured and Asian groups for 1977 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant death</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural increase</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar statistics are not available for Africans due to incomplete registration of births and deaths. However, in reply to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Statistics said that the natural increase rate in 1978 for Africans was 28.0 per thousand population.

Immigration and Emigration

Recent migration figures were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>24822</td>
<td>18669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigrants</td>
<td>26000</td>
<td>20686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Gain/Loss</td>
<td>-1 178</td>
<td>-2 017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Immigrants   | 13454 | 13137 |
| Emigrants    | 16842 | 11891 |
| Net Gain/Loss | -3 028 | + 1 246 |

During 1978 SA experienced the second consecutive net outflow of people. Of the 20,686 people who emigrated 3,225 were classified as professionals. During 1978 931 more 'professionals' left SA than entered the country.
Schedule 1 of the Act. These are mainly common law offences but include offences under the Abuse of Dependence Producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act, No 41 of 1971;
(iii) persons convicted of any offences listed in Schedule 1 (a) of the Act. These are statute law crimes and include offences under SA's security legislation, the Immorality Act, the Indecent or Obscene Photographic Matter Act and the Price Control Act; and
(iv) persons who are mentally ill, deaf and dumb, deaf and blind or otherwise physically affected and who are unable to assure the Minister that they are able to be supported while in the Republic or be removed, when and if it is required by the Minister, from the Republic.

The amendment was generally an uncontentious measure as most of the provisions are in existence in similar legislation in other countries. The main difference lies in the offences listed under Schedule 1(a).

Race Classification
In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of the Interior and Immigration said the race classification of 192 South Africans was changed during 1978. Details of the changes in classification were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Classification</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coloured to White</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White to Cape Coloured</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian to Malay</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay to Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coloured to Indian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coloured to Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian to Cape Coloured</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian to White</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White to Malay</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black to Indian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White to Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>192</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts
According to the Report of the Department of Statistics in the year July 1977 to June 1978 the police investigated 363 suspected contraventions of section 16 of the Immorality Act (which prohibits miscegenation across the black-white colour line). Of these 295 were charged.

The Act was given widespread publicity by two events in the year. In the first case police, investigating complaints relating to a suspected contravention of Section 16, burst into the flat of a white woman. Five policemen were subsequently found guilty of tresspassing and searching the flat without a warrant to do so. In the second case an African woman sued a white for maintenance for her child allegedly fathered by him. Dismissing the claim the judge said that there was no evidence to support the woman's claim which was denied by the defendant.
In an interview with the BBC in May the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, said that there was no moral or religious objection to marriages between people of different racial groups. The problems lay in the difficulties which children of such marriages would experience in SA. As these problems were removed, he promised a new approach to the issue.

The debate in Afrikaner academic circles on the necessity or otherwise of the laws continued in 1979. A pamphlet written by two students at Potchefstroom University and published by the Afrikaanse Studentebond recommended the repeal of Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act because they were indefensible in Christian terms. The annual conference of the Afrikaanse Studentebond again referred the question for further investigation.

Leaders of the NP, however, remained committed to the laws although differences of emphasis began to emerge.

Speaking at the Cape congress of the National Party in September Mr Botha said that the Government was prepared to consider suggestions to change the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts. Mr Botha told the congress that no act could be regarded as a 'holy cow' and said he would not tolerate laws which insulted people. He said that from a practical point of view mixed marriages remained undesirable but conceded that 'there is a problem when people really love each other and want to get married'.

Referring to Section 16 of the Immorality Act Mr Botha said that 'immorality of any sort must be fought in any country. If we can improve the Immorality Act, not only in connection with people of different races, but in all areas, I will be amenable to any suggestion'. Highly placed Government sources, commenting on Mr Botha's statement, said the groundwork had to be prepared to remove from the statute book all laws regulating social behaviour on the basis of race. Most NP supporters viewed the Acts as the foundation of apartheid because they form the basis of maintaining separate race groups.

Mr Botha's statement was welcomed by Dr F.E. O'Brien Geldenhuys, chief executive officer of the NGK, who said that it was now even more important for the NGK and its daughter churches to finalise discussions which they had been holding on the issue so that it could express its opinion. Opposition spokesmen were surprised by the Prime Minister's statement. Mr Kowie Marais, PFP spokesman on justice matters, said the PFP would support the Prime Minister 'if he is serious about scrapping them'.

Population of South Africa

References
All statistics from Dept of Statistics Bulletin of Statistics June 1979 except where otherwise indicated.
2 Transvaler 29 May Bureau for Economic Research Co-operation and Development, 17 September
Both internal politics and international relations were determined by the Government’s perception of a 'total onslaught' against SA which necessitated a 'total strategy'. The Defence White Paper said that the military threat against SA was intensifying at an alarming rate and the country was being thrown to an increasing degree on its own resources to ensure survival. Guerilla warfare was the major threat, it said, and growing interference by major powers might result in an intensified military confrontation in Southern Africa. The Minister of National Education, opening the second session of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly, said the choice facing SA was "one between Christian values, free competition and democracy on the one hand and a nationalised economy and a totalitarian, atheistic state on the other".2

One of the responses to the perceived threat was the preparation for war against the guerillas and the neighbouring states harbouring them. Speaking in the Assembly, the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence Mr P.W. Botha said that SA would not tolerate neighbouring countries harbouring and supporting guerilla fighters to attack SA. This applied in particular to SWAPO or any other group aimed against SA in order to wreck the settlement plan in SWA or to try to sow disorder in SA. If neighbouring countries accepted arms from foreign powers in order to make their countries launching pads for attacks against SA, they were making a mistake the price of which would be higher than they could conceive.3

In March the UN Security Council passed a resolution condemning "acts of aggression" against SWAPO bases in Angola and in August the Angolan government demanded compensation for continuing SA raids over the past three years, which it claimed had killed at least 1 383 people, wounded 1 915 and caused nearly R254m in damage.4 It also claimed that SA troops supported by tanks and artillery had captured the southern Angolan town of Calais on 19 May, that the SA Government was providing arms to UNITA, and that in October SA aircraft dropped bombs in the Huila and Cunene provinces. On 2 November the UN Security Council again condemned the raids of SA into Angola, which were allegedly not solely aimed at Swapo bases. The SADF denied the claims., In September and again in October the Zambian government claimed that SA aircraft and troops had conducted raids into Zambia to destroy Swapo camps. In July the OAU established a committee to consider proposals on how to stop SA raids against neighbouring frontline states. The extent of military preparation in all spheres of white SA society is documented in the pages below. The second solution offered was to attempt to unify the society Defence behind a 'total strategy' in order to defuse a potentially revolutionary
situation. The retention of the defence portfolio by the Prime Minister was an indication of the centrality of military concerns in the determination of Government policy. General Magnus Malan, chief of the Defence Force, said that a total strategy involved the mobilisation behind the Government of all facets of society including commerce, industry and the media with the goal of uniting the country against assaults by communism. "It means a national re-orientation aimed at survival while at the same time ensuring the continued advancement of the well being of all South Africans. It demands an unprecedented flexibility to shift back and forth along a sliding scale between a war and a peace economy according to prevailing priorities. This demand on which our survival may well depend means that the economy must be able to handle at the same time conflict and development, survival and growth, central guidance and free enterprise." He also stressed the strategic importance of gaining the "trust and faith" of the local population as insurgent forces had no hope of success without their aid. The aspirations of black people must be taken into account and they must be given something to strive for, he said. The most powerful weapon of the enemy was the psychological one which aimed at mobilising black opinion against the white rulers of the country.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that whites should have the courage to put right those things which were unfair to other racial groups so that those groups would have something to fight for in the onslaught against SAs.

The third strategy was a redefinition of SA's role in Southern Africa and of SA's relations with the West (see section on foreign policy), both responses to SA's embattled position. Regarding the West, SA's military leaders issued several statements during the year to the effect that Western countries, in their negotiations over Rhodesia and SWA/Namibia, had compromised too far with the demands of the guerilla forces to the extent of endangering the continued existence of those societies. The US in particular could no longer be regarded as the guarantor of those states. The SA Government planned to establish a constellation of Southern African states which, according to Dr G. de V. Morrison (NP), "could form a mighty bulwark against Marxist penetration into the southern tip of Africa." Speaking during the NoConfidence Debate, the Prime Minister said that he offered Southern Africa a non-aggression pact to fight communism, with SA being prepared to contribute its share in practice as it had done in SWA/Namibia. The constellation would include economic, transport and other kinds of co-operation in addition to military co-operation. In addition to the commitment to continue to be militarily involved in SWA/Namibia the Prime Minister also expressed a commitment to military involvement under certain circumstances in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia which he regarded as a key state in Southern Africa. If chaos and disorder were created in that country, he said, parliament would be convened to consider the matter." In December SA was internationally condemned for the presence of troops in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia (see section on Zimbabwe/Rhodesia).
The restriction on reporting of military affairs without the approval 77 of the SADF continued. A new agreement between the Newspaper Press Union and the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr J.H. Coetzee, was signed in March according to which reports published or broadcast Defence abroad on defence matters could be published in SA provided that the source was clearly indicated and that the Minister of Defence or his representative had been given the opportunity to comment. However, all reports on SA’s military weapons or the supply of arms to the country would still have to be cleared with the SADF.2

In December, a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr Justice M.T. Steyn was appointed to inquire into and make recommendations on, among other things, ways of reconciling, without detriment to the State: on the one hand the interests of the news media in informing the public and the latter's right to be informed on the affairs of the State. On the other hand the interests of the State and its citizens and the general interests of the SADF and the Armaments Supply Industry which require that newsworthy information should sometimes not be made known. Announcing the Commission, the Minister of Defence said that faced with the total onslaught against SA the Government had to take cognisance of the role played by the media in building up or breaking down the nation's morale. The systematic denigration of the SADF had become a priority objective of SA's enemies, he said. Fears were expressed that more restrictions on the press were imminent and the Commission was criticised for consisting predominantly of members of the SADF or active members of the Citizen Force and for excluding representatives of the press.

Expenditure and Finance

The estimates of expenditure on defence from the State Revenue Account for 1979-80 were as follows:"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>R1 612 400 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public works and military bases</td>
<td>70 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>R1 682 400 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was an increase of R58 025 000 in the amount voted on defence compared with the previous year's estimates. As a result of a surplus in the State Revenue Account an additional amount of R245m was made available for expenditure in 1979-80 (included in the above total). Of the total, R1 061 788 300 was appropriated for the secret Special Defence Account, the expenditure of which is not governed by Parliament.

According to the Defence White Paper, R2 444 664 had been accumulated in the SA Defence Force Fund as at 31 December 1978. The Southern Cross Fund, which through its 250 branches throughout the country acts as full-time fundraiser for the SA Defence Force Fund, made the largest single contribution of R1 253 478. In February it was announced that the SA Defence Force Fund was to be disbanded as a welfare organisation and would become a statutory body consisting of a board of civilian and military members to be appointed by the Minister.

As at 30 August there was a total of R137 067 070 invested in Bonus Bonds and R622 040 900 invested in national defence bonds according
to information provided by the Treasury.

Defence: In reply to questions in Parliament, each of the cabinet ministers gave the cost, during the financial year 1978-79, of supplementing the difference between the military pay and the departmental salary of employees called up for national service. The total amount for all departments was R18 988 569.

Personnel

According to the Defence White Paper the army was facing severe shortages in the ranks of senior non-commissioned officers, junior officers and instructors in the Permanent Force. Since 1977 the Permanent Force had expanded from 7% to 28.6% of actual defence force strength and 80% of the desired Permanent Force strength had been achieved. However, expansion would have been greater had not so many trained members left the force. There was also a shortage of officers, warrant officers and non-commissioned officers in the Citizen Force which was dependent on volunteers to fill the majority of positions in these ranks. As regards Commandos there was a problem of declining numbers of volunteers in rural Commandos but the force was expanding satisfactorily as regards industrial and key-point Commandos. In order to alleviate this shortage women volunteers were being recruited for one-year periods of service. There were also critical shortages in certain categories of flight personnel in the Air Force. Speaking in the Assembly the Deputy Minister of Defence said the objective of the SADF was to double the numbers in the Permanent Force by 1981.

A committee, representative of all interested sections of the SADF, had been established to examine the staff position in the SADF as a whole and steps to be taken to attract staff to the Permanent Force and to check the outflow. The Minister of Defence said that a short service system providing for service of at least one year in the Permanent Force, Citizen Force and Commandos had been introduced in order to alleviate the shortage of officers.

The White Paper said that the increase in the initial period of service had increased the state of readiness in the operational area by ensuring greater continuity and had ensured that national servicemen received better and more advanced training in the maintenance and repair of equipment and armaments. Speaking in the Assembly the Deputy Minister of Defence said that it had been decided on the basis of an evaluation of the threats to the country to maintain a certain ratio between the task force of national servicemen and the counteracting force of Citizen Force and Commando Units. In 1977 the ratio of servicemen as against Citizen Force members called up for service in the operational area was 1:6. By 1978 the ratio was 1:1; that is far fewer members having Citizen Force and national service obligations were involved in the operational area because the increase in the call up period meant more servicemen could be employed in the operational area.

In February it was reported that national servicemen who had been out of the army for less than a month were being called up for three month border duty in terms of section 92 ter of the Defence Act.
(ie mobilisation). Only 30 of the 90 days they served were offset against their term of peacetime military service. Spokesmen for the SADF said that the call-up was necessary because there were not sufficient servicemen in the 1978 intake to undertake counter-insurgency operations. A call-up for border duty, which was determined by the perceived threat against the country, was different from peacetime training and could not be used to fulfil peacetime service obligations. However, the spokesman said the Minister of Defence had consented to grant a maximum of 30 days credit for all servicemen for every three month period of border duty. The reason why some people were called up more often than others was that counter-insurgency operations required the use of infantrymen.

The extension of three week call-ups to three months was reported to have affected small companies who lost key staff members for periods longer than planned for. General Webster, Director of Resources, said that it was not always possible to warn servicemen in advance as the unpredictable security situation dictated manpower requirements. The requirements of the SADF had overtaken the number of suitably trained men who were readily available. The Minister of Defence, speaking in the Assembly, said that the Minister of Labour had introduced legislation to establish an umbrella body for the proper co-ordination of manpower analysis, research and utilisation. It was important, he said that the private sector be involved in the determination of priorities.16 The White Paper announced that a parachute brigade had been established in order to extend the operational capability of the army in both conventional and semi-conventional actions by providing it with a quick reaction force which could be called up and deployed at short notice. It also said that the SADF was involved in planning the development of the SWA/Namibia defence force which had become increasingly independent. Leadership courses were held at training institutions within SA.

According to the Defence White Paper the Counter Insurgency Operation (COIN) forces of the Air Force had been involved in the operations of the SA army and the SA police against SWAPO. Inside the Republic there had been a number of infiltrations and COIN forces had been deployed at various forward airfields in order to ensure adequate cover of the important areas and to render assistance to the army when necessary. In February increased pay scales were announced for national servicemen, operative from 1 April. The pay was increased from the previous 33,3 % to 75 %
of the minimum notch of pay of the corresponding ranks of the Permanent Force with the result that pay increased from R1,52 to R3,43 per day for national servicemen and R2,85 to R6,41 for corporals. A maximum allowance of R2,00 per day would be permitted, the remainder being either deposited in a savings account, sent to next-of-kin or held without interest by the paymaster until the completion of service.

In August the Minister of Defence announced improved service and operational allowances for defence, police and prisons personnel. Also in August the Deputy Minister of Defence indicated that consideration was being given to education institutions tailoring their terms and lengths of courses to meet the needs of national servicemen. Academics expressed concern that the plan would have adverse effects on students' university training. A committee of university principals decided not to take immediate action on the plan. A group life insurance scheme underwritten by the state and managed on a non-profit basis by a consortium of insurance companies was instituted in September. National servicemen would contribute R3 a month and the State R4,5m annually.

Over the last three years six national servicemen died of heat exhaustion while undergoing military training and over the last two years there were 13 proven cases of assault. The case of Mr Arnold Lewin, who died of heat exhaustion and was assaulted by fellow prisoners in detention barracks at Grootfontein, received considerable publicity. Six members of the SADF charged with culpable homicide in the Windhoek Regional Court were acquitted in August, two being found guilty of assault for which they were cautioned and discharged. During the trial evidence was presented of strenuous physical exercises for detainees and the harsh conditions prevalent in the detention barracks. Cases of men committing suicide while in detention barracks were reported.

In March General Magnus Malan said that everything would be done to eliminate the ill-treatment of trainees and Lt Gen Viljoen, Chief of the Army, said that the sadistic actions of a few leaders to enforce discipline would not be tolerated. Instructions were issued to leaders on the discipline of national servicemen and of men in detention barracks. In May Lt Gen Viljoen instituted a board of inquiry, consisting of two army officials, to investigate the administration of detention barracks. The recommendations made by the board suggesting various reforms were accepted by the SADF. The PFP called for a Commission of Inquiry consisting of representatives of the SADF, skilled people outside the army, and members of the opposition. In July the SADF established an office to investigate complaints about the ill-treatment of soldiers and in September it was announced that a test designed to identify those people most susceptible to heat exhaustion would be applied to the next intake of national servicemen. In October 111 national servicemen went absent without leave from the camp at Upington, the main reason being that they had been refused leave before going back to the
operational area, though they hoped by their action to institute a board of inquiry into conditions prevailing at the camp about which they were dissatisfied. A board of inquiry appointed to investigate the matter, found that the soldiers were dissatisfied with their treatment by personnel in charge of the camp and disciplinary action was taken against them.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Defence gave the following figures on responses to call-ups in 1978:21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convicted</th>
<th>Defence:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to report</td>
<td>3 123 284 (1 589 cases in process Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to serve after having reported</td>
<td>6 6 persons advanced acceptable reasons.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those convicted, 55 gave conscientious objection as a reason owing to their adherence to the Jehovah's Witnesses faith. Controversy arose at the end of the year when Mr Peter Moll was found guilty of failing to report for military service without 'good reason' and sentenced to 18 months detention. In an open letter to his Commanding Officer he said that he was a selective conscientious objector. That is, while making no statement about war in general, he had moral objections to SA's war in SWA/Namibia which he described as unjust and defending an unjust society. He could not serve in a non-combatant role as this would still be a contribution to the war effort. He said that he was only prepared to perform service under civilian direction which would be in the interests of the whole population of SA. The leaders of most of the Christian churches issued a statement appealing for clemency for Mr Moll.

Several organisations were involved in examining the question of conscientious objection and alternatives to military service. In April a committee consisting of representatives from the Jehovah's Witnesses, Quakers and Unitarian churches, all of which do not allow members to carry arms, met with officials of the SADF to discuss the problem. A non-combatant voluntary service corps was established by these organisations in Cape Town in September as an alternative to military training. Members would serve for three years as ambulance drivers, community health workers and hospital attendants. In response the Minister of Defence said that the SADF dissociated itself from all plans to establish a private corps of conscientious objectors as it had its own ways of dealing with them.22 The Western Cape Regional Committee of the Institute of Race Relations investigated alternatives to military service, specifically in the sphere of hospital work, and discussed the matter with the Department of Defence.

In July the National Union of Students called on the Government to take note of the plight of conscientious objectors, whose numbers were increasing, and to provide a non-military alternative to service in the Defence Force. The committee which investigated the problem stated that the failure to provide for conscientious objectors was a form of persecution of the people concerned for their beliefs, religious or otherwise.23 In December the Cape Western Youth Executive Committee of the PFP issued a similar call.
Dr Alan Paton, delivering the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture to the conference of the Institute of Race Relations, also raised the question of whether it was worthwhile to fight for apartheid. These challenges stimulated a lively debate in the press on the issues involved. On the one hand it was argued that the threat to SA was caused by the policies of the Government which were indefensible. In reply to this others argued that forces operating against SA

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Defence: Personnel
aimed, if they succeeded, to create a Marxist state and military service was necessary to guard the country at the same time as more equitable solutions were being sought from within.

In May the Catholic Synod of the Archdiocese of Durban resolved to establish a committee to explore and press for alternative forms of non-military national service and to provide counselling services for those affected by military service and spiritual care for those presently involved. In September the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa passed motions supporting the right of young men to be conscientious objectors and called on ministers to give them moral and pastoral support wherever they could. It also said that the church had a duty to minister to the young men and their families on both sides of the conflict.

The annual assembly of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa in September, noting that national servicemen were facing disciplinary action for objecting to the carrying of arms resolved to request the Department of Defence to extend the provisions of the Defence Act to allow all sincere conscientious objectors to serve in non-combatant positions. Such an extension however should not provide for objectors who refused to serve with the SADF at all. The assembly also called for a form of non-military national service.

The annual conference of the Methodist Church adopted a blueprint for a system of dealing with conscientious objectors which would be submitted to the Minister of Defence. It suggested that a commission including members from the church, SADF and experts could test the convictions of men wanting to be classified as non-combatants. Provision should be made for national service both within and outside of the structures of the Defence Force. In October the Baptist Union of SA also called for the introduction of non-military national service for conscientious objectors. In December the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa passed a motion expressing respect for the position of pacifists, those who defended the Government and those who fought against it. The Synod of the Anglican Church requested the Prime Minister to establish a special committee of the Department of Defence to discuss conscientious objection with church leaders and called for provisions for non-militants and noncombatants. A Committee on SA War Resistance was launched in London in October by South Africans who left the country after refusing to do military service.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Defence said that during 1978 1 976 citizens of foreign countries registered for military service.24
In reply to another question in Parliament in May, the Minister said that since the beginning of the year 61 civilians, 11 SADF members, 1 member of SAP and 5 members of the Home Guard had been killed in SWA/Namibia. It was, not policy, he said, to disclose the number of wounded. In Niarch SWAPO claimed to have killed more than 300 SA soldiers in the previous three months. These claims were denied by SADF officials.

Military Service for Blacks

In January Major General Pienaar, Inspector General of the Air Force, said that because the onslaught against SA was not aimed at whites but at all racial groups of SA, the other racial groups would have to share the defence burden. The SADF intended to draw larger numbers of coloured people, Indians and Africans into its ranks. In October it was claimed that there were 4000 African, coloured and Indian soldiers and seamen in the defence force and navy. According to the Defence White Paper the question of a more equitable division of the defence load amongst all racial groups was receiving constant attention and positive steps in this direction had been taken. The Permanent Force and Auxiliary Service were increasingly accepted by all racial groups as attractive employment avenues. Coloured and Indian ranks in the Permanent Force of the SA Navy had increased from 17.4% in 1977 to 20% of the existing Permanent Force personnel. They were employed in an operational capacity in the Navy. Of the 600 applications by Indians to enrol for the Indian Corps Training Battalion in 1979 only 153 were accepted because of insufficient facilities.

It was announced that coloured people and Indians volunteering for national service would have to serve for two years as from January 1980 as a twelve month period was no longer considered to be cost effective and it was felt that the utilisation of coloured and Indian volunteer national servicemen should be placed on an equal footing with that of their white counterparts.

Speaking in the Assembly the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Coetze, said that the 1979 January intake of coloured men into the national service had increased by 33%. There had also been a considerable growth in coloured participation in Commando units. Since 1976 the SA Cape Corps had been employed in the operational area.

The chairman of the coloured Labour Party, Mr Norman Middleton, said that the Labour Party would not encourage coloured youth to serve in the SADF until the coloured people were recognised as full citizens with full economic and political equality. He rejected the Government appeal for coloured people to play a bigger part in defence. Mr Jac Rabie, Labour member of the CRC, said that he favoured compulsory military service for coloured people on condition that they received the same pay, pension and disability allowances as whites.

Chief Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, informed the Prime Minister that blacks could not be expected to assist in the military defence of SA as this would amount to defending apartheid.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Deputy Minister of Defence said that since 1 April 1978 equal pay for equal work had been applied to all branches of the Defence Force in SWA/Namibia but only to those groups of personnel who would
remain in SWA/Namibia after independence. The position of those whose future employment and stay in the country had not been clarified was being investigated by the Public Service Commission. The cost of introducing equal pay for the period 1 April 1978 to 31 March 1979 was R1 106 033. As regards Defence Force personnel within the Republic the Minister said that the wage gap between racial groups was narrowed from time to time by the Public Service Commission. The estimated cost of introducing equal pay for the first year would be R7,5m. The PFP spokesman for defence, Mr Schwarz, called for the introduction of equal pay for equal work as a matter of urgency.

Defence: Personnel

According to the Defence White Paper the close co-operation between education departments and the SADF concerning the cadet scheme continued. The first group of educational contract students trained as national service leaders had completed its initial period of national service. A committee of school principals had given its approval in principal to a system whereby selected teachers serving as cadet officers were seconded to the army to serve at the command headquarters. The aim of the scheme was to improve the cadet system by means of inter-departmental co-operation.

In October it was reported that the central Government and provincial authorities were organising youth preparedness courses and gatherings for schoolchildren and teachers. Mass meetings were held emphasising military preparedness, patriotism and discipline.

A pilot committee, consisting of representatives of the SADF and the Departments of National Education, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs had recommended the introduction of the cadet scheme in Indian and coloured schools and its implementation was being considered by the relevant educational authorities. The Coloured Labour Party expressed its opposition to the training of coloured cadets.

In terms of the Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Act (Act 46 of 1967) all coloured youth were required to register for cadet training in the year in which they turned 18, though not all those who registered were called up. Provision is made for application for exemption by those in permanent employment for scholars, apprentices, persons with mental or physical defects or persons who have dependants. In 1974, 1975 and 1976 of a total of 27 002 youths registered 6 838 were called up, 3 056 were exempted, 3 108 were admitted to Faure Centre, 1 308 were placed in employment and 1 640 were issued with discharge certificates after completing 12 months training. Faure Centre became a centre of controversy during the year. (See Coloured Representative Council.)

Social Services

At the beginning of the year there were 160 orientation committees throughout the country. The committees assisted the return to civilian life of 12 000 national
servicemen demobilised in December 1978. Eleven thousand job vacancies throughout the country were identified and reserved for national servicemen. At a symposium in August in Pretoria on the problems faced by demobilised servicemen, the Deputy Minister of Defence said that the SADF was re-evaluating the reorientation project. The main problem was that of employment.14 Operation 'Ride Safe', which aimed at assisting national servicemen to hitch-hike, continued during the year despite encountering initial problems. In May 'Operation Family Contact' was established in Durban with the aim of assisting the families of men serving on the border.

In January the national synod of the Gereformeerde Kerk called 85 for a fundamental review of the agreement between the church and the SADF. It rejected as excessive the control by the SADF over church chaplains serving with the forces. The authorities had a say in the arrangement of church affairs and the living allowances provided by the Equipment SADF were linked to conditions and duties which were not peculiar to the work of a minister. For example, one of the duties of the chaplain was to liaise between Citizen Force and Commando Force men and their next-of-kin and churches to promote the morale of the unit. The synod found that the duties as defined differed radically from the true function of a minister of the gospel.

Equipment and Arms
The Minister of Defence, in an interview with the London Sunday Telegraph, said that SA's armaments industry had become so substantial that it could export very important military equipment to other countries. About 60% of military equipment purchased, including naval craft, was produced locally. Of the remainder 20% was spent buying naval craft and 20% on hardware from a number of sources.16 In 1978 SA was reported to rank 11th amongst the 29 recognised arms exporting countries of the world and was reported to have exported arms worth more than R77m.37

The White Paper said that the voluntary arms embargo of the early sixties had forced SA to take positive steps towards self sufficiency. By the time of the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo in 1977 the local armaments industry had already gained momentum. It was imperative that SA industries and Armscor through its subsidiaries become technologically self sufficient so that alternatives and substitutes could be utilised in the event of a more extensive boycott of components and raw materials. Optimum use had to be made of the armaments in SA's possession with special emphasis on maintenance and repair in the light of the arms embargo. Existing armaments also had to be modernised to improve functioning and effectiveness.

Of the total expenditure estimated for defence, R38 457 300 was for professional and special services rendered by Armscor. The total administration cost of Armscor was R20 188 990 for the financial year 1977-78.18 As at 31 December 1978 Armscor employed 18 975 employees at head office and 10 982 whites (58%) 3 223 coloured (17%) and 4 770 Africans (25%) at subsidiaries. It was estimated that in addition Armscor directly contributed to the employment of approximately 100 000 employees in the private sector.
As at 31 December 1978 according to the Defence White Paper a total of R938m was invested in corporate fixed and working capital. For strategic and economic reasons Armscor had established a number of fully owned subsidiaries and pursued a policy of maximum utilisation of the private sector and of these subsidiaries as main contractors, which in turn sub-contracted to the private sector.

During the financial year 1977-78 Armscor placed 5 636 contracts with the private sector (excluding business placed by its subsidiary companies).\(^9\) A senior Barlows executive was seconded to Armscor as part of a new policy to involve private sector business skills in state corporations.

**Defence: Equipment**

As regards nuclear energy Dr Roux, former president of the Atomic Energy Board, said that in the light of diminishing foreign aid in the nuclear field SA would have to depend on its own resources for its nuclear programme.\(^4\) However, there were hardly any developments in the nuclear field which SA could not undertake on its own he said, because of the scientific and technological background that had been built up.\(^4\) At a press conference in April the Minister of Defence said that SA theoretically had the capacity to produce an atom bomb but planned to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.\(^42\)

In September the US government accused SA of having detonated a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic. This was denied. France continued to provide assistance to SA in the development of reactors for the Koeberg power station. In December the government of West Germany acknowledged that there had been nuclear co-operation between the private Institute for Reactor Security and Escom in 1975 and 1976 but that it had ended as a result of government intervention. The co-operation had involved advice to Escom on the siting and construction of a nuclear power plant, which was alleged to have enabled Escom to buy the necessary parts. South Africans had also been allowed to work at West German atomic research organisations.

The introduction of various new weapons was announced during the year. As regards maritime defence the Minister of Defence, speaking during the Defence Vote, said that an initial number of locally produced strike craft had been-put into commission by the SA Navy for the purpose of defending SA's coastal waters.\(^43\) During the No Confidence Debate he announced that the mine sweeper had been locally converted into a mine hunter, capable of detecting and neutralising mines on the sea-bed.\(^4\) The budget for maritime defence was increased by R22 m which was intended for anti-mine measures, harbour protection and for light patrol vessels equipped with missiles which had been produced.

As regards air defence the production of air-to-air and surface-to-air missiles commenced during the year. The airforce had also developed the capacity for producing helicopters and civil aircraft.\(^41\) Concerning landward defence the Minister said that progress had been achieved in armour modernisation, the area radio network and operational vehicles and announced the completed production of two new weapons, the R-4 rifle and the G-5 cannon."\(^6\)
Arms Embargo
According to a book ‘SA: War? Revolution? Peace?’ by Lewis Gann and Peter Duignan of the Hoover Institute, immense shipments of tanks, guns, armoured cars and aircraft had entered SA from abroad over the past few years. The SADF’s locally built armaments had been heavily augmented with modern air and ground weapons originating in countries including Britain, France, United States, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland and Canada. The authors analysed military scenarios which included various forms of internal uprisings and outside invasion and concluded that given SA's existing defence capability there was little hope of a successful violent overthrow of the SA regime. Writing in the Sunday Observer in London, Anthony Sampson claimed that SA had an extensive network of military agents and arms buyers throughout the world.41

In March the Anti-Apartheid Movement officially launched the ‘World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with SA’ saying the mounting aggression by the racist regimes in southern Africa against the frontline states was dependent on military equipment and aircraft supplied to SA in defiance of the UN arms embargo.4

The Canadian Federal Grand Jury investigated allegations that the Space Research Corporation of Montreal had been shipping artillery shells to SA by way of Antigua and Spain. It had also allegedly sold SA the technology to develop a long range artillery system and sent its employees to a military base in SA and had sent ballistics testing equipment and demonstration projectiles.

In April Mr Richard Beck was convicted for having smuggled weapons destined for SA out of the US in collaboration with a company, Concealable Body Armour. The conviction was set aside on the grounds of insufficient evidence. The US government appealed against this judgement.

American firms were reported to have been adversely affected by the US regulations banning the export of any products which their SA affiliates could not guarantee would not come into military possession. General Tyre and Rubber Company claimed to have lost Rlm a year after tax in this way. However, American firms in SA continued to provide for SA defence needs. General Motors, Chrysler and Ford were involved in providing troop transport trucks, police vans and vehicles for army patrols. Prior to 1978 General Motors was supplying 1 500 units annually to the police and military. Between 1973 and 1977 Ford had sold 127 cars and 683 trucks to the SADF and 646 cars and 1 473 trucks to the SA Police. The anti-apartheid movements in different countries continued to pressurise firms involved in these transactions to withdraw their investments in SA.

In August Amnesty International called on the British government to include categories of sensitive exports not already subject to the arms embargo where there was evidence that they were being used in the violation of human rights. It also called for British control of military equipment supplied by British firms to SA via third countries and for equipment which was not subject to government control in its original state, but which was adapted before being exported, to be
inspected. Amnesty International believed that under the existing regulations it was still possible to export 'repressive technology'.

In August the Anti-Apartheid movement in Britain alleged that the British government had authorised the sale of a radar system to SA which could be put to military use. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, confirmed that a firm, Plessey, had been granted a licence to export air surveillance equipment to SA and that members of the SADF had been trained to use it by the firm.

In September the Spanish government announced an investigation into the export of large quantities of arms and tanks to SA by a Spanish firm, Barreiros Hermanos.

The US decided that it would not fulfil a SA order for enriched uranium and returned the R500 000 paid in advance for the fuel until a review of its nuclear relationship with SA had been conducted. The European Parliament decided in February to continue to import SA uranium despite pressures for a boycott.

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Defence: Equipment

88 Civil Defence

In reply to a question in Parliament the Deputy Minister of Defence gave the following figures on the possession of firearms by the Civil white populations of SA and SWA/Namibia as at 31 December 1978:

Defence 760 602 people were licensed to possess firearms; a total of 1 379 810 licences had been issued and 1 493 119 firearms registered as at that date. During 1978 123 759 applications for licences were received and 118 515 were issued; 107 people were declared unfit to possess firearms and 4706 firearms were reported lost or stolen of which 2062 were recovered.

Two regulations were promulgated in terms of the Civil Defence Act No 67 of 1977. One provided for compensation for physical injuries, death and disability sustained while engaged in civil defence duties. The regulations stipulated the conditions under which specified amounts of money would be paid by the State.

The other excluded the following categories of persons from performing any function in connection with civil defence: members of the SA Police, Police Reserve, Reserve Police Force, SA Railway Police, Prison Service, SADF or its auxiliary services, and where no authorisation had been given, members of the Permanent Force Reserve, Reserve of Officers, Department of National Security employees or functionaries of the Armament Corporation, persons who manufacture, maintain or repair armaments and full time civilian employees of the Department of Defence.

According to the Defence White Paper the four provincial councils after consultation with the Minister of Defence accepted a uniform civil defence ordinance setting out the responsibilities and powers of provincial administrations and local authorities. In addition to these activities, it was essential, the White Paper said, that industries, commercial enterprises, schools and universities establish their own internal civil defence organisations which should co-operate
with the local authorities. The provincial administrations were being provided with guidelines by the SADF for the planning of such organisations. According to the White Paper out of a total of 636 organisations established throughout the country 131 had reached the 'A' grading, meaning that their emergency plans complied with required standards.

Speaking at a seminar on civil defence in Cape Town which was attended by 300 representatives of civil defence organisations Brigadier Muller, SADF director of civil defence, said that in the light of the 'total onslaught' against SA the SADF's supportive role in civil defence would be greatly decreased and in future the various municipalities would be less able to rely on the armed forces in cases of emergency. Aid would only be given in the last resort and only if it did not interfere with increasing operational commitments. Investigations of sources and capabilities in other state departments had been conducted with a view to using them in support of civil defence. Extensive sources were revealed which if used on a decentralised basis would relieve the SADF of its supporting role to a large extent. Details of available state help had been brought to the attention of local authorities so that it could be incorporated into their planning. The Deputy Minister of Defence said that in terms of the Civil Defence Act of 1977 members of the Reserve of Officers, Citizen Force Reserve, the Commando Reserve where they had served for more than five years and all members of the National Reserve were available for civil defence service. 89 This would make approximately 60 000 people available. The SADF in conjunction with the provincial administrations had made the names and addresses of these people available to the towns and cities so that Civil they could be recruited."

Defence

The SADF viewed the ongoing reduction in the number of white farmers to be a security risk. Because of the infiltration of guerilla fighters into the country it was necessary for there to be a strong farming community in the outlying areas to provide protection against the infiltration of the cities. Economic and agricultural policy had to be tailored to the needs of survival. The Steyn Committee had investigated the areas extending 50km into the interior of the northern and north western borders of the Transvaal and 30km towards the interior of the eastern border of the Kruger National Park north of Swaziland, and found that nearly half the farms in these areas did not have whites living on them. Legislation to combat this was introduced (see Promotion of the Density of Population in Designated Areas Act).

Speaking during the senate debate on a private member's motion on security measures on farms adjoining independent states, the Deputy Minister of Defence outlined plans that were being considered for the border areas which were considered to be the first line of defence. A sub-committee of the Steyn Committee had been established with representatives from the SADF, Department of National Security, the SA Police and the SA Agricultural Union. One of the criteria for the selection of farmers to be assisted in terms of the abovementioned Act was that they undergo military training. Farmers would work on a cooperative basis with housing provided in a collective community so that a chain of defence
strongholds would be created along the borders which could be used as bases for the SADF and so that people could congregate in times of emergency. The farmers, acting in collaboration with the existing commando and other systems would form part of a security network. The possibility of physical border barricades to check, delay or disguise throughways was being considered. In order to maintain a permanent presence in certain priority regions in the Transvaal and other places, training bases had been established at Madimbo, Wembe, Messina, Batavia, Amsterdam and Impala. New bases were planned at other priority places. The military base at Phalaborwa together with the air force base at Hoedspruit ensured an early advance warning. The commando system in the rural areas formed a defence umbrella ensuring that information was received timeously. Farmers were being advised on security equipment like security fences and alarm systems. In addition roads which would be in the best interests of strategic and military requirements were being planned in conjunction with the Department of Transport and the provincial administrations. The SADF also, he said, had the means to trace intruders and destroy them before they entered the heart of the country. Finally the military area radio network, 'Marnet' had been established. The primary function of this system was to serve as a command and control communications network for the commando units with a further secondary function as a warning system and information network. Control stations in the priority areas of Northern Transvaal, North-Western Transvaal and Natal, were almost complete. Others were planned for North-Western Cape, Eastern Province and the OFS. Sub-sets were

Defence: Legislation
made available to selected key people while individuals would obtain their own sets to link up with the system. This would make it possible for farmers in remote areas to communicate with each other and with control stations.54 Towards the end of the year the Jacobs Standing Committee of inquiry submitted its report on the financial position of farmers in the border areas and the implementation of the plan to assist farmers commenced.

On 1 May citizen band radios were introduced and a special channel was reserved specifically for civil defence use which could also be used by private operators in cases of emergency. Their introduction was the result of recommendations made by the Commission of Inquiry into Citizen Band Radio established on 19 May 1978 the terms of reference of which were to investigate the control of radio communication over short and medium distances with a view to the optimum utilisation in the national interest of the available radio frequency bands on a long term basis for civil defence and other purposes.5

It was reported in April that the Eastern Province Command was training workers at factories around Port Elizabeth in the protection of industrial areas. Volunteers underwent a three week course including drill, musketry, fieldcraft, crowd control, roadblock routines, anti-riot procedures and lectures on internal security.6

Homeland Defence
In reply to a question in Parliament the Deputy Minister of Defence said that the SADF had stopped training the Transkeian defence force on 10 May 1978 after
the Transkei renounced the non-aggression pact with SA and was not in any way involved in the Transkeian Defence Force. The Transkei Minister of Defence, Chief Ndabankula, said that members of the Transkei army were being trained abroad. He also said that the Transkei intended to train a naval force for the patrol of Transkei's territorial waters.

Venda planned to establish a national force which would become independent of the SADF after independence. A former SA security policeman Lt Col Mulautzi was appointed commander. He said that if necessary Venda would call on the assistance of SA to check the threat from insurgents across the border. The SADF took over a strip of territory in Venda along the Limpopo River and towards the end of 1978 an air base was opened in Madimbo. Opening the air base General Boschoff, Chief of Staff (Logistics), said that it was another step in the preparations by the SA Government to move men and material speedily to the northern borders. On 13 August the Venda and SA Governments signed a non-aggression pact. Chief Mphephu said that his army would help the SA army to fight against guerrillas in the Northern Transvaal.

The Bophuthatswana army continued to co-operate with the SADF in combating the infiltration of guerrillas.

Legislation

Defence Amendment Act No 38

The principal act was amended so that an employer was required to provide reasonable facilities for his employees to enrol for, or to carry out not only his mandatory defence duties as in the principal Act but also any voluntary services which he might render. The regulatory power of the State President was extended to include regulations on the compulsory insurance of members of the SADF (excluding the Permanent Force but including any other particular class of members) in respect of bodily injury, disablement or death incurred during the course of, or as a result of military service or training. In moving the Bill the Deputy Minister of Defence said that the SADF wanted to introduce a group insurance scheme for those members who had not taken out an insurance policy. It was envisaged that membership should be made compulsory for at least members of the Citizen Force and the Commandos. He introduced an amendment to the draft bill to include "a particular class of members of the SADF" into the compulsory insurance scheme. This would cover conscientious objectors who serve in the Defence Force but not in combat service and members of the SADF other than those in national service.

The PFP proposed an amendment that the obligation on employers to provide facilities for volunteers be subject to exemption by the Minister of Defence in order to protect owners of small businesses who would be overburdened by this added expenditure. Together with the NRP, the PFP also objected to the compulsory deduction of insurance from pay believing that this should be the responsibility of the Government.

The Deputy Minister of Defence replied that such employers could approach the Exemption Board for consideration of their problems. The effect of the
opposition's amendment would be to encourage employers to ignore their obligations to national servicemen.

National Supplies Procurement Amendment Act No 73
In terms of the principal Act which deals with the stockpiling of strategic materials the Minister of Economic Affairs, acting in the interest of the Republic, has the power to issue an order to any person for the supply, manufacture, importation or distribution of any goods or services or for these activities to be regulated or halted.

The amendment makes it an offence for any person to disclose to any other person any information relating to such an order or any statement, comment or rumour calculated to directly or indirectly convey such information or purported information. The exceptions are if he has written authority to do so, if he discloses the information to a person whose duty it is to deal with its subject matter, if required to do so as a witness in court or if required by the Act to do so. The Minister is empowered in the interests of the Republic and by means of a notice in the Gazette to prohibit the disclosure of any information in relation to any goods or service or any statement, comment or rumour calculated directly or indirectly to convey such information. It is an offence to contravene such a prohibition and the penalty for both offences is a fine not exceeding R7 000 or to imprisonment not exceeding 7 years or to both such imprisonment and fine.

The Minister introduced an amendment whereby he is empowered to grant exemptions from the prohibitions on disclosure and to regulate the disclosure of information by those so exempted. The agreement between the Minister and the persons exempted shall be published in the Gazette. A tribunal specified in the agreement will adjudicate on breaches of the agreement. The Minister said that this amendment to the Bill was a product of his negotiations with the Newspaper Press Union.

Defence: The PFP introduced an amendment aimed at limiting the wide powers of the Minister to prohibit disclosure of information by defining security of the Republic as any economic or strategic threat relating to any goods or service. This was withdrawn after assurances by the Minister that an amendment to this effect would be considered by the Senate. The Bill was passed without amendment.

Promotion of the Density of Population in Designated Areas Act No 87
The State President is empowered to designate an area by means of a proclamation in the Gazette if he considers it to be in the national interest to increase the density of the population in that area. Areas excluded from such designation include land owned by the SA Development Trust or by a black or which is held in trust for a black tribe or community and land subject to the provisions of the Rural Coloured Areas Act.
Provision was made for financial assistance under the Agricultural Credit Act No 28 of 1966 to any person in respect of agricultural land within such designated area under more favourable conditions than normally applicable. The Minister was empowered to make regulations, prescribing inter alia the categories of persons who shall occupy and control farming units within the area, the manner in which, and the period in each year during which a farming unit shall be occupied; the manner in which it shall be controlled; and penalties for a contravention or failure to comply with the regulations.

The Minister of Agriculture later informed the House that the expected expenditure on the project in the first year was R21m and the total expected expenditure over a period of five to six years was between R65m and R80m estimated on the basis that each farming unit would be provided with R100 000.

The PFP, NRP and SAP strongly supported the Bill. An amendment proposed by the PFP to expunge the clause excluding land owned by Africans and coloured people from the scope of the Act on the grounds that these areas could also become depopulated for economic reasons, was defeated.

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9 Hansard 10 col 4575
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11 Star 1 October
12 Daily News 27 March
11 RP 2 and 5/79
14 Hansard 6 Q cols 453 and 455; Hansard 7 Q col 471-3, 479, 480, 481, 507 and 530, Hansard
8 Q col 545, 555, 566, Hansard 9 Q col 601, 625, Hansard 10 Q col 652 11
Hansard 11 col 4740 16 Financial Mail 1 June 11 Hansard 11 col 4813 11
11 Hansard 6 Q cols 453 and 455; Hansard 7 Q col 471-3, 479, 480, 481, 507 and 530, Hansard
14 Hansard 6 Q cols 453 and 455; Hansard 7 Q col 471-3, 479, 480, 481, 507 and 530, Hansard
8 Q col 545, 555, 566, Hansard 9 Q col 601, 625, Hansard 10 Q col 652 11
Hansard 11 col 4740 16 Financial Mail 1 June 11 Hansard 11 col 4813 11
11 Hansard 6 Q cols 453 and 455; Hansard 7 Q col 471-3, 479, 480, 481, 507 and 530, Hansard
14 Hansard 6 Q cols 453 and 455; Hansard 7 Q col 471-3, 479, 480, 481, 507 and 530, Hansard
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE POLICE AND PRISONS

According to the official estimates of Expenditure for 1979-80, the following sums were budgeted for police, justice and prisons:

Police justice Prisons Public Works:
Prisons and Quarters Police Accommodation Judicial Buildings
Total
R437 291 000

JUSTICE

Criminal Statistics

According to the annual report of the Commissioner of SA Police for the year ended 30 June 1978, the following number of cases were reported to the police:

Offences Infringements of the law Cases Reported 1976-77 1977-78 1 052 697 1 087 860 1 085 640 995 547
Percentage solved 1976-77 1977-78 67,9 65,9

In his report for the year ended 30 June 1978, the Commissioner of Prisons stated that during the year there were 258 957 sentenced prisoners and 246 435 awaiting trial prisoners. Sentences imposed during the year are summarised as follows:

Sentences
Death penalty Life imprisonment Declared habitual criminal
Prevention of crime (5-8 years) Corrective training (2-4 years)
2 years and over 6 months-2 years
4 months-6 months 1 month-4 months Up to and including
1 month Periodical imprisonment Corporal punishment only
Whites
4 1
52
Africans
114
9
According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons, of all sentenced prisoners admitted 80.06% were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to six months and 44.24% of these were sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to one month. The group sentenced to more than six months but less than two years imprisonment represented 10.96% of the total and the group sentenced to two years imprisonment and longer 8.98% of the total. In comparison with the previous year, the number of short term prisoners admitted decreased by 1.82% while the number of long term prisoners increased by 3.05%.

Of the total number of admissions of sentenced and unsentenced prisoners 73,589 were women. The daily average of sentenced and unsentenced prisoners in 1977-1978 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>67,850</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>20,169</td>
<td>4,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5,335</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73,185</td>
<td>6,541</td>
<td>99,292</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his report the Commissioner of Prisons stated that during the year ended 30 June 1978 a total of 2,062 prisoners 18 years and under in the following categories had been admitted:
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice provided the following figures for those charged 'nd convicted (in brackets) for murder in the years 1976-77 and 1977-78:

**Criminal Statistics**

1976-77
3 212 (1 231) 501 (235) 76 (36) 30 (11)
1977-78
3 414 (1 541) 677 (298) 114 (66) 41 (20)

Crime in Some Areas of High Population Density

The Minister of Police provided the following statistics in parliament relating to crime rates:

Cases during the period 1 July 1977 to 30 June 1978:

**Soweto**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Cases reported</th>
<th>No. of cases brought to trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>1 188</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable Homicide</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>7 462</td>
<td>3 547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>3 802</td>
<td>1 369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cape Peninsula**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Cases reported</th>
<th>No. of cases brought to trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>1 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>8 463</td>
<td>5 132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cases reported to the police in 1977-788
Inter-Racial Crime
The Minister of Police provided the following figures relating to inter-racial crime which were reported during the period 1 July 1977 to 30 June 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Whites/Whites</th>
<th>Whites/Blacks</th>
<th>Blacks/Whites</th>
<th>Blacks/Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>122 396</td>
<td>1 731</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>189 997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape (including attempts to rape)</td>
<td>1 731</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>198 1 319</td>
<td>5344 14 219 121 725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>1 731</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>198 1 319</td>
<td>5344 14 219 121 725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide (excluding culpable homicide as a result of motor accidents)</td>
<td>1 731</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>198 1 319</td>
<td>5344 14 219 121 725</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment on Crime
Commenting on the crime statistics for the year Mrs Helen Suzman (PF P) said that they were a reflection of a very unstable society. The high crime rate was particularly noticeable in the black community which was on the receiving end of the social effects of broken families, insecurity and frustration.

Dr Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, attributed the incidence of crime in Soweto to increasing unemployment and the oppressive laws, especially influx control under which black people had to live. It was characteristic of oppressed people all over the world he said to vent their anger by preying on each other instead of confronting their rulers. He criticised the police for being involved in the perpetuation of the minority regime in power and not with the protection of the people. Several people commented on the relationship between the growth in the crime rate and rising unemployment.

Developments in South Africa's Legal System
According to the annual report of the Department of justice 1978, a fact finding investigation was in progress on the introduction of intermediate courts, which if introduced, would incorporate regional courts and would result in the speedier adjudication of both criminal and civil cases and bring the administration of justice within reach of a greater number of people both geographically and economically. In November the Minister of Justice appointed a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Hoekter, the terms of reference of
which were to report and make recommendations on the efficacy of the structure and functioning of the courts and on the desirability of changes which would lead to the more efficient and expeditious administration of justice and a reduction in the cost of litigation. One of the matters to be considered was that of intermediate courts. Mr Symington, President of the Association of Law Societies, expressed the fear that intermediary courts might reduce the standard of legal services.12

The report also said that the effect of the implementation of the Criminal Procedure Act was to dispose of cases more quickly. During 1977, 396 093 cases were dealt with without evidence in magistrates' courts in SA and SWA and 304 870 cases with evidence. During 1978, 65 018 cases were disposed of without evidence, 379 269 without evidence but after questioning and 232 698 with evidence. During 1978 therefore 72 172 fewer cases were disposed of with evidence than during 1977.

According to the report several posts in the Department had been opened to Indians and coloured people. In Durban and Chatsworth prosecutors' posts for Indians had been filled and in Athlone in Cape Town all judicial and administrative posts could be filled by coloured people. One post of state prosecutor was held by a coloured person. Since 1970 the Department of Justice had subsidised the studies of Indians and coloured people but owing to a lack of success the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations had made bursaries available to coloured people.

Professor Barend Van Niekerk, in an article in the SA Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,13 focused attention on the fact that racial factors could be playing an unacceptable role in some sentences passed by SA courts. Since 1911 more than 150 blacks had been executed for rape, in most cases apparently for raping white women. However, according to statistics and his inquiries there had not been a single white sentenced to death, let alone executed, for raping a black woman. Only three whites had been executed for the rape of white children. There was however reason to believe that proportionately more black women were raped by white men than white women by black men. In the case of cross racial murders there were only twelve executions of whites for the murder of blacks whereas several hundred blacks were hanged for murdering whites. In addition, he said that in a

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multi-stratified society, total equality or identity of sentences with respect to fines in effect constituted discrimination which in SA converged with racial discrimination. Discrimination in sentencing also resulted from the fact that the overwhelming majority of all blacks charged in criminal courts were not legally represented.
In June after Mr Eugene Roelofse, ombudsman of the SA Council of Churches, had submitted a report to the Attorney General of the Cape, Mr Justice Rumpff sitting in the Cape Town Appeal Court increased the sentence of a farmer Mr Phillipus Du Toit who had been fined R200 and sentenced to three years imprisonment, two of which were suspended, for charges of murder and assault in the Worcester Circuit Court in April 1978. He had chained one of his workers by the neck, assaulted another with a hosepipe while he was strung up by his neck and had killed a third worker while assaulting him in the same way. Mr Du Toit had filed an appeal against the sentence and the Attorney General filed a cross appeal to increase the sentence. Mr Justice Rumpff rejected the comment by the judge who passed sentence that the assaults had nothing to do with racial prejudice as being completely unrealistic and unacceptable. Mr William Lane, Chairman of the Transvaal Law Society, welcomed the guidelines laid down for the courts by Mr Justice Rumpff, saying that although cases of this kind happened frequently they seldom reached the Appeal Court.14

A study undertaken by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand into the operation of the system of influx control in Johannesburg over a three month period revealed the incompatibility of the procedures employed in the commissioners' courts with general standards of justice. Firstly hundreds of Africans were sent to gaol every day for being in urban areas for longer than 72 hours without permission or for failing to produce reference books on demand, after appearing in court without legal representation. In the one case where the accused was represented by a lawyer he was acquitted. The absence of lawyers meant that no-one was able to assist the court in the observance of fair trial procedures and that appeals rarely arose from such proceedings which in turn meant that the proceedings were not subject to the scrutiny of the Supreme Court. Secondly, neither the nature of the charges nor his options in conducting his defence were explained to the accused. The Commissioners' Courts did not separate the role of prosecutor and that of interpreter, with the result that the commissioner was not always informed as to whether the accused fully understood the nature of the charges against him or of the full explanation given by the accused for his presence in Johannesburg. The trials were hastily conducted, often only lasting three minutes. The study found that when the prosecution was not ready to proceed with a case, the accused in most cases was remanded in custody for a week without being informed of his right to be released on bail. It concluded that the only way of introducing fair trial procedures into the courts was to introduce legal representation."

In March the Pretoria Bar Association voted against the admission of black advocates. Black attorneys decided in response to demand that advocates sign a statement saying that they had no objection to blacks being admitted to the association as a condition for their being given briefs. This failed because in terms of the ethics of the profession attorneys have no right to question the political beliefs of advocates before deciding whether or not to brief them. In August black attorneys and those whites opposed to the decision decided to form a separate autonomous association. At its
In January a Committee for Equality before the Law was established in Pretoria to protest against the refusal of the Attorney General of the Transvaal to prosecute the former head of the Bureau of State Security, General Van den Bergh, for his disparaging remarks about the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry into irregularities related to the Department of Information and to call on the Minister of Justice for him to be tried in accordance with the law. The manifesto of the committee expressed the belief that no one should be above the law and that an independent judiciary and unhindered fearless administration of justice were the only effective safeguard of a democratic government. A petition organised by the committee and signed by 40 000 people including General Van Den Bergh was presented to the Minister of Justice. The campaign was supported by the SAP, NRP and PFP. The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, refused to reverse the decision of the Attorney General which was taken on the grounds that a court hearing would reveal evidence endangering the national interest. After a meeting with Mr Kruger the executive of the Association of Law Societies announced that they were satisfied that General Van den Bergh should not be prosecuted as this would not be in the national interest.

In October the opposition of the law societies was aroused when the Minister of Justice announced that the Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr A.J. Lategan SC who had served on the Erasmus Commission, was to be appointed to the bench of the Cape Division of the Supreme Court. The General Council of the bar said that Mr Lategan would inevitably be suspected of lacking impartiality because throughout his career he had approached matters from the point of view of the State. A meeting was held with the Minister of Justice to discuss the matter.

In January the conference on Human Rights in SA organised by the Law Department at Cape Town University elected a steering committee to establish a permanent Human Rights Commission to monitor the violation of human rights in SA's legal system.

Corporal Punishment
In his annual report the Commissioner of Prisons provided the following figures for the year ended 30 June 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>No. of persons receiving corporal punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>10 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Capital Punishment
There were no people in custody as at 30 June 1978 who had been sentenced to corporal punishment.
According to figures provided by the Commissioner of Prisons for the year ended 30 June 1978, 145 people who had been sentenced to death had been admitted to prison. The racial breakdown of these was 114 Africans, 27 coloured persons and 4 whites. As at 30 June 1978 there were 123 people in custody awaiting the death sentence.

In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Prisons said that 132 people were executed during 1978.18

In reply to another question the Minister provided the following figures on executions which had taken place during 1976-77 and 1977-78:19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1976-77</th>
<th>1977-78</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Justice said that he saw no reason why the limitation or abolition of corporal and capital punishment should be considered again.20 Commenting, Mr Dalling (PFP) said that this barbaric form of punishment, if it was retained at all, should only be retained for the most heinous crimes. It had been abandoned by almost all civilised countries.21 Mr Olmesdahl, senior lecturer in public law at the University of Natal, noted that the figure for executions in 1978 showed a 46.6% increase over that for 1977. He said that since the Second World War the number of executions had increased steadily until 1968 when a peak figure of 118 was reached, after which there was a dramatic decline to 40 in 1974. Since 1974 the number had begun to increase again.22

Addressing the American Academy of Psychiatry and Law Professor Barend van Niekerk of Natal University said that SA had the highest percentage (47%) of the total number of executions performed throughout the world. He said that despite the moral significance of capital punishment it was a non-issue in SA because the convicts were black. It had frequently happened that on one day six or seven condemned persons were executed without this being mentioned in the press. The inadequate psychiatric services available for blacks and inadequate defence counsel resulted in few pleas being made for extenuating circumstances for crimes which carried the death penalty.23

Makgotla and Community Guards

In December 1978 the Makgotla movement in Soweto was warned by the police to stop flogging people. Throughout the year under review there were reports on allegations by residents of Soweto of assaults and interrogations by members of the Makgotla movement.

There were also allegations that people were raided in the early hours of the morning and taken to be tried in a ‘kangaroo court’. Mrs Suzman, PFP spokesman on the administration of justice, said in response to these allegations that the
Makgotla was a dangerous movement which had to be firmly dealt with. Y In March the police undertook investigations which resulted in 17 members of the movement being charged with assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. Brigadier Hamman, divisional commissioner of police in Soweto, said that he was not satisfied with the activities of the Makgotla which had no legal recognition and which should leave the combating of crime to the police. Mr Radebe, leader of one of the Makgotla organisations, said that people who masqueraded as Makgotla members and not members of the Makgotla were responsible for assaulting people. At a public meeting in April attended by two representatives of the Orlando police station 500 Soweto residents mandated the Makgotla to negotiate with the Minister of Justice for their recognition and resolved that a delegation be appointed to negotiate with Brig Hamman. However, doubt about the degree of support by the black community for the Makgotla was expressed by Mrs N. Sibeko, lecturer in Social Work and Criminology at the University of the Witwatersrand who, in an address to the 10th Annual Conference of Black Committees, said that they were not trusted because they lacked training, approach and creativity.

In July a vigilante in KwaZulu was sentenced to three years and six cuts on charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

In February a Women's League of the Manthata Makgotla was formed to deal with women who misbehaved and to help children whose parents could not afford to send them to school by providing them with books, uniforms and school fees. Lectures would be offered to young girls and boys on how to behave at home, school and in the streets. Mr Manthata said that the Makgotla organisation had come to realise that it was useless to try to prevent crime without fighting its root causes. The organisation had therefore decided to institute a plan to ensure compulsory education for all children in Soweto as well as adult education by providing financial assistance. Their plan to build a reformatory in Soweto was quashed by the Chief Commissioner in the Johannesburg Bantu Affairs Department on the grounds that this was the duty of the Government. (For information on community guards see section on community councils.)

In March the Radebe and Manthata Makgotla movements decided to unite in the face of alleged attempts by the Soweto Community Council to destroy them. Mr Radebe said that the Minister of Justice had been approached to grant them legal recognition and give them the same judicial powers as those proposed for community guards, namely the power to enforce fines and jail sentences. In October a vigilante group was formed in Mamelodi. Residents in Moroka, Soweto, formed an organisation to combat crime electing a steering committee to draft a memorandum to submit to the Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto.

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Makgotla

102 Legal Aid
According to the Annual Report of the Legal Aid Board for the year ended 31 March 1978 the following figures reflect the activities of Legal Aid during the year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cases resolved</th>
<th>Cases referred</th>
<th>Cases refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications out of court to attorneys</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>6977</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
<td>1151</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>3443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>983</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Activities of a quasi-juridicial nature have been omitted).

The total number of applications, 22,482, represented an increase of approximately 9.53% in comparison with the previous year. At the end of the financial year there were 7,592 cases pending in which aid had been given but in respect of which accounts were still outstanding. Liability in these cases was estimated at R2,278,600. The Government contribution to the board for the year 1977-78 was Rlm. As a result of the reduction in the funds contributed by the Government the board decided to temporarily suspend legal aid for the institution of divorce actions.

According to the report uniform scales for all racial groups in the application of the means test were introduced as from 4 October 1978. The decision to apply uniform scales was taken in the light of the criticism of differentiated scales given the fact that legal costs were the same for all racial groups.

In August the Legal Resources Centre directed by Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC was established in Johannesburg. Its aims were to litigate in cases of importance to the community especially cases related to exploitation of consumers and workers, housing and influx control, to educate people as to their rights of redress and the exercise of those rights, and to provide legal services to the poorer section of the community which had been denied access to those services because of the costs involved. It was felt that there were many instances in which common law rights were unclear or unenforced because of ignorance or poverty or where a statute was ambiguously drafted. By bringing such cases to court individual rights could be established. It was staffed by law students studying through correspondence at Unisa and took over control of the four clinics established by the law faculty at the University of the Witwatersrand. The Centre would not deal directly with the public but would take up cases referred to it by other legal aid agencies such as the Black Sash, the Legal Aid Bureau and NICRO. It was a non-profit making organisation supported by companies and charitable foundations. Legal aid clinics in Indian and African townships were established by the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg).

In February a Citizen's Defence League was formed in Pietermaritzburg to advise and help people charged with employing unregistered African workers.
In May 30 Johannesburg attorneys and 20 advocates volunteered to appear pro amico in defence of coloured and Indian people charged under the Group Areas Act and threatened with eviction from white residential areas of the city. (See section on Group Areas.)

The Asingeni Relief Fund established by the SA Council of Churches continued to provide financial assistance for the defence of people charged in terms of security legislation. It also provided financial assistance in the defence of workers involved in a labour dispute at Nels Dairy, in the defence of people charged under the Group Areas Act in Johannesburg and provided legal representation for some of those accused of contravening the influx control laws.

During the period 1 January to 30 September the Johannesburg Legal Aid Bureau accepted 577 new civil cases for blacks and 31 for whites. Further interviews were given to 4 005 blacks and 179 whites. Attorneys were appointed in 256 cases and Counsel in 172. Criminal cases were also handled.

Legislation

Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 62 of 1979

The amendment extends the scope of the clauses providing for a summary trial by including accused persons who have been released on bail or on a warning. They can be required to make a plea in a magistrates court on charges which can only be tried in a superior court. It becomes an offence for a person, released on a warning from a police official, to fail to appear in court (previously this applied only to people released on bail). The role of the Regional courts is strengthened by clauses providing for the transfer of a summary trial conducted in a magistrates court and in which the accused pleads not guilty to a Regional court having jurisdiction. The same procedures which operate in the transfer of a trial to a Supreme Court will apply.

Clause 1 provides that in the event of an arrested person being unable to appear in court within the stipulated 48 hours because of physical illness or some other physical condition, the prosecutor may apply to court within that period for a postponement of the date of trial. The court on hearing the circumstances relating to the illness may order that the arrested person be detained at a specified place for such period as the court deems necessary for recuperation after which he will be brought to court for the purpose of an order for his further detention until the commencement of his trial.

Clause 13 renders it unnecessary for the magistrate to whom a confession was made, or the interpreter of a confession, to give evidence in court as was the case in the original Act. It would be sufficient for the interpreter to sign a certificate to the effect that he interpreted the contents of the confession truly, correctly and to the best of his ability and for the questions asked of the accused by the magistrate to be attached to the confession. It would not be necessary for an interpreter to be subjected to cross-examination. However, if an accused person contested the presumption the magistrate would have to appear in court. Mr Kruger, Minister of Justice, said that this would shorten procedure.

Clause 14 brings the provisions relating to admissions into line with those of confessions in that any admission made before a magis-
Legislation

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A statement is admitted as evidence and is presumed to have been freely and voluntarily made unless the accused proves the contrary. In the case of admissions made extra-judicially the onus is on the State to prove that they were freely and voluntarily made. The same requirements relating to the submission of confessions in court apply to admissions and the prosecution is permitted to present evidence to rebut the evidence of the accused to counter the presumption clause.

The PFP opposed the Bill because it objected to clause 1 and clause 14. Clause 1 was opposed because it infringed on the rights of habeus corpus and because there was no provision for an independent decision on the state of health of an accused person. The decision to apply for postponement rested with either the investigating officer or the prosecutor who could make such an application in order to conceal assaults which had been administered to the accused person. There was no protection against abuse. The PFP supported the principle that if a person could not be brought before court within 48 hours he should be released. An amendment was proposed to the effect that the application by the prosecutor must be supported by a certificate of a medical practitioner in which the particulars of the illness or other condition were set out. Only if the court was satisfied that the arrested person could not be brought before court could the court order his further detention. The decision would be that of a judicial officer. The PFP amendment was defeated and one proposed by the NRP adopted. This eliminated the requirement in the PFP amendment that the court must be satisfied that the arrested person could not appear in court and stipulated only that a medical certificate be produced. The NRP argued that the PFP amendment expressed distrust in the judiciary. The PFP voted against the clause as amended, saying that the production of a medical certificate was not sufficient. The PFP proposed an amendment to clause 14 excluding both the presumption clause and the allowance made for the prosecution to rebut the evidence presented by the accused to counter it. The PFP opposed the shift of the onus of proof that an admission was freely and voluntarily made from the State onto the accused and the provision that a magistrate was not required to testify in court on the validity of the presumption. The amendment was defeated.

Inquests Amendment Act No 65 of 1979

The most contentious clause provided that any person who prejudices, influences or anticipates the proceedings or findings at an inquest shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding R500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to both such fine and such imprisonment. The Senate introduced an amendment to the effect that the Act would apply from the moment a magistrate decided, on the basis of information submitted to him, that a death was not due to natural causes. Other clauses extended the provisions relating to the appointment, functions and compensation of assessors.
In moving the Bill the Minister of Justice said that the intention of the measure was not to withhold information, but merely to enable the judicial institutions to function properly.

The PFP, NRP and SAP supported the clause relating to assessors but opposed that relating to anticipation of the findings or proceedings of an inquest. Firstly they argued it would have the effect of restricting the powers of the press and of public opinion on matters of national importance, for example the inquests into the deaths of Steve Biko and Joseph Mdluli. The prohibition would have the effect of de-Police laying the publication of facts because of the ambiguity involved in the word 'anticipation', and the uncertainty as to when an inquest was considered to have begun (that is immediately a person has died unnaturally or when the court opened proceedings) would make the press reluctant to expose themselves to prosecution by publishing such information.

The time span between the institution of an inquest, its proceedings and its completion could be extremely lengthy and the press would not know at what stage comment was prohibited.

Secondly, an inquest court was not a court of law which reached decisions which were binding upon any individual or institution. It was essentially an administrative commission of inquiry and therefore the sub judice rule was not applicable. Historically a very clear distinction had been maintained between a court of law and an inquest court and the opposition found it strange that the Bill, which intended to abolish this distinction was being introduced at such a late stage.

Thirdly, it was not necessary for the officials presiding over, and the witnesses appearing in, an inquest court to have protection.

In reply the Minister and other Nationalist Party MP's said that the findings of an inquest were very important and required the sub judice rule. The issue was not the publication of the proceedings of the inquest, which was permissible, but the comments passed by opinionforming investigative journalism. The Minister said that an inquest into an unnatural death formally commenced when the Attorney-General announced that he was not going to institute a prosecution.

An amendment introduced by the NRP and supported by the PFP in the Second Reading declining to pass the Bill because of its restrictive effects on the press was defeated.

POLICE

Personnel

According to the figures contained the annual report of the Commissioner of Police for the year ended 30 June 1978, the SA Police Force's numerical strength was 19 341 white and 15 624 black members. In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Police provided the following figures of the number of blacks in the force as at 31 December 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Blacks in Force</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>12 990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In reply to another question in Parliament the Minister gave the following figures on the number of policemen joining or leaving the force during 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joined</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged</td>
<td>2164</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As at 11 May there were 2,176 vacancies for whites, 47 for coloured, 68 for Indian and 1,654 for Africans. Police training colleges had a capacity to train 4,296 policemen but only 1,705 would be completing their six month training course in June 1979. Of these 998 had enrolled for the second course in the latter half of 1979.36

The high number of policemen leaving the force was attributed to strong dissatisfaction about low wages, long hours and other working conditions about which there was extensive discussion in the press and parliament during the year.

In February the Minister of Police said that the Public Service Commission and the Treasury had approved a scheme whereby policemen up to the rank of major could volunteer to work on their days off and be paid specified rates. The fact that the rates were racially differentiated met with some criticism. He also announced that the promotion structure had been revised to enable Indian policemen to rise to the highest ranks in the force. In April policemen received a 10% increase (see Section on Employment). The starting salaries of constables with a matriculation certificate were as follows: whites R3000 pa; coloured and Indian-R2520 pa; Africans-R1 842 pa and with standard eight as follows: whites R2460 pa; coloured and Indian-R2 070 pa and Africans-R1 500 pa.8 Despite the increase, resignations and expressions of dissatisfaction continued.

Criticism was expressed during the year on the use of camouflage uniform by members of the police force in Soweto.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Police said that the use of camouflage uniform had been authorised since 21 March 1978 for use during riots, anticipated unrest, cleaning-up operations and for periods of long, uninterrupted duty. Mrs Suzman PFP replied by saying that the residents of black townships disliked them as an atmosphere of war was created.9 In April Brigadier Gerber, Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, said that riot squad police would no longer use camouflage uniforms during patrols.4

In January a Public Relations Division of the SA Police Force was established with the intention of promoting liaison between the police and the public (see
legislation). According to the Commissioner of Police, General Geldenhuys, its aim was to ensure that the public and news media were 'objectively' informed about the problems faced by

the police force. In July he said in an address to the Pretoria Press Club that some newspapers did not always act fairly in the search for information, particularly regarding the arrests of guerrillas and sabotage cases. These reports could seriously affect investigations. He said that the press should seriously, honestly and objectively weigh up the publication of reports against the possible serious consequences which the report might have. A responsible press did not publish anything which would threaten the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order. If police action was continuously and unjustifiably presented as suspect and brutal, he said, irreparable damage would be caused to the democratic infrastructure because if the police failed, then the State failed also. He therefore appealed to the press for 'balanced' reporting.

In October the Minister of Police announced that opportunities for black women in the police force were being created and the necessary regulations were being drafted.

Police Amendment Act No 64 of 1979
The Act changed certain procedures for dealing with and punishment of alleged misconduct by commissioned officers and contained provisions for the remuneration of police members.

Clause two extended the area, adjacent to the border between SA and any foreign state or territory, within which a member of the police force could conduct a search without warrant of any person, premises, vehicle, vessel, or aircraft or any receptacle of whatever nature, from one mile to ten kilometres. In moving the clause the Minister of Police said that this was necessary for the more effective control of these areas, in the light of the return to SA of trained and armed guerrilla fighters.

Clause three extended the use for which the police force could be employed in the defence of SA in the event of war or any other emergency by removing the restriction that such use be confined within SA's borders.

Clause nine made it an offence to publish any untrue information about the actions of the police force in the performance of their duties. To do so is an offence punishable by a fine not exceeding R19 000, imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to both such fine and imprisonment. Any report on police activities requires that the person writing it has reasonable grounds for believing its truth and the onus of proving this will rest on such a person. (This places the police force in the same position as regards news coverage as the prisons department and the defence force and gives legal form to previous arrangements between the police and the press as laid down in the police press code. However, the penalties are more severe, the application of the code is extended to cover publications not covered by the code and responsibility is placed on the individual reporter instead of the newspaper publishing the story. A liaison unit would be established for press-police relations.) In moving this clause the Minister said that it was intolerable that the police were presented as
oppressors rather than protectors of the people on the basis of blatant untruths. The enemies of SA attempted to denigrate and demoralise the police in the eyes of the public and of the outside world as part of

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their total onslaught against SA. There was no intention to curb the freedom of the press but merely to prevent the publication of untrue statements. Clause 11 increased the period for which a member of the police reserve can be called up for service from 30 to 90 days per year and adds the proviso that those members of the force with at least two years uninterrupted service who joined the Force after 1 July 1979 would be required to serve a total of 180 days. Those who joined before 1 July 1979 would be required to serve a total of 150 days, as they might already have served a 30 day term. The conditions for rendering service were also specified. Those people who join the Police Force as an alternative to national service will be required to serve for two years before joining the Police Reserve. The Minister said that this was necessary to prevent people from joining the Police Force in order to avoid national service.

Finally, the provisions of the Moratorium Act no 25 of 1963 were extended to members of the Police Reserve who render continuous service. The PFP, NRP and the SAP opposed the clause relating to publication of information on police activities which they interpreted as a restriction on the freedom of the press to criticise the police. Public scrutiny was necessary to restrain the police. If only that which the police approved of was published as true, then only favourable reports would appear. Because of the severe penalties reporters would apply excessive self-censorship in reporting cases of police action. It would be very difficult to prove in a manner satisfactory to a court that the necessary steps had been taken to verify all the facts. Establishing the truth of a report might involve disclosing sources of information, something which a reporter would be unwilling to do. There was in any case existing machinery with which to control publications. In addition the clause was very wide in scope as the meaning of the words 'to publish' was to make known in any manner either verbally or in print. The Minister agreed with this interpretation which had been raised with him by the Association of Law Societies.

The PFP moved that the Bill be read again in six months’ time.

The PFP, NRP and the SAP opposed the clause relating to publication of information on police activities which they interpreted as a restriction on the freedom of the press to criticise the police. Public scrutiny was necessary to restrain the police. If only that which the police approved of was published as true, then only favourable reports would appear. Because of the severe penalties reporters would apply excessive self-censorship in reporting cases of police action. It would be very difficult to prove in a manner satisfactory to a court that the necessary steps had been taken to verify all the facts. Establishing the truth of a report might involve disclosing sources of information, something which a reporter would be unwilling to do. There was in any case existing machinery with which to control publications. In addition the clause was very wide in scope as the meaning of the words 'to publish' was to make known in any manner either verbally or in print. The Minister agreed with this interpretation which had been raised with him by the Association of Law Societies.

The PFP moved that the Bill be read again in six months’ time.

The Bill met with considerable criticism from both the English and Afrikaans press and from journalists.

According to figures provided by the Minister of Police in reply to a question in the Assembly the sum of R178 725 was paid in 1978 to 78 people who had been assaulted by police members. An additional R32 050 was paid to 32 people who had sued the police for unlawful arrest.3

The following number of people were shot during 1978 by policemen in the execution of their duties (figures in brackets indicate those, included in the total figures, who were shot while attempting to escape arrest) :44
Killed Wounded 109
Adults Juveniles Adults juveniles
White 2 (1) - 12 (9)
Coloured 26 (16) 2(1) 107 (71) 19(13)
African 163(115) 10(7) 345(254) 28(19)
Total 191(132) 12(8) 467(336) 47(32)
The following number of policemen were convicted during 1978:41
White Black
Common assault 116 113
Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm 13 26
Culpable homicide 4 9
Murder - 2
Total 113 150
Of those convicted fifteen whites and four blacks had previous convictions. Two
whites and seven blacks with previous convictions, and two whites and six blacks
without previous convictions, were dismissed from the force during the year.
There were numerous reports during the year of allegations of police torture and
indiscriminate shooting. The police continued to patrol and intervene in politically
related funerals in the African townships.
On 13 January a funeral was held for Victor Siphiwe Sibiya (16) who had been
shot by the police on 30 December. The police alleged that he had been shot while
attempting to escape arrest on a charge of theft, but the family claimed that he had
been shot while hiding underneath a car and that he had been punched and kicked
by the police before he died. The Soweto Students' League condemned the
shooting and called for an investigation. In September it was reported that the
Attorney General had not decided whether to institute an inquest into his death.
Two thousand people attended the funeral but the police refused entry to the
graveyard to all except the family and a few friends. Allegations were made that
the police stopped cars, forced the people to get out and then kicked and beat
them. At the Sibiya home where people had gathered for the washing-of-hands
ceremony, the police ordered the crowd to disperse and then fired several teargas
canisters. Police vans, a sneeze machine and a hippo were on standby outside the
Sibiya home. Seven people were reported to have been treated for teargas
poisoning which resulted in one losing consciousness. Two people were arrested
and charged with disturbing the peace and good order. A spokesman for the
Soweto Students' League, Mr Evan Maphana, criticised the police for their
unprovoked attack on the students, saying that the students had promised to
remain calm. Brigadier Gerber acting Divisional Commissioner in Soweto denied
the allegations made against the police and said that the police would not in-

Police: Conduct
Infer with funerals in Soweto unless they were used as political showpieces.
Capt Smith, senior lecturer in criminology and political science at UNISA, said
that the serious allegations levelled against the police warranted an investigation to discover the truth. A policeman under normal circumstances, he said, may not use force except when protecting his life or the lives of other people or in making an arrest. In February at the trial of Reginald Nene (19) who was arrested at the time that Sibiya was shot, he alleged that the police had constructed a crime and forced him by means of assaults to incriminate himself in order to justify their shooting of Sibiya."

In April the police ordered the family and friends of Mr Solomon Mahlungu, executed for his role in the Goch Street shootings (see chapter on Security Legislation), to leave the cemetery in Atteridgeville. Teargas was fired. Later the police ordered students gathered at the Mahlungu home to leave and allegedly attacked them with truncheons.47

The police in anti-riot trucks and the security police were present at the funeral of Mr Thonono Mpolongwana which was held in New Brighton township Port Elizabeth in January and attended by approximately 700 people. He had been shot by a member of the security police.41

In December 1978 an inquest was opened into the death of Mr Sindele Ndlela who was killed in a police raid on the Crossroads squatter camp on 14 September 1978. Sgt Cleary, who fired the shot, claimed that he had been surrounded by a stone-throwing crowd and had fired at Mr Ndlela in self-defence when the latter approached him some distance away carrying a stone, as he had no escape route. The defence argued that medical evidence regarding the entry of the bullet into Mr Ndlela's body contradicted the evidence presented by Sgt Cleary, which was also denied by defence witnesses who said that Mr Ndlela had not been carrying stones but had approached the police to discover what was happening.

During the inquest Lt Knipe admitted that he had rewritten the statements made by five policemen which were materially identical to one another and which were submitted at the inquest. He said that he wrote the statements in his own words after receiving written statements from the men but denied assisting the policemen with their statements. He could not explain their similarity. A number of lawyers approached for comment said this practice was highly irregular as the policemen might have been influenced by their senior officer to sign a statement which was not their own. Mr Chaskalson, arguing in defence, said that the house-to-house raids conducted by the police were unlawful and an abuse of police power in that the police had entered houses without knowing anything about the occupants and searched the houses without having any information as to whether the occupants were law abiding citizens or criminals. No attempt was made to establish whether any grounds existed for the search of any particular house. If the raids were unlawful the person responsible for executing them would be liable not only for such offences but also the consequences which could have been foreseen as likely to result from illegal raids. Mr Swart, for the Minister of Police, rejected this argument as being irrelevant to the inquest and was supported by the magistrate who said that it was not the courts' function to decide on
matters of human rights. The magistrate accepted the evidence of Sgt 111 Cleary and found that nobody was to blame for Mr Ndlela's death as Sgt Cleary had acted in self defence.49

In four separate inquests in January a Port Elizabeth inquest court Soweto found that nobody was to blame for the deaths of Mr Mateteleli Riots Tshkila (22), Mr Ephraim Mzikayisa Titya (22), Mr Nceba Makalima (18) and Mr Joseph Nondlwana, all of whom were shot in 1978 by the police who claimed that they had shot to defend themselves against people throwing stones at their vehicles. The mother of Mr Tshkila claimed that she had not been informed of the date, time and venue of the inquest into her son's death which she learnt about from the press.50

In August R30 000 was paid in an out of court settlement by the Minister of Police and the Administrator of the Transvaal to Mr Stanley Ndlovu of Atteridgeville for the loss of his leg after being shot by a police constable in October 1977 for allegedly being the leader of a group of children throwing stones at a police car. The settlement was made without the Minister and the Administrator admitting liability and without prejudice. His father had claimed R55 000 from the Minister of Police and R45 000 from the Administrator.’

In February 300 students at the Kwamakhuta High School in Amanzimtoti went on a march to protest about certain grievances. While marching towards the school the students stoned policemen who fired shots, wounding three. The following day one student was killed and another wounded when the security police fired shots to prevent the students throwing stones.2

In October in an out of court settlement the State agreed to pay R21 359, in addition to legal costs to 19 African workers and Mr Gavin Anderson, banned former organiser for the Metal and Allied Workers Union. The claims for damages against wrongful and unlawful assault arose from a police baton charge during a strike at the Heineman Electric factory in 1976.

At a national conference of the Black Sash in May called 'Police Behaviour and Political Trials', speakers said that the role of the police in enforcing apartheid legislation was becoming increasingly sinister. The police could not assume the more traditional role of guardians of life, rights and property while they were enforcing legislation which conflicted with those values. The police, speakers said, had been heavily criticised for their enforcement of the pass laws, for the number of assaults and for the alarming number of people who died every year while in police custody. However, speakers said the extent of police violence and intimidation was probably underestimated. The conference called for an urgent reassessment of the role of the police, acknowledging that this could only be done after a reassessment of the laws of the country.

Government Actions Relating to the 1976 Riots

In October Mr Justice Cillie said that he could give no indication when the report of the Cillie Commission of Inquiry would be submitted to the Government. It was being translated. Mrs Suzman PFP said that the delay was intolerable and that by the time the report was published it would be long out of date.

In reply to questions in Parliament the Minister of Justice said that the Compensation Committee, chaired by the Acting Judge President
Police: Conduct

Injuries sustained before arrest Injuries inflicted during arrest by unknown people
Wounded during arrest or during attempt to escape Suicide
Natural causes
Assault/Murder by fellow prisoners Injuries-own fault/accidental
Alcoholic poisoning Suffocation-no criminal liability Injuries inflicted by police in self
defence Subdural haemorrhage/multiple injuries/renal failure members of force
charged/convicted with culpable
homicide/murder/assault
Result of inquest 'no finding' or indeterminable causes Inquest not concluded
Injuries inflicted by unknown persons Case still being investigated
Numerous allegations of police assault while awaiting trial were made in court by
accused.

After the conviction last year of three policemen in connection with the death of
Mr Paulos Cane,57 the judge at the trial recommended that the station commander
at Hluhluwe police station be suspended and charged as an accomplice as he had
allegedly been aware of the assaults. In June the Attorney General of Natal said
he refused to institute a prosecution as in his opinion there was no prima facie
case and no evidence.58

of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, Mr Justice W.G.
Boschoff, was in the process of considering 150 claims for compensation arising
out of the riots in black townships in 1976. These included a claim submitted on
behalf of Dr Melville Edelstein.54 Administration boards throughout the country
were reported to be suing insurance companies for an estimated amount of
between R12m and R15m for damages.

In February the Minister of Finance, Mr Horwood, announced the establishment
of an insurance company, the SA Special Risks Insurance Association to provide
insurance against loss or damage caused by persons intending through violent
action to influence or disrupt the existing social and economic order. The
company consisted of a group of insurance companies underwritten by the
Government. After criticism was expressed about the fact that black people would
have to pay five times more for insurance irrespective of where they lived, Mr
Horwood said that he would investigate the racially discriminatory rates. Multi-
national companies would not qualify for insurance cover because they did not
hold insurance policies with SA insurance companies.5

Prisoners in Police Custody

In reply to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Police said that 161 persons
in police custody (excluding security detainees) died during 1978. The causes of
their deaths are summarised below:56

On 11 June one of the policemen, charged with the murder of Mr Jantjes
Matobako,19 and one civilian were found guilty on four counts of assault with
intent to inflict grievous bodily harm. Two of the other policemen involved were
discharged. Mr Justice Steyn said that the evidence before the court showed that
there was no direct intention to cause death and sentenced the civilian to a R10 000 fine and the policeman to four years' imprisonment.6

In May it was reported that Mr Zwenakhe Sithole had lodged a R30 000 claim for damages with the Minister of Police. In October 1978 four policemen were convicted on a charge of assault in the Dundee Regional Court, with sentence being suspended for five years. They were found to have 'roasted' Mr Sithole by suspending him over an open fire which resulted in severe burns on his back, legs and toes resulting in permanent disfigurement and the loss of the full use of his legs. He had spent five months in hospital. He had been detained on charges of murder which were later withdrawn.61

On 18 February Mr Sonnyboy Nhlapo from Kwa-Thema died in police custody. He had been arrested on charges of possessing dagga. The Benoni district surgeon who performed the post mortem found that he had died of asphyxia brought on by an epileptic attack; that is, of natural causes. The Nhlapo family arranged a private pathologist to perform another post mortem. He said that injuries to Mr Nhlapo were consistent with assault. Under cross-examination the State pathologist said that there had been no signs on the body which indicated epilepsy. He had diagnosed this as a cause of death because of what he had been told earlier.62 Witnesses presented evidence to the effect that Mr Nhlapo had been assaulted by the police. On 27 September the magistrate found that the cause of death could not be established but was not the result of negligence of any person. He referred his ruling to the Attorney General for a final decision. The family lodged a R40 000 claim for damages against the Minister of Police.

In January after his arrest on a charge of theft a student from Guguletu, Mr Nhunhu Mazwandile Magengelele, died in his police cell. The police alleged that he had hung himself with his bootlaces. His family found it hard to believe that he had taken his life and claimed to have evidence that he had been assaulted by the police. His brother claimed that Mr Magengelele had bruises on his face when he went to identify the body at the mortuary.63 An inquest was opened into his death.

In February six policemen who appeared in the Umtata High Court, Transkei, pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, alternatively homicide and two additional counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The charges arose out of the death of Mr Mahle Noah who had been arrested in July 1977 with three other clerks in the Department of Justice in connection with the disappearance of R40 000. The body of Mr Noah had been found in the Umtata River on 6 July 1977. During the trial one of the clerks arrested with Mr Noah alleged that he had been tortured so that he would admit where the money was hidden. Another of the clerks claimed that he had been handcuffed and thrown down the river bank by the police. They were found not guilty of murder on 7 March and sentenced to a fine of R100

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114 or imprisonment for six months for common assault on Mr Noah and two of the clerks.64
In a report published during the year by Amnesty International Prisons the claim was made that countries like SA which had a legitimate opposition party resorted to a certain amount of pretence to hide violations of human rights. Explanations such as prisoners 'dying suddenly under interrogation' or while 'resisting arrest' were given for the death of people in police custody.5

Merit Awards
In his annual report for the year ended 30 June 1978, the Commissioner of Police stated that during the year the following awards were made to policemen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Award</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA Police Star for Merit</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA Police Medal for Faithful Service</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA Police Medal for Combating Terrorism</td>
<td>1 445</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bars for Combating Terrorism</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commendations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Police Casualties
During 1978 7 policemen were killed and 28 seriously injured in the execution of their duties according to figures provided by the Minister of Police.6 Several policemen were killed in attacks on police stations by guerilla fighters (see left-wing political violence).

PRISONS
The gross daily cost per prisoner was estimated at R248,58 for the year 1978-79, and R267,91 for the year 1979-80.

Personnel
The Commissioner of Prisons stated in his report for the year ended 30 June 1978 that while the turnover of prison staff was not as high as in the previous year it was nevertheless still alarmingly high. There were 1 989 resignations and 2 198 new appointments which meant a personnel growth of 209. The total numerical strength of the Prisons Department as at 30 June 1978 was 9 024 whites, 5 225 Africans and 1 585 coloured and Indians.

The department undertook the training of black personnel to staff the prisons in Bophuthatswana, the Transkei and Venda. In January the Transkei opened its own Prison College and the Minister of Justice and Prisons Mr Koyana said that the Transkei would stop sending its prison officials to SA for training as soon as the college was fully established because the training provided by SA was unsatisfactory for Transkeian needs."

Prison Population
According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons the daily number of prisoners in custody had increased 12.7 % between the years 1968-69 and 1977-78 while the estimated total population in Prisons: crease for the same period was approximately 7 %.
There were 360 deaths of sentenced prisoners and 33 of unsentenced prisoners in the custody of the department, of which 325 were deaths due to natural causes, 33 as a result of assault by fellow prisoners and four of suicide. During the year 1977-78, 1,859 prisoners escaped and 1,189 were recaptured.

Prisons Amendment Act No 54 of 1979
This amends the original act by reducing from ten to seven the number of strokes which can be applied to a prisoner convicted of having escaped or attempted to escape where this act was accompanied by violence. The Commissioner of Prisons is granted the power to release prisoners sentenced to a period not exceeding two years imprisonment on parole without the prior approval of the Minister of Prisons as required previously.

Provision is made for the arrest and detention of a parolee who has failed to observe a condition of his release on parole and for the treatment, training and employment of psychopaths detained in a hospital prison. The detention of judgment debtors was regulated.

The Bill was supported by all three opposition parties. The PFP expressed its support for the extension of the system of parole and its opposition to corporal punishment.

Administration of the Prisons Act
In July the editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr O'Connor, and one of the reporters appeared in the Grahamstown Magistrates' Court on a charge under the Prisons Act of publishing false information about the administration of a prison without taking reasonable steps to verify the information. In January a report had been published claiming that Anglican priests in Grahamstown had been unable to minister to prisoners in a local jail for more than a year because of the rejection of an application by the Dean of Grahamstown to become prison chaplain. It quoted the Dean as saying that prisoners had not had visits from an Anglican minister for 13 months. Representatives of the Department of Prisons claimed that the report gave a warped and untrue picture of the department and that the newspaper had not attempted to verify the report. A priest had been appointed to visit the prison in March 1976 but had only done so once. Giving evidence in defence Mr O'Connor said that the prison authorities had not been approached about the article as this would have amounted to a kind of censorship. They were both acquitted, the magistrate finding that while the facts had been stated incorrectly the State had not discharged its onus to prove beyond reasonable doubt that sections of the report were false.69

116 Prison Conditions
In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Prisons, Mr Kruger, said that there had been instances since 1 January 1977 of prisoners being transported in closed vans for distances of more than 1,200 km. If necessary handcuffs and/or leg-irons were used to restrain the prisoners. Toilet facilities were available and stops were made for toilet purposes but not for exercise. The maximum number of prisoners transported in a 5,5 m x 2,4 m van was 30 and in a 2,5 m x 1,9 m van, eight. Whether prisoners were allowed out of the van depended on the duration of the trip between prisons and
the personal needs of the prisoners. Mr Malcomess, NRP, said in response that this was a most inhumane form of treatment and the President of the Transvaal Law Society said that the matter should be investigated.

In April after sentencing Mr Hendrik Crous in the Pretoria Supreme Court to imprisonment for the murder of a cell-mate Mr Justice Van der Walt said that the insight he had gained into prison conditions at Zonderwater Prison presented a most disturbing picture.

There was little possibility that such conditions could result in rehabilitation. From 3.30 pm on Saturday afternoons to Monday mornings, 17 or 18 prisoners were confined in one cell." In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Prisons said that representatives of several newspapers had visited Zonderwater Prison to examine conditions there. He said that the predominant reaction of the reporters had been positive and that Mr Justice Van der Walt had accepted an invitation to visit the prison at a later date,. The reporters were not allowed to interview prisoners and their reports had to be submitted to the Prisons Department for comment before publication. During the visit prison officials admitted that cells were cramped because of the large number of prisoners but denied that the prisoners were incarcerated from Saturday to Monday."

In May Chief Mabandla called on the Ciskei Minister of Justice, Chief Njokweni, to investigate the conditions under which detainees were imprisoned at Dimbaza police cells. He said that two detainees had told him that they had to be taken to hospital because of ill-health caused by the prison conditions. Chief Njokweni denied the allegations, saying that detainees were visited weekly by a magistrate and police officials who carried out inspections and attended to complaints and requests. No complaints had been received about adverse conditions.

Prison Labour

According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons agricultural products to the value of R3 531 028 were produced by prisoners during the year ended 30 June 1978. Prison labour during the year had also been engaged in the erection, alteration, extension and improvement of 41 prisons. In the prison workshops, which provide for the prisons and other government departments, materials to the value of R3 053 501 were processed and machinery to the value of R75 306 was purchased.

In reply to a question in Parliament, the Minister of Prisons said that statistics on the number of prisoners hired out as farm labourers were not readily available. Inspections into the conditions under which these prisoners were employed were carried out and when they 117 were found to be unsatisfactory, which was seldom, the provision of parolees or the hiring out of prisoners was immediately suspended until the conditions were satisfactorily improved. Alternatively the Prisons further provision of farm labour was stopped.

Parolees were paid a wage according to an agreement between the employer and the parolee with 45c per day as a minimum. Free lodging, clothing, food and medical treatment had to be provided for black parolees who performed unskilled
labour and for whom no wage determinations existed. Farmers did not pay wages to prisoners but paid the Department of Prisons. The rate per prisoner per day where the department provided a guard was R1.90 in urban areas and R1.50 in rural areas and where no guard was provided 70 cents and 42 cents per day respectively. In all cases the hirer had to provide transport to and from work. Farmers were not empowered to inflict corporal punishment.5

Speaking during the Police Vote Mrs Suzman PFP said that she was uneasy about the fact that the Minister could not provide specific answers to her question. She questioned whether checks were made to ensure that parolees in fact received their wages, adequate food and lodging. She found it difficult to believe that an adequate check on people working throughout the country as farm labourers was possible. The system lent itself to abuse, she said, especially if careful supervision was not maintained. Instead of hiring out prisoners as cheap labour to farmers, Mrs Suzman suggested that the prisons department establish more farms of its own on which the prisoners could work.76

In July a spokesman for the Prisons Department confirmed that non-security prisoners on Robben Island worked in a seaweed factory without being paid wages. The factory was run on a tender basis by individual companies, the profit accruing to the State."

Social Work and Spiritual Care

According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons, the department was still experiencing problems in the recruitment of sufficient numbers of coloured and African social workers. For this reason auxiliary social workers were being trained. As at 30 June 1978 there were 88 social workers visiting the prisons. In addition there were 758 social workers in the employ of various Government departments and private welfare organisations who held prison visiting permits and who rendered rehabilitation and after-care services to the prisoner and his family.

In a study undertaken on behalf of the Cape Town branch of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) it was found that offenders faced employment difficulties after their release from prison largely as a result of employer attitudes. Several recommendations were made to alleviate the difficulty, namely that the Department of Prisons continue to maintain close liaison with industry to determine which skills were most needed, that the State give consideration to establishing different kinds of sheltered employment facilities, that the public sector provide alternative programmes for the unemployed and more seriously disadvantaged and that NICRO establish panels of employers to assist in the rehabilitation process. NICRO should also consider helping groups of offenders by providing working facilities. More resources, the study stated, should be made available for education, vocational training and job place services and there should be planned action by State and welfare agencies."8

NICRO initiated community projects in the Pretoria townships to assist ex-prisoners to integrate themselves in the community. A NICRO centre in the
African community, a half-way house to accommodate ex-prisoners and a bus service for families to visit their relatives in prison were planned.,

According to the annual report of NICRO for the year March 1978-79, the organisation continued to provide the following services: assistance rendered on request to persons awaiting trial, support for families of offenders, assistance to prisoners before their release from prison, co-operation with the Department of Prisons in their assistance and treatment programme, provision of accommodation for ex-prisoners before they enter the community, provision of food and accommodation for chronically socially incapacitated persons, and provision of a gymnasium and recreation centre in Cape Town for use by ex-prisoners. It also continued with its campaign to create public awareness.

The Dependants Conference of the SA Council of Churches continued to assist the families of prisoners on Robben Island to visit their relatives, and established a hostel in Cape Town to accommodate them.

Other forms of assistance included the provision of subsidised grants to families of political detainees, family grants to assist former Robben Island prisoners with food and accommodation, educational grants for children of prisoners and resettlement grants to assist with the adjustment of released political prisoners into society.

Matters Related to Prison Regulations

In January a Prisoners' Education Committee based in Durban launched a campaign for prisoners to be allowed to study and to receive books of their own choice. This arose from a change in the prison regulations in November 1977, depriving political prisoners of the right to post-matric study. In its manifesto the committee, co-sponsored by the Black Sash, the SA Institute of Race Relations, the Civil Rights League and the National Council of Women, stated that it believed that prisoners had a limited, if any, opportunity to fight for their rights.

The onus was on those outside prison to give whatever assistance they could to prisoners. The right of everybody to education should not only be jealously guarded but all citizens should be encouraged to study.

Branches of the committee were established in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg. Public meetings were held to mobilise support for a petition to be sent to the Minister of Prisons urging him to amend the prison regulations so as to entrench the right to study. Religious, academic and professional bodies throughout the country supported the campaign. In December the Minister of Prisons refused to see a delegation of the committee who wished to present him with the petition. He said that the question of study privileges was subordinate to that of prison discipline.

In May, speaking at a public meeting, Professor Van Rooyen said that there should be a prisoners' bill of rights and a permanent arrangement between the prisons and a university to ensure that all prisoners would be able to further their education if they wished. Speaking at a meeting in Johannesburg a former
Robben Island prisoner, Mr Ernest Moseneke, said that depriving political prisoners of the opportunity to study could produce an army of bitter people.82 In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Prisons said that 19 prisoners on Robben Island, six political prisoners at Pretoria Prison and one at the Kroonstad female prison had been granted permission to pursue post-matric studies. (During the Prisons Vote he informed the Assembly that they were being allowed to complete the courses for which they had registered prior to the promulgation of the regulations within a reasonable period of time.3) All other categories of prisoners who satisfied the requirements for admission to suitable courses were permitted to pursue post-matric studies. A total of 60 prisoners were doing so." In reply to another question in Parliament the Minister said that political prisoners on Robben Island were provided with various forms of technical training.85

Robben Island and other Prisons for Political Prisoners

In replies to questions in Parliament the Minister of Prisons said that of the 247 prisoners who were serving sentences of life imprisonment, 36 were on Robben Island.86 There were a total of 447 political prisoners on Robben Island, nine of whom were below the age of 18. There were 220 prisoners serving sentences for other crimes,87 and 53 prisoners from South West Africa.88 There were nine women political prisoners at the Kroonstad Prison, none of whom was below the age of 18.89 During the debate on the Prisons Vote, Mrs Suzman PFP, called for parole to be granted to the prisoners who were under the age of 18.90 In May six prisoners in the maximum security section of Robben Island, Messrs Vusumuzi Mcongo, Ziko Camagu, Mncedisi Siswana, Thamasanqa Jeffrey Klaas, Khumbella Mnikina and Fezile Lawrence Mvula, were charged on five counts of attempted murder of five warders and of failing to obey a lawful command of the prison staff. The trial took place before a Regional Court Magistrate on Robben Island. The warders alleged that after refusing to heed a bell informing the prisoners that they should return to their cells and a request by a warder for them to do so, the prisoners attacked them. The prisoners had gathered in the recreation centre and had been listening to an address by Mr Mnikina. Defence counsel asked for the accused to be acquitted on the grounds that the State had failed to show intent to kill. There was no common purpose to commit any unlawful act against the warders. Evidence of the warders had been contradictory and except for one of the accused identification rested on the observations of one person in most instances under stress. The prosecutor requested that all except Mr Camagu be convicted of at least assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. He conceded that there were doubtful grounds for the charge of not obeying a lawful order.

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Political Prisoners

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Political Prisoners

Mr Camagu was acquitted, the others being found guilty of public violence and given sentences ranging between two-and-a-half and four years. In the case of Mr
Mcongo and Mr Klaas one year would be served concurrently with their other sentences. Defence counsel gave notice of appeal.9'

In February three warders and a prisoner appeared in the Port Elizabeth Magistrates' Court on charges of assaulting three political prisoners, Messrs Simon Mlonyeni, Phela Nyaki and Mluleki Editor George, with broomsticks at St Albans Prison in July 1978. They alleged that they were also hit by other prisoners in the presence of the warders. The warders denied the assaults. One was found guilty, his sentence being postponed for a year, and the other two warders were acquitted.92

In August two political prisoners at Kroonstad Prison, Ms Thandisa Mangungo and Ms Caeserina Makhoere, were charged with assaulting two white wardresses on two occasions in July. Ms Mangungo alleged that she hit the wardress in self defence and Ms Makhoere that she had intervened in order to stop the fighting. According to evidence presented in Court relations between prison officials and prisoners were not satisfactory because of conditions at the prison. Prisoners were dissatisfied with the type of food they received and five of the political prisoners, without consulting one another, had gone on a hunger strike for a few days. Ms Mangungo was sentenced to R60 or 60 days imprisonment and Ms Makhoere to R30 or 50 days.

In August Mr Strini Moodley, former executive member of the SA Students' Organisation, served a R10 000 defamation claim on Dr Chris Barnard. Replying to a request by Amnesty International for Dr Barnard to treat Mr Moodley for tuberculosis, Dr Barnard had said that Mr Moodley had been convicted for terrorist activities similar to those of the Bader Meinhof Gang in Germany. Mr Moodley felt the letter to be malicious and damaging. Dr Barnard denied the allegations, repudiated the damage claim and said that his sole object was to demonstrate the distinction between political activities and terrorist activities. Without admitting liability he offered to place all the facts before Amnesty International and to retract any statements which did not accord with the facts.9" In September Mr Nelson Mandela was subpoenaed to give evidence for the defence in the trial of Chief Dalindyebo Sabata charged under the Transkei Public Security Act. A spokesman for the Prisons Department said that it was only compelled to respond to subpoenas issued from SA. Permission for Mr Mandela to testify was refused, though he would be allowed to give evidence on commission.94 In October the University of Lesotho presented an honorary doctorate of laws to Mr Mandela.

In December Messrs Alexander Moumbiris, Timothy Jenkins and Stephen Lee escaped from the maximum security section of Pretoria Central Prison and crossed the Botswana border. A prison warder was charged with allegedly assisting in the escape which was claimed to have been organised by the underground network of the ANC.

During the year Messrs Nkutsoeu Motau, Ibrahima Ismail, Sisa Ncaphayi, Diliza Matshoba, William Ntutu and others were released from Robben Island. Mr Ncaphayi was resettled in the Transkei although his home was in Cape Town and Mr Matshoba and Mr Ntutu were given a
Calls for the Release of Political Prisoners
In February the Dutch government stated that it was willing to grant Mr Breyten Breytenbach asylum if the SA authorities were persuaded to release him. The PEN organisation in Holland indicated that they would provide him with material support until he could earn a living and sent a representative to SA to discuss his release with the Minister of Prisons, who refused to release him on parole.
In March Amnesty International renewed its call for the release of political prisoners. The President of the Malagasy Republic offered to release two SA prisoners and an American detained two years ago in exchange for Mr Mandela and 51 other black political prisoners. Mr Kruger said that he would not entertain the idea.
In July Chief Leabua Jonathan said that the doors of contact with African countries would be opened to SA if the Prime Minister agreed to speak to Mr Mandela.
The UN Special Committee against Apartheid appealed to governments and organisations throughout the world to observe 11 October as a day of solidarity with SA political prisoners.
In October the annual conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa called for the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners for the purpose of negotiating a peaceful solution with the Government.

References
I RP 2 and 5/79
2 RP 26/79
RP 29/79
Ibid Ibid
6 Hansard 5 Q col 384
Hansard 9 Q col 602 Hansard 3 Q col 147 Hansard 4 Q col 220
10 Daily Dispatch 28 February 11 Rand Daily Mail 11 and 16 March, Star 9 July
12 Citizen 4 April
SA Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology Vol 3 No 2 14 Sunday Express 3
June 11 Rand Daily Mail 6 March 16 Rand Daily Mail 5 March, Post 16 August
7 Star 31 January, Sunday Times 11 March
Hansard 2 Q col 72
9 Hansard 6 Q col 448 10 Hansard 2 Q col 73 21 Rand Daily Mail 19 February
22 Daily News 24 January 23 Post 7 April
24 Star 20 March
25 Sunday Times 25 March 26 Post 30 April
27 Rand Daily Mail 8 September Post 5 February, Sunday Times 11 February 29
Post 24 March, Sunday Times 22 April 10 Rand Daily Mail 22 August, Sunday
Times 26 August 31 Natal Witness 13 February
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Political Prisoners

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ADMINISTRATION OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

General

Speaking at an international conference on human rights in January Professor Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said that the white public of SA had been lulled into a false sense of security over the past decades by ministerial assurances that arbitrary actions against individuals, organisations and publications in terms of the security laws had been taken in the 'national interest'. South Africans should demand the introduction of some form of control to prevent arrogance and inefficiency in the implementation of the security laws.'
In April Mr David de Villiers QC, managing director of the Nasionale Pers newspaper group, during an address at the Randse Afrikaanse University called for a thorough examination of SA's security laws which did not meet with the ideal of justice or comply with SA's legal traditions. Drastic and positive steps, he said, should be taken to design a system of checks and balances that would do justice to basic freedom on the one hand and to the need to combat 'terrorism' and sabotage on the other. He proposed a comprehensive commission of inquiry into all forms of encroachment on private freedoms made in the interests of national security. If the State did not take the initiative itself, the legal profession should unite and insist on an inquiry.2 The editor of Die Transvaler, the main newspaper of the rival Perskor Company, supported the idea saying that SA's desire to maintain a 'democratic system' against assaults from outside should not lead to the disintegration of the system itself.,

Speaking during the Justice Vote Mrs Suzman supported Mr De Villiers, calling for a system of security laws which would include the principle of the accountability of officers of the state to an independent judicial body.4 In reply the then Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, ruled out the possibility of a review of security laws saying they were exceptional measures introduced to meet exceptional circumstances which could not be relaxed while the onslaught against SA continued. When the danger against SA diminished, some of the security measures would no longer be necessary and at such a time a commission of inquiry could fulfil a useful purpose in determining what legislation could be removed and what was still necessary to maintain the State's security. He appealed to the legal profession to ignore the suggestion made by Mr De Villiers as it was not the task of the legal profession or 123

In August Mr Schlebusch, the new Minister, announced that the Government had appointed a commission to inquire into and make recommendations on the necessity, fairness, adequacy and efficiency of internal security legislation. His statement said that over the past 30 years or so it had been necessary to introduce statutory measures to counteract the constantly changing threat to internal security. It was therefore possible that some of the measures might no longer be necessary and could be removed from the statute book. On the other hand, the security situation had again changed, and consideration had to be given to the question as to whether the existing statutory measures satisfied existing demands. The Commission would consider the criticism that administrative powers were unfair and that there was insufficient provision for judicial supervision over the exercise of these powers. The commission would also consider the consolidation of security measures, spread over a number of acts, which were unwieldy to apply and the proliferation of which had become a weapon for anti-SA propaganda.
In September the regulations governing the appointment of the commission were promulgated. These included a prohibition on the publication or communication of any information given to the commission or any of its proceedings. Mr Justice P.J. Rabie of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of SA was appointed chairman. While the Secretary for Justice Mr Coetzer denied that the hasty promulgation of the regulations was intended to prevent the publication of a report submitted by the Association of Law Societies to the Commission and released to the press, this was its effect. The regulations also prohibited any person from prejudicing, influencing or anticipating the findings of the Commission.

The Sunday Times published the views of the Association of Law Societies as expressed in its report. The Association said that SA's security laws were in urgent need of revision to stamp out the abuse of power which often flourished in secrecy and to avert the danger that people might lose respect for the administration of justice. Security laws alone would not ensure public order. The Association accepted that the SA situation justified a framework of security laws but the greater the powers granted to the State the greater should be the measures for the supervision and control of those who exercised extraordinary powers on behalf of the State. Most of the powers granted to the police in terms of security legislation were exercised in secrecy without provisions requiring them to account for their actions. Their power was greater in practice since their confidential reports, untested by cross-examination, were the basis for bannings and detentions. The Association recommended that all the security laws should be consolidated into a single act with temporary provisions only enacted by proclamation supervised by an independent Standing Commission. People against whom action was taken should be informed in writing of the legal provisions applying to them. Specific recommendations regarding various aspects of the security laws were also recommended. Professor Johan Van der Vyver urged the Commission to distinguish clearly between the activities and the beliefs which were considered to be prejudicial to the safety of the State. State sanction, he said, should apply only to the former.

Speaking at the National Party Congress in the OFS Mr Schlebusch said that SA could not depend on the military and police forces alone for its security. Good race relations and the economic well-being of the underprivileged were essential to ward off revolutionary circumstances. SA's future security, he said, lay in a stable and strong Government. In October he warned the SA Council of Churches to desist from irresponsible action and encouraging people to break the law by, among other things, condemning security legislation, by caring for political detainees and by financing political trials, all of which displayed a sympathy with revolutionary action.

Legislation

Departure from the Union Regulation Act No 7

The amendment changes the provisions relating to the departure of persons from the Republic without passports or permits or at places other than ports, the
conveyance of and the rendering of assistance to such persons and the return of certain persons who have left the Republic permanently. The provisions are changed by replacing ‘any other place outside the Union’ with ‘another country’. In moving the Bill the Minister said that difficulties were experienced in the prosecution of persons contravening the Act as the wording of the Act required the State to stipulate in the charge sheet the specific place to where a person was destined. It was often impossible for the State to do this which meant that not all the elements of the offence could be proved and the person was acquitted. The Bill was supported by all parties.

Security Trials

Statistics

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Police gave the following information relating to security trials during 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charged Acquitted</th>
<th>Convicted Released without trial/charges withdrawn</th>
<th>Convicted of lesser charges Still on trial/awaiting trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charged Acquitted</td>
<td>Convicted Released without trial/charges withdrawn</td>
<td>Convicted of lesser charges Still on trial/awaiting trial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism Act</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>115</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internal Security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Act</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those detained under the Terrorism Act were held for the following lengths of time before being charged:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detained</th>
<th>No of days held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>for up to 30 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>for 31-60 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>for 61-90 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>for 91-120 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>for 121-150 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The periods of detention of those detained under the Internal Security Act were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detained</th>
<th>No of days held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>for up to 30 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>for 31-60 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>for 61-90 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>for 91-120 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>for 121-150 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister said that of the persons under the age of 18 years detained in terms of the Terrorism Act and Internal Security Act during 1978, fourteen were charged with sabotage of whom four were convicted,
the remaining ten being acquitted while two were convicted of public violence and malicious damage to property respectively. Of the nineteen charged with public violence or incitement to public violence eighteen were convicted." A total of 189 persons under the age of 18 who were detained in terms of security legislation during 1977 and 1978 were charged with having committed criminal offences. Of these 119 were found guilty of various offences. Nine were found guilty in terms of the Terrorism Act and the General Law Amendment Act 1963 (sabotage)16
The table on page 127 indicates trials held during 1979 from 1 January to 30 November (including trials begun in 1978 and terminated in 1979):11
Speaking at a NP meeting in Edenburg in September the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, said that between February and August, there had been 168 trials involving 'national security.'8
The following is a breakdown of the ages of those convicted during the year in terms of security legislation (where known):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>No of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-65</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Major Trials
Bethal PAC Trial19
Judgement in the trial of eighteen alleged members of the PAC began on 18 June. All the accused, except Alfred NtshaliNtshali who was acquitted, were found guilty and sentenced as follows: Zephania Mothopeng-15 years; Moffat Zungu-7 years; Michael Matsobane-
Security
Trials

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15 years; Daniel Matsobane-12 years; Mark Shinners-12 years; John Ganya-11 years; Ben Ntoele-10 years; Johnson Nyathi-10 years; Themba Hlatshwayo-8 years; Molathlegi Thlale-8 years; Julius Lancingwe-8 years; Michael Khala-7 years; Goodwill Moni-7 years; Trials Zolile Ndindwa-7 years; Jerome Kodesang-5 years; Rodney Tsoletsane-5 years. Hamilton Keke was sentenced to five years imprisonment suspended for five years. Defence counsel for the accused gave notice of their intention to appeal, which was refused in December.

Kempton Park SSRC Trial
On 11 May sentence was passed as follows: Welile Chief Twala, Jefferson Lengane, Ernest Thabo Ndabeni, Kennedy Kgositsile Mogami, Reginald Teboho Mngomezulu, Michael Sello Khiba and George Nkosinathi Twala received five years imprisonment suspended for five years. Dan Montsitsi received 8 years imprisonment, Maffison Morobe 7 years, Seth Mazibuko 6 years and Susan Mthembu 6 years. Four years of each of the sentences were suspended for five years. Passing sentence Judge Van Dyck said that he had taken into consideration the age of the accused and the period which they had spent in detention.

Pietermaritzburg Treason Trial
In September the following people appeared in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court: Mandlenkosi Christopher Hadebe (27), Mandla Jack Mthethwa (22), John Mofokeng Sekete (24), Jeffre Ramasaka Legaobe (30), Thibe Jimmy Ngobeni (27), Andrew Mapheto (20), Bennet Pantese Komane (46), Titus Mogaletoe Malaka (25), Sydney Sekwati Choma (23), Vusumuzi Nicholas Zulu (28), James Daniel Mange (24), Tladitsagae Moses Molefe (23). Cumulatively they faced one charge of high treason, 43 alternative counts of participating in 'terroristic' activities and one count under the Riotous Assemblies Act of conspiracy to commit murder. They were alleged, as members of the ANC or Umkhonto We Sizwe, to have undergone military training in several countries abroad with the object of returning to SA and overthrowing the Government by violent means. Some were alleged to have established caches of large amounts of arms, ammunition and explosives. Mr Molefe was alleged to have engaged in a mission to attack police stations in the Vryburg area, to have engaged members of the
Bophuthatswana police in armed combat and to have established bases to conceal men and/or arms; Mr Komane was alleged to have been an instructor in a guerrilla camp in Angola, to have attempted to recruit people in Soweto for military training, and to have been in possession of arms and ammunition; Mr Zulu was alleged to have engaged in a mission to sabotage pipelines in the Merebank area in Natal; Mr Mange to have reconnoitred the police station complex and/or magistrates' court in Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape with the intent to murder persons employed in the area, and attempted to recruit a person in Soweto; Mr Sekete was alleged to have been in control of an arms cache at Witkleigat in Bophuthatswana and was allegedly part of a group which engaged members of the SA Police and the Bophuthatswana National Guard in armed combat. He was also alleged to have recruited people in Bophuthatswana for military training. Mr Legoabe was alleged to have attempted to recruit a person for military training in Soweto and to have been in the possession of arms, ammunition and 129 hand grenades. Mr Ngobeni allegedly visited Gazankulu and SA to reconnoitre places where arms and/or men could be concealed or was in control of an arms cache. Mr Choma allegedly established arms caches Security in Sekhukhuneland. Mr Hadebe was alleged to have recruited persons Trials for military training and brought arms and ammunition into the district of Msinga. Mr Mthethwa was alleged to have controlled an arms cache, brought arms and ammunition into the Msinga district and attempted to recruit a person. Initially on 15 June Mr Hadebe and Mr Mthethwa appeared without the other accused and without legal representation in Pietermaritzburg Magistrates' Court. They admitted the charges against them and declared their intention to conduct their own defence. At the next court hearing they were represented by defence counsel who applied for their pleas of guilty to be reversed on the grounds that they had not been given adequate opportunity to understand the allegations made against them as they had seen the indictment only two hours before being asked to plead. In addition Mr Hadebe, under crossexamination, alleged that he had been assaulted by the police and told by them to plead guilty, which he did as he was afraid of further assaults. Mr Mthethwa provided the same reasons for his plea of guilty alleging that the police had told them that if they admitted the allegations they would only be sentenced to five years imprisonment whereas if they denied them they would be assaulted and denied the opportunity of going to court. Pleas of not guilty were entered and the trial, which opened on 4 September, was transferred to the Supreme Court. All twelve accused were present. Strict security measures were taken at the trial. The accused were confined to a specially constructed glass cage in order to prevent them from communicating with friends and relatives. On 10 September Mr Justice Hefer said that he had received a letter from the ANC in Swaziland saying that ANC representatives would be present in court to ensure that the accused were freed. On the same day the State applied for the trial to be held in camera in order to protect State witnesses and members of the security police who gave evidence as there was a danger that they might be eliminated by the ANC or PAC. The judge ruled that he would consider the case
of each witness on its merits, accepting that some would be allowed to give evidence in camera. After this ruling had been delivered the accused announced that they would take no further part in the proceedings of the trial, dismissed their defence counsel and instructing attorney and disrupted the proceedings with freedom songs and slogans. Before leaving the court defence counsel said they had been dismissed because the accused were not prepared to submit to the process of law if the court was held in camera. Treason was an offence affecting society and by excluding the public the aims which the ANC was trying to achieve would be defeated. They had been reluctant from the beginning to participate in the proceedings as they perceived the courts to be part of the Government apparatus. After refusing to obey the judge's call for order the accused were removed from court and from then on only those individuals against whom evidence was led by the State were brought into court. The accused refused to participate in

130 the proceedings by refusing to cross-examine witnesses and to challenge State evidence.

On 19 September Mr Sekete and Mr Hadebe were convicted of Security contempt of court and sentenced to six months imprisonment. Mr Trials Sekete had refused to obey an order by the judge to refrain from pacing up and down the dock, and Mr Hadebe had refused to stop smoking in court.

On 20 September the press was barred from the court. The judge accepted the argument by the State that the evidence of four witnesses would be of such a nature that any reference to it in the press would indicate to organisations such as the ANC or PAC who the witnesses were. The witnesses were only prepared to give evidence if their identities were shielded.

The Anti-Apartheid movement demonstrated outside the SA embassy in London in September calling for prisoner-of-war status to be granted to the freedom fighters in the treason trial. In November they were found guilty. Mr Mange was sentenced to death and 18 months imprisonment for contempt of court. In passing the death sentence Mr Justice Hefer said that consideration had to be given to the fact that the ANC was at war with SA. The Court could not allow people who had grievances and no constitutional means to rectify them, to resort to unconstitutional means to achieve their aims. The other accused were sentenced as follows: Mr Sekete, Mr Legoabe, Mr Ngobeni, Mr Malika, Mr Choma, Mr Hadebe and Mr Mthethwa-16 years; Mr Mapheto-14 years, Mr Molefe-18 years, Mr Zulu-13 years. In addition all the accused were sentenced to 1 year for contempt of court.

Mr Mange and Mr Zulu applied for leave to appeal against sentence. The fact that the death sentence had been passed for offences which did not include murder was condemned. The Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Between Peoples announced a protest campaign on behalf of Mr Mange.

Other Security Trials

Of the trials which took place, 24 occurred in the Transvaal, eight in the Eastern Cape, five in Natal, three in the Western Cape, one in
Bophuthatswana and one in the Orange Free State.
The trials which took place during the year can be divided into four categories:
those (the majority) which were connected with military training and the
possession of arms; those arising from acts of sabotage which formed part of the
guerrilla struggle being waged by organisations such as the ANC or PAC; those
arising from isolated acts of sabotage, for example the burning of houses; and
those related to promoting the aims of organisations banned on 18 October 1977
(these
took place in the Eastern Cape).
In January Ms Ethel Wauchope and Mr Washington Mulaudzi were acquitted on
charges under the Terrorism Act of having incited or assisted eight people to
undergo military training outside SA. In February in the Johannesburg Regional
Court, Mrs Nto Maphike was sentenced to five years under the Terrorism Act for
inciting five youths to undergo military training. During the trial defence counsel
alleged that letters written by the attorney in the case, Mr Shun Chetty, to the
security police and the Attorney-General about his client were ignored and the
charge sheet and documents relating to the trial were given to the
defence counsel only a week before the trial. In reply to a letter asking 131 for
confirmation of the detention of Mrs Maphike the security police replied that they
did not function as a missing persons bureau and that enquiries seeking to elicit
confirmation or otherwise of the detention Security of an individual in terms of
security legislation would in future be re- Trials garded as non-script. The
magistrate, Mr Van Dam, criticised the security police for lack of co-operation in
such a serious matter.
In the Krugersdorp Circuit Court in June Messrs Norman Vusi Thusi (20), Prince
Mzimkulu Dube (20) and Mthunzi Columbus Mazibuko (25) were sentenced to
five years on charges under the Terrorism Act of having received military and
ideological training in China under the auspices of the PAC. In addition Mr Thusi
and Mr Mazibuko were sentenced to five years for being in possession of arms
and explosives, three of which were to run concurrently. Defence counsel
submitted that they had been promised education under the auspices of the PAC,
but on leaving the country had been coerced into going for military training.
Mrs Motsidesi Serokolo, Mrs Matsheliso Legoa and Mrs Elizabeth Gumede
appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on charges of accommodating and
assisting trained guerrillas (including Columbus Mazibuko: see previous trial)
between 7 August and 13 September 1978. Defence counsel submitted that they
had been placed in a predicament because their relatives were involved and that
they had accommodated students who said they were on a holiday from
Botswana. Mrs Legoa was acquitted, the other two accused being sentenced to
five years imprisonment.
In August a 17 year old youth was sentenced to five years in the Johannesburg
Regional Court on charges of having assisted two people to go for military
training in Botswana in April 1979 by negotiating transport for them. The youth
pleaded guilty in a trial which was held in camera.
In August Mr Churchill Luvuno (22) was sentenced to five years on charges under the Terrorism Act for having left the country after the riots in 1976 to go for military training in Swaziland. After his return he had established a cell to prepare for returning guerrilla fighters. He was also sentenced to nine months on a charge of perjury for refusing to give evidence in the PAC Bethal trial. In April he was taken to hospital as a result, according to the police, of a hunger strike and was later referred to a neurologist. During the Bethal trial evidence was presented that he had allegedly been assaulted. The trial was held ‘in camera.

In April Mr Vuma Dennis Makeke was convicted in a Port Elizabeth magistrates’ court on charges of having recruited five people to undergo military training outside SA between 1 February and 22 August 1978. He was sentenced to five years and released on bail pending an appeal. During the trial defence advocate Mr George Bizos complained about the fact that a security policeman, W/O Marx, was communicating with a witness by expressing approval and disapproval about what the witness said. W/O Marx denied this.

There were several other trials in which people were accused of activities associated with military training.

Trials involving the use of explosives smuggled into the country in acts of sabotage included that of Mr Norman Velaphi Ngwenya (24) who was charged with six counts under the Terrorism Act, six alternate charges of sabotage, attempted murder and being in possession of ammunition, and one charge of possessing an illegal publication. He Security was alleged to have participated in placing explosives on a railway line.

Trials between Apex and Dunswart in November 1977 which resulted in one person being injured and a train damaged. In December 1977 he was alleged to have placed a bomb in a parking lot at Benoni Railway Station which blew up and damaged several cars. In January 1978 he and others allegedly went to Dunswart station to place a bomb but were intercepted by a policeman who was shot in the stomach. He was alleged to have received military training between October 1977 and January 1978 and was allegedly found in possession of hand grenades, arms, explosives and ammunition. Appearing before Mr Justice Boshoff in February in the Benoni Supreme Court without legal representation he pleaded guilty to all charges. He then asked for pro deo defence. At the next hearing his pro deo defence was informed that Mr Ngwenya's grandmother had instructed Shun Chetty and Co to represent him. The grandmother denied this. Judge Boschoff said that the representation of the accused was irregular and ordered that the evidence be presented to the Law Society (see below). Mr Ngwenya was found guilty and given an effective sentence of twelve years.

In the Cape Town Supreme Court Mr Bhekizitha Oliver Ngubelani (26) was charged with planting a bomb in the Cape Town Supreme Court on 15 May. Alternatively he was charged with the attempted murder of the public court officials or civil servants present in the building. He was alleged to have received military training on two occasions in Botswana, returning to SA with arms, ammunition and explosives. The case is continuing.
In trials connected with isolated acts of sabotage an important one, in terms of rulings made by the judge, was that of Mr Linda Mario Mogale (18) and Mr Jimmy Mabaso, both former members of the Soweto Students’ League. They appeared in the Krugersdorp Circuit Court before Mr Justice F.S. Steyn on three charges of murder, three charges of arson, three charges of malicious damage to property and one charge under the Terrorism Act, alternatively sabotage. They were alleged to have thrown petrol bombs into the house of a school principal, Mr Nkosi, in Soweto on 19 February 1978 killing his wife and two daughters. On 21 March they allegedly threw a petrol bomb into the house of another school principal and into a house which they thought to be that of a school principal. As members of the Soweto Students’ League (SSL) they were alleged to have instigated the boycott of classes and examinations in protest against Bantu Education and to have intimidated school principals who refused to allow members of the SSL to address students at their schools and to yield to their demands. They had accepted the aim of the exiled SA Young Revolutionary Council to overthrow the SA Government by means of violence. Several witnesses alleged that they had been assaulted, electrocuted and threatened by the security police. Mr Mogale alleged in addition that he had had two teeth removed by the security police with a pair of pliers. Evidence on these allegations was led and on 27 July Judge Steyn made a ruling that all trials over which he presided and in which the police were accused of assaulting people would be held in camera with the public and press being excluded. Permission to publish such evidence would be granted at the end of the case, after a ruling had been made on the truth or otherwise of the allegations. He said that such evidence was normally presented to and read by the Security public as a proven fact when it was sometimes found to be untrue. Trials After the ruling several witnesses gave evidence in the absence of the press and the public. This ruling was met with consternation amongst the academic legal profession, Professor Mathews of the Law Faculty at Durban University saying that it set an alarming precedent.” On 6 August the State prosecutor conceded that Mr Mogale had been assaulted while in detention but not in the way he claimed and Judge Steyn later accepted that Mr Mogale had been assaulted by the police, given electric shocks and that his teeth were broken during the assaults. He also accepted that five other witnesses had been assaulted. However, he accepted the statement made by Mr Mogale before a magistrate saying that he had made it voluntarily despite the assaults. Defence counsel had argued that the statements were inadmissible as evidence because they were the result of coercion.

In evidence Mr Mogale said that the SSL had been invited to align itself with the SAYRC but the invitation had been rejected because the SAYRC had been formed by the banned and exiled Soweto Students’ Representative Council. The SSL also rejected the aim of the SAYRC to overthrow the Government by violent means as its aim was to remove Bantu Education by non-violent means. On 10 August Mr Mabaso, who was already serving a sentence under the Terrorism Act, was acquitted, and Mr Mogale was given an effective sentence of
seven years on charges of terrorism, culpable homicide, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, arson and malicious damage to property.

In January two members of the Young Christian Workers, Mr Jacob Tledima and Mr Petrus Makhau, were sentenced to five years imprisonment in the Kroonstad Regional Court on charges of conspiracy to commit sabotage. They were alleged among other things to have conspired to organise a strike of all black workers in Kroonstad in 1978 in commemoration of 16 June and to have intended to obtain, prepare and manufacture petrol bombs and explosives to damage the Kroonstad power station, police and security offices, homes of policemen, post offices, railway stations, administration offices and houses. In November their conviction and sentence were set aside on appeal.

In a trial in the Johannesburg Regional Court Mr Stanley Malusi (18), Mr Hendrik Molefe (19), Mr David Mokgosi (20) and a 15 year old youth were sentenced to five years each on charges of sabotage, attempted murder, arson and malicious damage to property, for having petrol-bombed the houses of four school teachers in Kagiso in February 1978. Mr Malusi received a further six months on a charge of intimidation. In April Mr Lazarus Lebelwane (18), Mr Johannes Marumo (18), Mr Ezekiel Seankgwa (19), Mr Thomas Nhlapo and two 16 year old youths were sentenced to five years on a charge of sabotage for having burnt down the house of a security policeman in Sebokeng in December 1978.

There were other trials involving former members of the Soweto Students' League who were alleged to have set fire to schools and in

Port Elizabeth there was a trial involving the murder of a police informer.

In East London in separate trials, Messrs Mtutuzeli Pobana, MonSecurity gezi Ngcobo, Buyisile Mapisa, Mandla Gxanyana, Khaya Myoli and Trials Bonile Tuluma were acquitted on charges of furthering the aims of the SA organisations banned in October 1977 including the Black Peoples’ Convention, the SA Students' Movement, the SA Students' Organisation and ASSECA.

In the latter trials the following were convicted on charges of perjury for refusing to give evidence: Messrs Mzwandile Msoki (six months), Andile Vabaza (nine months), Mbulelo Ceko (two months), Mthunzi Ndimia, Alfred Metele, Dlaki Vani, Mpumele Goqwana and Phillip Sizwe Dilo. Mr Ezekiel Molefi was acquitted in June on charges of perjury in March for having given evidence in the Kempton Park SSRC trial which contradicted that given in a statement to the security police. He alleged that he had been subjected to electric shocks to make a false statement. He was acquitted as the magistrate refused to grant the State’s application for a further postponement. Arising from the trial of Mr Mogale and Mr Mabaso, a 14-year-old witness was charged with perjury after alleging that his statement to the security police had been made after assaults. In the same trial Mr Mangaliso Cukulu was charged with perjury. In January the Bloemfontein Appellate Division reduced the three year sentence for perjury of Mr Titi
Mthenjane who was convicted in August 1977 for refusing to give evidence in the trial of Mr Paul Langa. He was thus released in January.
In August Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, President of the Writers’ Association of SA, was sentenced to nine months imprisonment for refusing to answer questions in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act in connection with certain offences by Mr Thami Mkhwanazi. In October he appeared on charges under the Terrorism Act together with Mr Jeremiah Kgokong, Mr Atat Adi, Mr Ronald Mamoepa, Mr Lebagang Mokone, Mr Petrus Senabe, Mr Andrew Phala, Mr Deacon Sekibela Mathe, Mr Cornelius Mapheti Leeuw and a 16 year old youth.
In February the conviction and sentence under the Internal Security Act of Mr Christmas Tinto was set aside by the Cape Town Appeal Court. He had been convicted in September 1978 for having incited people to undergo military training which could further the aims of the ANC. The judges found that the only evidence against Mr Tinto, his possession of the ANC publication, Sechaba, was irrelevant to the charges laid against him. In December the 10 year sentence of Mr Mountain Qumbella was reduced on appeal to six years.
On 6 April Mr Solomon Mahlangu was executed for his role in the Goch Street shootings, despite condemnation and appeals for clemency made by numerous governments and organisations both inside and outside SA. An application for a retrial had been refused by Chief Justice Rumpff in January.22

Matters Related to Security Trials
In the trial of Mr Rex Gibson, editor of the Sunday Express, and Ms Jennifer Hyman, a reporter, evidence was led which had a significant bearing on the implementation of security legislation. An article on 21 May had alleged that many political detainees had been brought to trial without the knowledge of their families or legal representatives and that in many cases the family only learnt afterwards that pro deo counsel had been appointed on behalf of the accused. They were charged with contempt of court and criminal defamation in that the Security article was calculated to bring the administration of justice into disrepute by falsely insinuating that advocates appointed as pro deo defence for people prosecuted on charges of terrorism and sabotage did not have the proper qualifications or were inadequate or incompetent, with the result that detainees were exposed to the risk of being wrongfully convicted or had in fact been wrongfully convicted.
A security police officer subpoenaed by the defence handed in copies of eleven letters received by the security police from lawyers acting on behalf of detainees. In eight cases there was no record of a reply being sent to the lawyers concerned. Professor Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in evidence that there were weaknesses and inadequacies in the system of appointing pro deo lawyers to defend accused people. A pro deo advocate was not assisted by an attorney and usually it was the most inexperienced members of the bar who were obliged to handle pro deo cases. Often they were not given an adequate opportunity to prepare their cases. He expressed the belief that specialised lawyers should appear in cases in terms of
SA's security legislation which was very complex. Mr William Rietz-Schreirer, Chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council, confirmed this; saying that junior advocates of only a few years standing would experience difficulties in handling complicated terrorism cases.

In acquitting the accused Mr Justice Milne said that the Terrorism Act placed special obligations on the security police because people detained under the Act were unable to communicate with their families or legal advisers. It was their duty to advise detainees when their friends or families had engaged attorneys to represent them. The security police should promptly advise lawyers when their clients were due to appear in court and should also never fail to inform detainees of their right to legal representation. The article, he found, was an attack on the security police, not the courts, and a criticism of the application of the Criminal Procedure Act.2

In July, Mr Shun Chetty, a lawyer whose firm handled many trials, fled the country to Botswana. He had been called before the Transvaal Law Society on charges of misconduct arising out of the trial of Mr Norman Ngwenya (see above). The trial judge, Mr Justice Boschoff, accused Mr Chetty of having 'touted' for business and of deliberately involving himself in cases where the accused were charged in terms of security laws for his own financial gain. Mr Chetty denied these allegations and challenged the Transvaal Law Society to release the text of his disciplinary committee hearing. He said the main thrust of the committee's questions had been about his role in political trials, the source of funds, the amounts paid to counsel, the workings of the SA Council of Churches and matters pertaining to motivation rather than professional conduct. He said that his major reason for leaving was to press for the expulsion of the SA Law Society from the International Bar Association and to explode the myth of the independence of the SA judiciary. He said that the case of Mr Ngwenya should be viewed against the background of other cases where the security police had failed to inform the accused that they had defence counsel arranged for them. He also claimed to have been subjected to constant police efforts to nullify his effectiveness as an attorney in security trials, and to have Banning been the victim of a campaign of harassment and intimidation by the Orders authorities.

These allegations were denied by the security police. In April the SA Institute of Race Relations issued a call to the Government to ensure that an accused person was provided with legal representation where he was likely to be sentenced to a substantial term of imprisonment if he pleaded guilty in terms of Section 112 of the Criminal Procedure Act. Section 112 allows a court to commit and sentence an accused person to any punishment short of the death penalty if the accused has pleaded guilty and if the presiding officer has questioned him to ascertain that he admits the allegations made against him. The State does not have to prove its case against the accused except where the death sentence is to be imposed. The Institute used the case of Mr Mxenge as an example. He was charged with four counts of arson, one of attempted arson and
two of malicious damage to property. Without legal representation he pleaded
guilty to two charges alleging that he had set fire on exactly the same day at
exactly the same time to different schools five kilometres apart. This
demonstrated that he did not understand the charges to which he pleaded guilty.
The magistrate refused his request to change his plea from guilty and he
was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

Prohibition on Gatherings
In April the Minister of justice extended the ban on gatherings, except those of a
bona fide sporting nature, those taking place wholly and for as long as they last
within the walls of a building or those expressly authorised by the Minister or a
magistrate. The ban was operative from 5 April 1978 to 31 March 1980.23 From
29 September the Minister banned all gatherings at which any form of state or any
principle or policy of the government of a state was propagated, defended,
attacked, criticised or discussed or any person, cause, action or contemplated
action was protested against. The ban was to be effective for a year, was to apply
to a designated area in Johannesburg and excluded the inside of any building. The
Johannesburg magistrate would authorise exemptions.24

Several people were charged during the year for having attended a prohibited
gathering. In January Messrs Mpumelelo Kananda, John Lebelwane, Alexander
Maphike and Isaac Klaas were charged in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrates' Court
under the Riotous Assemblies Act for having been part of a crowd which gathered
after the funeral in August 1978 of Mr Johannes Matsobane who died while on
Robben Island.

In June three clergyman and 37 other people succeeded in their appeal to the Cape
Town Supreme Court against their conviction and sentence for attending a
prohibited gathering in August 1977 when they gathered in the Guguletu
cemetery to commemorate those who died during the 1976 uprising. Mr Justice
Watermeyer found that the State had not proved that those in the procession had a
common ob-

ject which they desired to achieve by concerted action. Their intention 137 was
solely to mourn the dead.25

In June the Transkei government prohibited the holding of a service to
commemorate those who died in the 1976 uprising on the Banning grounds that
such a service was only relevant to SA and not to Transkei Orders and that its
purpose was to undermine the authority of the Transkei government.

In September Rev Mzwandile Maquina was issued with an order from the Port
Elizabeth magistrate in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, prohibiting him
from holding a meeting to commemorate those who died in 1976. In November
the magistrate of Port St Johns banned all public meetings and demonstrations in
the town for 24 hours on the day of the trial of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.
The Riotous Assemblies Act was also used against workers who had gone on
strike. (See section on strikes.)

Restriction Orders on Persons
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice provided the following information relating to restriction orders in terms of the Internal Security Act during 1978:

Section 51(e)  Section 9 (1)
Orders operative on 31 December 1978 9 141
Orders issued during 1978 1 58
Orders withdrawn during 1978 0 2
Orders expired during 1978 11 54
Of these the number renewed 1 7

As at 30 November there were 152 banned people in SA.

Banning Orders 1979

As at 30 November 21 people had been banned, three of whom were served with two year banning orders.

Mr Ebrahim Ismail, Mr Matoto Frank Gcobo and Mr Andrew Tukuza Mashaba were banned for two years, Mr John Edward Mathews for three years and Mr Nkutso Motsau and Mr Eddie Daniels (house arrested) for five years, after their release from Robben Island. Mr Ismail was restricted to the Pinetown district and was required to report to the police station weekly. He was reported to be having difficulty finding employment as his application to be allowed to leave the Pinetown district for job interviews in Durban or alternatively for his magisterial district to be changed to Durban was refused. Mr Motsau, previously a resident in Sharpeville, was banned to Witsieshoek in the QwaQwa homeland. After being released from detention the following people were banned for five years: Ms Gladys Manzi (detained from 9 July 1977 to 9 March 1979), Mr Shadrack Maphumulo (detained from 15 July 1977 to 23 March 1979), Mr Helia Phungula (detained from 14 July 1977 to 23 March 1979), Mr Russel Maphanga (detained from 14 July 1977 to 23 March 1979) and Mr Delase Ciliza (detained from 14 July to 23 March). They all laid claims for damages against the Minister of Police alleging that they had been assaulted while in detention. In addition to their banning orders they were house arrested from 6 am to 6 pm.

Mr Peter Jones, who was detained together with Mr Steve Biko in Banning August 1977 was banned on his release on 13 February. His mother had been advised by the security police to move into a house opposite the police station. In April he was given permission to attend his own wedding on condition that only 40 of the 140 invited guests attended, that there be no reference to politics at the wedding and that he remain in a room on his own during the reception (for information on his period of detention see section on Matters Relating to Detentions).

Other people banned for five years during the year were: Mr Fikile Edgar Mlinda (former worker for Zimele Trust Fund), Mr Mzwandile Mbilini (former worker for the Black Peoples’ Convention), Mr Lungelo Shadrack Dwaba, Mr Ndumiso Albert Mbekwa, Mr Vukile Stephen Tshweta, Mr Moki Cekisani, Mr Lizo Pityana (house arrest), Mr Mosebudi Mangena (who was banished to Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus), and Mrs Priscilla Jana, a lawyer who worked...
with Mr Shun Chetty before his flight from the country and an active participant in the campaign to oppose the Indian Council elections. She was refused permission to consult with her fellow banned clients and required permission to attend courts in magisterial districts other than Johannesburg to where she was restricted.

In November the banning order of Mr Chris Mokoditoa was tightened when he applied to move to another house in Soweto. The number of townships in Soweto which he could enter was reduced and he was required to travel on one specified route to Johannesburg.

In May the banning orders of Dr Neville Alexander, Mr Marcus Solomon, Miss Elizabeth van der Heyden and Mr Alfred Wilcox expired and were not renewed. Mrs Albertina Sisulu (61) was banned for two years in August, her fourth consecutive banning order since 1964.

However, the house arrest order was lifted and she was no longer required to report weekly to the police station. The banning orders of Mr Sedick Isaacs and Mr Siegfried Bhengu were renewed in October.

In January the banning order of Mr Mohammed Bhana, former member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was lifted. The house arrest order (but not the banning order) of Mr Kenneth Matime was lifted in March and he was also given permission to enter any court as an articled clerk.

In July the application by Mr Charles Simkins for his banning order to be lifted on the grounds that it was interfering with his work as a research officer at Pietermaritzburg University was granted. The banning order of Mr John Frankish due to expire in 1981 was also lifted.

Following the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission and the subsequent legislation granting trade union rights to Africans, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) speaking in the Assembly, called for the review of the bannings of those people who had been involved in the development of African trade unions. In September the banning orders of Mr Loet Douwes Dekker, Mr Eric Tyacke and Mrs Jean Tyacke of the Urban Training Project, a service organisation to the African trade unions, were lifted.

Several applications were made by banned people to have their order relaxed in various ways in order for them, for example, to obtain work in another area, attend their own weddings, pursue their studies at an educational institution, or leave their magisterial district to visit their families in another area. These were granted in some cases; in others not, as in the case of Mr Delase Chiliza whose application for the magisterial district in his banning order to be changed so that he could live with his wife and children was refused. In October the banning orders on Mrs Nohle Mohapi, Dr Mamphela Ramphele and Mr Malusi Mpumlwana were lifted temporarily so that they could attend the court hearing in which the Minister of Police was sued for damages for the death of Mr Mapetla Mohapi.
In May Ms Pat Horn won her appeal with costs against the claims officer of the Unemployment Insurance Fund who had refused her payment for six weeks on the grounds that she had lost her job through 'misconduct' when she was banned. Mr Justice James found that there was no basis for the claims officer to decide that Ms Horn had been guilty of misconduct. The statement by the Minister of justice that he was satisfied that Ms Horn was engaging in activities which endangered the maintenance of public order did not amount to evidence that she had in fact done so or that it constituted misconduct.

Prosecution in terms of Banning Orders
The following people were prosecuted during the year on charges of having contravened their banning order: Mr David Gaza, Mr Sadeque Variava, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Miss Sheila Weinberg, Mr Fikile Mlinda, Rev David Russell, Mr Thandisizwe Mazibuko, Mr Hlaku Rachid, Mr Sedick Isaacs, Mr Robert Wilcox, Mr Govindsamy Reddy and Mr Eddie Daniels.

In March the Bloemfontein Appeal Court, in an important judgement, set aside the conviction and sentence of Miss Sheila Weinberg for having contravened her banning order by having lunch with a friend. Defence counsel submitted that to prohibit a banned person from being with one other person for social purposes was a grave incursion on the right of association, the effect of which would be to prevent her from any form of social relationship with any other person. The judge found that a meeting of two people did not constitute a 'social gathering' within the meaning of Ms Weinberg's banning order. For the banning order to be contravened at least three people including the banned person would have to be present. He said that it would be outrageous if her suspended sentence of nine months imprisonment for such a trivial offence were to come into effect after a technical violation of her banning order in the future. In June she was sentenced to three months imprisonment suspended for three years for having left her magisterial district to visit friends in another area. The same sentence was imposed on Mrs Fatima Meer and Mr Baptiste Marie for having attended a Christmas party.

The appeal against conviction and sentence lodged by Mr David Gaza in the Durban Supreme Court was dismissed in January. Controversy arose over the fact that Mr Gaza was brought into court with leg irons which had been attached for more than six hours. His suspended sentence of twenty months imprisonment was brought into effect in February when he was again convicted on four counts of having broken his banning order. In August his appeal against sentence and his application for a review of the hearing was rejected and he appealed for leave to appeal to the Appellate Division.

In August Mr Sadeque Variava was sentenced to three months imprisonment suspended for three years for having contravened his banning order by travelling in a car with two other people. Lawyers commenting on the trial remarked on the totally innocuous contravention and said that the conviction meant that any human activity involving more than two people was prohibited.

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In December Ms Ilona Kleinschmidt and Ms Jackie Bosman were sentenced to three and four months respectively for refusing to answer questions about their alleged visit to Ms Minnie Mandela. Their appeal against conviction and sentence had failed.

Banishment and Removal Orders

Several people were banished from the Ciskei and Transkei, or to other areas within these homelands. (See Homelands.) In February Mrs Beauty Lolwane won her appeal against a conviction and sentence of 90 days suspended for three years on condition that she left the Ciskei within three months. She had been found guilty in September 1978 of failing to comply with an order banishing her from the Ciskei. Mr Justice Kannemeyer said it was outrageous that a Ciskei citizen was refused permission to live in the Ciskei and told to go to a foreign country as the magistrate in the case had done. The Ciskei government could only banish people to other areas of the Ciskei.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Co-operation and Development said that two people, Mr Mbolekelwa Mgomezulu and Mr Piet Mzondeki Mdikhuqa, were removed on 3 August 1978 from Ingwavuma to Ezingolweni, KwaZulu in terms of the Black Administration Act.3 Together with their banning orders, Mr Mosibudi Mangena and Mr Petrus Motsau were banished, the former to the Mahwelereng township in Lebowa, and the latter to Witsieshoek in QwaQwa.

In November the West Rand Administration Board advised the parents of three imprisoned members of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, Mr Sechaba Montsitsi, Ms Sibongile Mthembu and Mr Maffison Morobe, to begin building houses in the homelands in preparation for the release of their children who would not be allowed to live in Johannesburg. Chief township manager for Soweto said that this was a general practice with regard to 'serious offenders'.

Travel Documents

The following statistics in regard to travel documents were contained in the report of the Department of the Interior for 1978,32 During the year:

- 189 409 passports were issued, 379 refused and 17 withdrawn
- 4 377 other travel documents were issued and 22 refused
- 4 198 exit permits and 4 permanent exit permits were issued
- 220 703 visas were issued
- 155 persons renounced and 43 were deprived of SA citizenship
- 656 deportation orders were issued
- 324 applications for SA citizenship were refused and 5 036 approved.

In reply to a question in Parliament, the Minister of the Interior said that of those who had their passports withdrawn in 1978 sixteen were white and one was black, and of those who were refused passports or the renewal of their passports 264 were African, 74 were white, 33 Indian and 8 coloured.14

Speaking in the Assembly Mr Dave Dalling, PFP spokesman on sport, called on the Government to grant all sportsmen regardless of their political views the right
to travel, and called on the Minister of Sport to make representations to the Minister of the Interior to remove all restrictions on travel by sportsmen. The Minister replied that the refusal of passports to sports administrators had nothing to do with their involvement in sport."

Several African sportsmen were prevented from travelling overseas because of the requirement that they obtain travel documents from Bophuthatswana or Transkei which they refused to do. This requirement also posed problems for people visiting countries which did not accept travel documents from these homelands. In November Rev Phaswana, a former member of the Black Peoples' Convention, was refused a SA passport to travel to Canada.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of the Interior and Immigration said that in 1978 Canada, Norway, Sweden and Denmark had changed the visa requirements for South Africans and that Canada had changed the requirements for Canadians visiting SA. In June and September respectively Austria and France imposed visa requirements on South Africans visiting their countries.

The relaxation of the prohibition on Americans opposed to the policies of SA being allowed into the country. However, following his description of the SA Government as a 'terrorist dictatorship', the Minister of Foreign Affairs lodged a complaint with the US government, which had supported Rev Jackson's application for a visa, saying that such statements threatened the policy of the SA Government to permit entry of Americans opposed to its policies, and threatened the relations between SA and the US. The US State department replied that Rev Jackson was a private individual on a private visit to SA and it could therefore do nothing about his utterances." Despite this apparent relaxation it was reported on 28 July that in the preceding year ten prominent American cultural exchange visitors to SA had been refused entry and 22 Africans, coloured persons and Indians were unable to visit the US on the same scheme as they were refused passports.

In January Mr Muthasammy Packery, who created a controversy by taking up residence in a white designated area of Pretoria, was refused a passport.

For the third time in three years Mr Sipho Sepamla was refused a passport in April to visit the United States. He had been interviewed by the security police and learnt that there were aspects of his writing to which they objected. Mr Kenneth Matime, banned, was refused a passport in April to take up a scholarship in Australia. In April the former secretary of the disbanded Soweto Action Committee, Ms Mankokolo Mahlangu, was refused a passport so she was unable to accept a scholarship to study in America.

In May Dr Beyers Naude, banned, was refused a passport and a relaxation of his banning order to travel to Austria in order to receive an award from the Bruno Kreisky Foundation in recognition of his efforts.
to promote human rights, and also to give speeches in America. In June the passport of Rev Gabriel Setiloane of the SA Methodist Church was withdrawn so he was unable to attend conferences overseas and to accept the post of visiting professor at the University of Bochum. Overseas leaders of the Methodist Church protested to the Government over the withdrawal. In August Mr Enoch Duma, Transvaal chairman of the Writers' Association of SA, was refused a renewal of his passport thereby being prevented from visiting the US on a leadership exchange programme. In September the passport of Mrs Ilona Kleinschmidt was withdrawn two months after it had been reissued. In October Mr Paul Pretorius, formerly banned president of the National Union of Students, and Mr Phil Mtikulu, national secretary of the Writers' Association of SA, were refused passports. In December Professor Zeke Mphalele a lecturer in African Studies at the University of Witwatersrand and Mr Fanyana Mazibuko a member of the Soweto Teachers Action Committee were refused passports.

Political Exiles

In January Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso who was due to appear in court on charges of contravening her banning order fled the country to Lesotho together with Mr Silumko Sokupa, former secretary of SASO. In February Mr Mtsizi Moremi, banned former member of the Young Christian Workers, left the country for Lesotho. In March Mr Clive Nettleton, who was working for Turret College before he was banned, left SA on an exit permit. Mr Patrick Mandisa Titi, former worker for the banned Zimele Trust Fund who was due to appear in court for contravening his banning order, fled the country. Mr Thami Zani, banned former publicity secretary of the Black Peoples' Convention left the country for Lesotho. The same month saw the departure of Mr Michael Jordan, former member of the Black Peoples' Convention, and executive member of the Thusanang Trust Fund, who was living under banning and banishment orders.

In July Mr Vuyani Mrwetyana, who was editor of Isizwe before its banning by the Transkei government and who had been subject to a series of arrests and detentions, left the Transkei for Lesotho. Mr Shun Chetty, prominent lawyer in political trials, left the country for Botswana. In August Mr Isaac Moroe, Bloemfontein chairman of the Writers' Association of SA and founder member of the Azania Peoples' Organisation, fled the country for Lesotho. He was banned and banished to Bethlehem and in July had been refused permission to visit his family in Bloemfontein.

In July four SA exiles received multiple injuries when a parcel bomb sent to the home of Ms Phyllis Naidoo in Maseru, Lesotho, exploded. The bomb had been placed in a parcel containing copies of the ANC magazine, Sechaba. Among those present was Mr Mbuyiselo Madaka who was banned in SA and who left the country in May.

For information on refugees see Black Political Activity.

Detentions during 1978

According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons for the year 1 July 1977 to 30 June 1978 the following numbers of people were
detained: 278 under the Terrorism Act, 115 under Section 10 1(a) bis of the Internal Security Act, 75 under section 12B of the Internal Security Act, 32 under the General Law Amendment Act and one under Section 185 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

During 1978 39 Africans, eight Indians, three coloured and four whites were detained in terms of Section 10 1(a) bis of the Internal Security Act. The Minister of Justice said that he did not deem it necessary to warn the people before the issue of detention orders.40

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Justice said that in the period 1 June to 31 December 1978, the two people appointed to visit detainees, Advocate Van den Bergh SC (Cape Province and Natal) and Mr A.J. Mouton (Transvaal and OFS) had made 431 visits. Twenty complaints of ill treatment were reported, some of which were referred to the Attorney-General who refused to prosecute. Others were found after investigation to be groundless and others were found to be so vague and lacking in particulars that they could not be substantiated.41

During 1978 114 cases were sent to the Review Committee established in terms of the Internal Security Act. Eighty-two were reviewed once, twenty-seven were reviewed twice, four three times and one four times. The Committee's recommendations that nine detention orders be withdrawn were implemented.4

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Justice said that during 1978 227 males and 25 females under the age of eighteen were detained in terms of the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act. He refused to disclose the periods of their detention saying that all of them were in one way or another involved in acts of sabotage, arson, public violence or incitement to public violence.43 Of the 500 persons under the age of eighteen who were detained in terms of security legislation during 1977 and 1978, 189 were charged with having committed criminal offences, 87 were called to give evidence as state witnesses and 224 were released without being charged or required to give evidence.44

Detentions: 1979

The Minister of Justice provided the held in detention under the various laws:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Figures</th>
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<tr>
<td>Terrorism Act</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 10 of Internal Security Act</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 12B of Internal Security Act</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 185 of Criminal Procedure Act</td>
<td>143</td>
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<tr>
<td>Section 22 of General Law Amendment Act</td>
<td>76</td>
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Total: 96 98 153 143 76

Detentions
In September the Minister of Police, Mr Louis Le Grange, said that 317 people had been detained since 1 January. Using this figure as a baseline, 334 people had been detained during 1979 as at 30 November. According to records kept by the Institute (not complete as the total number of detentions recorded for 1979 as at 30 November was 274) 116 people were still in detention at that date, 74 people detained in 1979 had been released and 23 charged. Of those detained in previous years 21 were recorded as having been released in 1979. (See chapter on Homelands for details of some detentions there.)

Students
Of the 274 people recorded as being detained 64 were known to be students at school or university. As there were several trials involving members of the Soweto Students' League during the year, a large number of these detentions most probably related to these trials. During the year several members of the Soweto Students' League were detained. In April and May 21 were detained under the General Law Amendment Act which in the case of some was changed to the Terrorism Act. Among those detained were: Mr Chris Mathabe (Secretary), Mr Godfrey Sibusiso Mabaso (16), Ms Theta Makgetha, Mr Mosioa Makgetha, Mr Ewan Maphana (chairman), Mr Emmanuel Maphatsha, Mr Otto Mzimkhulu, Ms Emelda Mofokeng and Ms Queen Setlhako. In November Mr Ephraim Mogale, president of the Congress of SA Students, and Mr Vusi Gqoba, the national organiser, were detained. Between 26 April and 7 May ten students in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, were detained including Mr Albert Masanga, a member of the Atteridgeville-Saulsville SRC, Mr Raymond Morwane, former president of the ASSRC, Mr Oupa Masuku and Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

In Port Elizabeth Mr Siphiwe Mtikulu and Mr Lulala Bongani of the Maswelane Students' Relief Fund, which provides assistance to students detained and imprisoned and their families, were detained in March.

Mr Thami Gqweta, a former executive member of the banned SA Students Movement, who was detained from 21 October 1977 to 7 December 1978, was detained again on 10 April under the General Laws Amendment Act. This was later changed to the Terrorism Act. Two students from the University of the North, Mr Thabo Makunyane and Ms Pinkie Vukela, were detained in October and November respectively.

It was reported that the parents of several of the students detained had not been informed about the prison in which their children were held, nor the law under which they were held.

Several students detained in previous years were released during 1979. Mr Alex Santa Makati, former member of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), who was detained in terms of the Terrorism Act on 9 May 1978 was released on 8 June 1979. Mr Grant Qwabe, former member of the SSRC and a member of the Soweto Students' League, who was also detained in May 1978,
was released on 8 June 1979. A former executive member of the SSRC, Mr Sydwell Cukulu, who was detained in 1977, gave evidence for the defence in the trial of Mr Linda Mogale and Mr Jimmy Mabaso. His evidence contradicted the statement he made to a magistrate and he was charged with perjury. He was released on bail on 20 August. Apart from the two 145 occasions in 1978 on which his mother was allowed to see him, she was not aware of his whereabouts.

There were reports of the families of students who left the country Detentions after the 1976 uprising being questioned on several occasions by the security police.

Black Political Leaders

On 2 February Mr Peter Jones, former Director of the Eastern Cape branch of Black Community Programmes, who was detained with Steve Biko on 19 August 1977, was released and banned. Mrs Suzman speaking during the Police Vote said that Mr Jones, while detained at the Algoa Park, station under the Terrorism Act from 19 August to 1 November 1977 had been kept naked and given one blanket and one bedroll. For the first two months he had not been allowed to bathe, was kept in a locked cell for the entire period and was not allowed exercise. The magistrates who visited him had not laid any complaints despite the visible injuries which had been inflicted on him during interrogation. Mrs Suzman said that the magistrates seemed to think that detainees could be treated in any way whatsoever. It was fortunate that he had escaped the fate of Steve Biko.48 After his release Mr Jones lodged a claim for damages.

Mr Shadrack Maphumulo and Mr Russel Maphanga, both former prisoners on Robben Island, and Mr Helia Phungula, Mr Delase Chiliza and Mrs Gladys Manzi, all of whom were detained in July 1977, were released in March and banned. They all laid claims for damages against the Minister of Police, alleging that they had been assaulted while in detention (see Matters Relating to Detentions).

On 14 August Mr Mxolisi Mvovo, banned former national vice-president of the Black Peoples’ Convention, was detained under the Terrorism Act together with Mr Malusi Mpumlwana, banned former regional director of Eastern Cape branch of the Black Community Programmes. They were released in September.

In December Mr Jinjiva Nkondo a member of the ANC who was in transit through SA from Swaziland to Lesotho, was detained under the Terrorism Act. The plane had been unable to land and had been diverted to Bloemfontein. His brother Mr Curtis Nkondo filed an urgent application to the Supreme Court for his release on the grounds that his arrest and detention infringed upon the territorial sovereignty of Lesotho and was thus unlawful. The Lesotho government protested against the arrest.

Journalists

On 19 April Mr James Beaumont a cadet journalist on the Star was detained and released after questioning. Mr Deon Du Plessis of the Star’s Africa News Service was detained on the same day in terms of Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act. He was released on bail shortly afterwards and charged under
the Official Secrets Act for having divulged information relating to the Rhodesian war.

In April Mr Ole Johan Erikson, a representative of the International Federation of Journalists who visited SA on a fact-finding tour, was questioned by the security police after he addressed a meeting of the Writers’ Association of SA (WASA) in Soweto. He had been granted a permit to visit the area. Other reporters also questioned were Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, Mr Mike Norton, Mr Steve Young, Mr Sam Pop, Miss Alice Jacobus and Miss Shirley Louw. They later were charged with having entered Soweto illegally.

On 1 June Mr Thami Mkwanazi, a reporter for the Sunday Post and Secretary of WASA in Pretoria, was detained in terms of the Terrorism Act. Two weeks later he was taken to the offices of the Sunday Post by the security police who searched the library, checked files and questioned the editor, Mr Percy Qoboza. In July another reporter, Mr Malose Matsemela, and Mr McKeed Motlolla, a free-lance photographer, were questioned about Mr Mkwanazi’s activities. On 26 October he appeared with eight others on charges under the Terrorism Act, for having encouraged youths to go for military training. The International Federation of Journalists and Amnesty International protested against his detention and called for his immediate release.

Others

In October Mr Barend Schuitema, exiled leader of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Holland and alleged co-conspirator of Mr Breyten Breytenbach, was detained after landing at Jan Smuts airport where he was met by his father and the security police. Dr Renfrew Christie, former deputy president of NUSAS and research fellow at the SA Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, was detained in October under the General Laws Amendment Act.

Matters Relating to Detentions

Several accused persons and witnesses in security trials made allegations that they had been tortured in various ways by the security police while in detention in order to induce them to make statements which the latter would find satisfactory. In the case of Mr Mogale (see above) the judge accepted these allegations but nevertheless found that his statement to a magistrate had been made voluntarily. Several people were convicted on charges of perjury after refuting the statements they had previously made either to the security police or to a magistrate (see above). In most cases the statements were accepted by the court as evidence against the accused.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Police gave the names of 34 people detained in terms of Section Six of the Terrorism Act whose actions for damages were pending. These were: A. Xaba, W. Khanyile, I. Nene, C. Ndlovu, T. Magubane, N. Mohapi, R. Cooper, S. Cooper, M. Ramphela, X.S. Mene, L. Marai, T. Duna, A.N. Biko, M. Magubane, J. Ganya, G. Moni, H. Keke, D. Matsobane, M. Khala, Z. Mothapeng, J. Landingwe, R. Tsoletsane, M. Shinners, T. Hlatshwayo, M. Matsobane, M. Thlale, B. Ntoele, R. Maphanga, M.X.
Maphumulo, G. Manzi, D. Chiliza, C. Montwedi, D.S. Montsitsi. The Minister said that there had been no out of court settlements during 1978.49 Ms Gladys Manzi, Mr Delase Chiliza, Mr Helia Phungula, Mr Shadrack Maphumulo and Ms Montwedi each claimed R10 000. Mr Maphumulo was alleged to have sustained fractured ribs while in detention while Ms Manzi claimed that in July 1977 three security policemen slapped her across her face several times causing her to hit a wall. As a result her head and face were swollen and her left side bruised, her right eye closed and her left one partly closed. She alleged that in August she had been held by three policemen while two others punched her on the head until she lost consciousness. This alleged assault caused her to have headaches and her nose to bleed. She also alleged that as a result of an insufficient diet while in detention she had not been able to sleep properly and had suffered the loss of the full use of her limbs.50

Mr Daniel Sechaba Montsitsi, one of the eleven members of the SSRC convicted for sedition, claimed R6 750. He claimed that during his detention between June 1977 and July 1978 various members of the security police beat him with a rubber truncheon, smashed a gun butt on his head, kicked him and while he was blindfolded squeezed his genitals with an unidentifiable object. While blindfolded he alleged that he was made to squat against a wall with his hands above his head holding a brick. He was allegedly not permitted to drop his arms so that when he became tired the brick fell on the back of his head. He also alleged that he had been spadeagled face down on the floor, lifted by his hands and legs and then dropped face down. As a result he claimed to have suffered body and head injuries. The Minister of Police gave notice of his intention to challenge the claim.1

In December 1978 the Pretoria Supreme Court dismissed the claim of R25 000 of Mr Johnson Nyathi, an accused in the PAC Bethal trial who alleged that he had to spend eight months in hospital recovering from assaults and from a broken leg sustained when he was pushed out of a window. The claim was dismissed on the grounds that it was not filed within the stipulated period of six months after the date of the assaults. An appeal against the ruling was lodged, defence counsel arguing that Mr Nyathi's detention under the Terrorism Act had prevented him from making the claim until his final release on 5 December 1977.

Referring to the claims for damages made by Mr Peter Jones who alleged that he had been assaulted while in detention, Mrs Suzman described the requirement that the claim had to be made within six months of the assault as being impossible to meet because people in detention were not permitted to consult with their lawyers. This created a situation in favour of the police.2 A similar case reported was that of Mr Phindile Ngcengce whose prolonged detention prevented him from claiming for damages for the loss of a leg resulting from police bullets fired during the 1977 disturbances in Port Elizabeth.

In July the Botswana government claimed that a Botswana citizen, Mr Gurnial Makuku, detained on 7 April for three months under the Terrorism Act, had been severely beaten and burned with cigarette ends until he fainted. This was denied by the security police. It also claimed that four other Botswana citizens detained
on 20 October 1978 had not been seen or heard of since. The police claimed that they had been released the same day. In July it was reported that the family of Mr Lucas Mandla Ndlovu (29) who had been detained in December 1976 had not seen him since that date. In December 1976 they had been informed by the security police that he had been taken to hospital. The police claimed that he had been released in February 1977. Another case was that of Mr Lucas Ngwenya whose wife had not seen him since March 1977 when he was detained. The security police claimed that he had been released in July 1977.

In February the Canadian and Australian embassies were informed, in response to a request to visit detainees, that they had no legal right to do so unless the detainees were from their countries. Embassies had

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been granted permission in the past to visit detainees. In September the assembly of the United Congregational Church criticised the guidelines issued by the police regarding visits by an ordained minister of religion. If the Commissioner of Police granted their requests, the visits had to take place with a police or prison official present and conversation had to be confined strictly to religious and spiritual matters.

In January the National Synod of the Gereformeerde Kerk declared that the state must 'act reasonably' in using its powers to detain people without trial. It accepted the report of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod which ordered that no person should be detained unless there was a clear intention to lay a charge against him and to try him within a reasonable time. No-one should be convicted without his guilt having been legitimately proved and a detainee should never be isolated from the care of his church.

Professor Dugard, speaking at the Human Rights Conference in Cape Town in January, called on SA's legal profession to establish a commission comprised of senior advocates and attorneys to investigate complaints of ex-detainees and allegations of ill-treatment by police. This, he said would be a step towards restoring the once high reputation of the legal profession which had been questioned because of its passive acquiescence in a legal order that arguably permitted inhuman and degrading treatment. This was however a second best alternative to a full scale judicial enquiry into methods of interrogation used by the security police. He said that trial judges should protect the rights of individuals by conducting inquiries into the methods of interrogation used to persuade witnesses held under section six of the Terrorism Act to testify for the State and to extract confessions from accused persons. Magistrates had consistently declined to examine methods of interrogation. At the end of the conference a steering committee was elected to establish a permanent human rights commission.

The Annual Conference of the Black Sash in March called for the repeal of all laws permitting detention without trial and without access to legal representation,
for a prompt and full investigation of all allegations of ill-treatment and torture of prisoners and for the prosecution and punishment of all Government employees and agents involved in such mistreatment. The conference noted that cases of mistreatment of prisoners and detainees reaching the courts indicated horrifying callousness and inhumanity.56

The Dependants Conference of the SACC continued to provide assistance to the families of those people in detention. This was criticised by the Minister of the Interior in October when he attacked the SACC for opposing the Government.7

Deaths in Detention

Mr Joseph Mdluli (19 March 1976)
On 29 March in the Durban Supreme Court the State agreed to pay Mrs Lydia Mdluli R15 000 of her R28 616 claim as well as to pay for the costs of the legal action. Chief Deputy Commissioner of Police, General F. Engels, said that the settlement was not an acknowledgement of State responsibility for Mdluli's death.'" The police were only responsible for his welfare during detention. However, the law-

yers acting for Mrs Mdluli said that the wording of the settlement was an admission of the State's liability for Mdluli's death. Mrs Mdluli called for the criminal case against the SA Police, who were responsible for her husband at the time of his death, to be reopened. The Attorney General was requested to open a private prosecution against the four policemen, Capt P.D. van Zyl, Lieut Cavill Taylor, Sgt Makhanya and Constable Ngobese.

Commenting on the settlement Professor John Dugard said that it showed a determination by the Government to suppress information which might disturb the public and that the public was entitled to infer that the Government was aware of irregularities in the interrogation of detainees, being prepared to pay for such irregularities when they were discovered.

Mr Mapetla Mohapi (5 August 1976)
On 10 October Mrs Mohapi instituted legal action in the Grahamstown Supreme Court to claim R35 000 from the Minister of Police on behalf of herself and her two children.59

The request by defence counsel for Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso, exiled in Lesotho, to be granted indemnity from prosecution for having contravened her banning order if she returned to SA to testify was refused. On 26 October Mr Justice Smallberger granted an urgent application for evidence to be taken on commission from Ms Mtintso in Lesotho. Permission was granted for two other banned people to testify for the defence.

Defence counsel submitted that Mr Mohapi had been assaulted by Sgt Herbert Nicholson and Capt Petrus Schoeman or other members of the SA police. This assault inflicted severe injuries on Mr Mohapi which caused his death. He said that the alleged suicide note found by the police after Mr Mohapi's death was not written by him. The only inference that could be drawn was that the deceased was killed by members of the SA Police who then attempted to cover up the killing by producing a 'suicide note'.
Two internationally renowned hand-writing experts, Dr Julius Grant from Britain and Professor Clarence Bohn, a former employee of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the US, both gave evidence pointing to the high probability that the suicide note was a forgery.
The hearing was postponed to 4 February 1980.

Mr Steve Biko
The Biko family made a claim for damages totalling R90 000 against the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, and the Minister of Health, Dr S. van der Merwe. They claimed that members of the security police in Port Elizabeth, where Mr Biko was initially detained after his arrest, were negligent in failing to report to the doctors treating him that he was suffering from brain injuries and that the doctors treating him failed to diagnose his brain injuries correctly, failed to take the necessary steps for treatment and failed to report the matter to the proper authorities.
On 27 July the family was paid R65 000 in an out of court settlement which the State said was without prejudice and without admission of liability. The State also paid the costs of the legal action. Mrs Biko was paid R30 000 of her R50 000 claim, her children the total amount of R22 000 of their claim and Mr Biko's mother R13 000 of her R18 000 claim. Mrs Biko donated her portion of the settlement to a national community project in memory of her husband. She said that Banned she was not happy with the settlement as she had hoped that the matter of the cause of the death of her husband would be reopened, and that the State only agreed to settle when the Minister of Police said that he was going to contest the amount claimed but not the cause of death. She said that she intended instituting a private prosecution against certain members of the security police if the Attorney General in the Eastern Cape refused to prosecute.

The SA Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) refused to institute an inquiry into the behaviour of the three doctors, Dr B.J. Turner, Dr L.H. Laing and Dr C. Hirsch, who had been involved in treating Mr Biko, until the outcome of the claim for damages made by the Biko family and the outcome of an application for an interdict made by the doctors, was known.
In August Mr Eugene Roelofse, Ombudsman for the SA Council of Churches, instructed lawyers to call on the SAMDC to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the three doctors. Mr Roelofse said there was no reason for the unprecedented delay. The Chairman of the Council, Professor Snyman, said that the Council was awaiting the reply from the doctors to the complaints made against them before it considered possible disciplinary action.
Professor Peter Folb, head of the Department of Pharmacology at the University of Cape Town Medical School, called on the SAMDC to investigate the allegations as soon as possible as they cast a slur on SA's medical profession.
The complaints made by Mr Roelofse were sent to Dr Benjamin Tucker and Dr Ivor Laing. They applied to the Pretoria Supreme Court in October for a declaratory order to prevent the SAMDC from proceeding further in its preliminary inquiries unless the complaints made against them were more specific and they were given an opportunity to reply before appearing before the SAMDC disciplinary committee. The application was refused in December and the SAMDC requested the doctors to answer the questions submitted to them.

On 12 April a tombstone was unveiled for Mr Biko in the Ginsberg location in King William's Town. Memorial services were held on 12 September in various parts of the country.

Banned Organisations

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Justice said that the assets of the organisations declared unlawful on 19 October 1977 had been liquidated except those of the Christian Institute and certain outstanding assets of other organisations. The balances remaining after payment of debts were as follows:

- ASSECA R2 083.77
- Black Community Programmes R13 442.34
- Black Parents' Association R55 056.32
- Black Peoples' Convention R15 931.38
- Black Women's Federation R7 600.40
- National Youth Organisation R27,87
- SA Students' Movement R125,63
- SA Students' Organisation R14 102.79
- Union of Black Journalists R1 656.70
- Zimele Trust Fund R6 427,88

In October the liquidator, Mr Krugel, said that the total assets of the banned organisations when they were frozen were in excess of R300 000. He also said that the Minister of Justice had been handed a report of the liquidations and was investigating to which charity organisations the money should be donated.1

On 19 October services, organised by the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO) and the Writers' Association of SA, were held to commemorate the banning of the eighteen organisations.

Speaking during the Justice Vote, the Minister said that the organisations banned in 1977 were being used as a front for ANC activities. The Black Consciousness Movement marked the point at which legal dissent became illegal conduct. Quoting from a document outlining the philosophy and goals of the movement, he said its aim was to destroy national capitalist economic structures and bourgeois state institutions by means of armed struggle. Working in close co-operation with the ANC its aim was to mobilise the masses for revolution by using existing organisations like AZAPO, Black Priests' Solidarity Group, SA Black Social Workers' Association, the Human Rights Congress, SA Teachers' Action Committee, Soweto Action Corhmittee, the Soweto Students' League and the Committee of Ten. In reply a member of the Committee of Ten, Mr Douglas Lolwane, said that the Minister immediately identified any black politician reluctant to serve on government created institutions as a member of the Black Consciousness Movement. This movement was not an identifiable organisation, he said, but a philosophy shared by many black people who had widely differing interpretations of how that philosophy should be put into practice.62
In November the Transkei government banned the following organisations: South African Council of Churches and its Dependents Conference, Inkatha, SWA Peoples' Organisation, United African National Council (a political party in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia), SA Society of Journalists, Black Power Movement, Zambian Economic Co-operation, Marxist Front, Union of Black Journalists, African National Congress, Pan African Congress, SA Students' Organisation, SA Communist Party, Black Peoples' Convention, Institute for Black Studies, Azanian Liberation Movement, Black Community Programmes, Young Christian Workers, Students Christian Movement (this was lifted in December), Maluti Lesotho Organisation, Human Rights Committee of SA, United Movement of SA, Independent Churches of SA, SWA Foundation, African Teachers Association of SA, World Council of Churches, Black Parents' Association, Christian Institute of Southern Africa, SA Students' Movement, Zimele Trust Fund, Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the SA Congress of Trade Unions. A magistrate was appointed to liquidate the assets of the organisations only two of which, the Black Community Programmes and the Independent Churches of SA, were known to be officially represented in Transkei. The most seriously affected was the SACC's Dependents Conference which was spending R10 000 a month in the Transkei assisting more than 180 families of political prisoners and those detained and banned, and assisting in the rehabilitation of released political prisoners. The Inter-Church Aid Division was involved in self-help schemes and community development programmes to generate income for the unemployed. The Transkei Minister of Justice said that the organisations had attacked the independence of the Transkei.

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Department of National Security (formerly Boss)
After the release of the final report of the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry into irregularities related to the Department of Information which included a statement by General van den Bergh, former head of the Bureau for State Security, to the effect that he had the power to order that people be killed, Mr Schwarz (PFP MP) called for an investigation of the Department of National Security. In June Mr Gordon Winter, a journalist for the Citizen, fled the country and when overseas released information on his activities as a Boss agent. These included an attempt to destroy the Liberal Party in Britain, falsely implicating anti-apartheid activist Mr Peter Hain in a bank robbery, reporting on the activities of liberals, journalists and left-wing people in SA, some of whom were killed as a result, and an allegation that Boss had murdered Mr Keith Wallace, a former journalist for the Rand Daily Mail, in 1970. DONS officials denied the allegations.63 Left Wing Political Violence
In a book 'Political Trials 1976-1979' published in May the author, Mr Glen Moss, said that guerrilla conflict in SA had grown into a low intensity civil war which
would not disappear until its roots were removed. The level and intensity of the conflict had grown enormously since the 1976 rebellion. It could no longer be seen as a temporary phenomenon but was a built-in part of the structure of society and only a restructuring of society could remove its causes. The statements made from the dock of people accused under the Terrorism Act showed a sense of desperation, he said, in that they saw no constructive avenues of political expression. They displayed a high level of idealism and a strong commitment to non-racialism.

In a survey published by the Terrorism Research Centre in Cape Town it was stated that in the period 15 November 1976 to 15 June 1979, 110 bombs, firebombs or grenades had been used in 91 incidents. Eight people had died and approximately 142 were injured. Bombs were placed in residential houses (23), railways (12), shops (%), schools (7), a nightclub, two halls, a council chamber, an administration building, and police stations (4). There had been 31 bomb or firebomb incidents on the Reef, 11 in Cape Town, five in Durban, four in Port Elizabeth and four in Pretoria.

Speaking at the conference of the SA Security Association in Johannesburg in September, Brigadier Coetzee of the security police said that since October 1976, 170 trained guerrilla fighters had been captured and nearly half a ton of explosives, 1 076 detonators, 139 timing devices, 34 058 bullets and 376 hand grenades had been discovered.

On 14 January seven armed ANC guerrillas clashed with the police on a farm at Derdepoort near Zeerust, three km from the Botswana border. One was shot by the police, one was captured and the rest including one who was injured escaped to Botswana. The police had been informed by a farmer whose farm labourer had seen them walking across the farm. (See Pietermaritzburg Treason Trial.)

In January a road worker in Pretoria discovered a hand grenade in the street. On 23 January explosive experts defused a large quantity of explosives on the railway line outside the Pierie station between Fort Beaufort and King William's Town in the Eastern Cape.

In February the security police announced that they had arrested two trained guerrillas in the Eastern Transvaal near Middelburg and seized two large caches of arms and explosives. Also in February a security policeman, Sgt Benjamin Letlako, stationed at John Vorster Square was killed in Katlehong near Germiston where he had moved after his house in Soweto had been set alight in 1977. Two schools, in Kwa Thema, Springs, were gutted by fire. In March a security policeman, Mr Abe Shumane, was shot in Sebokeng, Vereeniging.

In April explosives were discovered on the railway line between Nancefield and Kliptown near Soweto disrupting peak hour trains. A hall and an administration board office in the Kutlwanong location in Odendaalsrus were damaged by fire and a coloured school in New Kabah, Uitenhage, was destroyed.

On 5 May one policeman was killed, three wounded and three civilians were wounded when three ANC men entered the Moroka police station in Soweto and
fired into the charge office with automatic weapons. The charge office and two other rooms at the police station were destroyed by hand grenades. As the men left ANC pamphlets referring to the execution of Mr Solomon Mahlangu were dropped. A former Soweto policeman, Mr Ramakga, who had been recognised by his colleagues, was arrested but escaped from prison in June. After the attack the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, said that the ANC had received more than R8m from various international agencies and governments, especially Norway and Sweden to conduct a guerrilla war. He said that the SA police had arrested 23 people who were infiltrating the country and had traced 26 armoury and explosive hideouts in the northern and eastern Transvaal.

On 15 May a bomb was found in the Cape Town Supreme Court. It exploded and slightly injured the foreman. Mr Bhekizitha Nqubelani was arrested (see security trials). Two people were injured when a hand grenade found in the streets of Pretoria exploded. At a roadblock near Weenen, Natal, the police arrested three men and a woman carrying more than 200 rounds of ammunition concealed beneath her clothing. Two schools in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, were set alight causing negligible damage.

In June security police announced that they had intercepted twenty Libyan-trained guerrillas who were passing through SA to Lesotho where they intended to join the Basutoland Congress Party to overthrow the government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The security police said that they would be used as witnesses in SA against alleged PAC guerrillas who had received training with them in Libya. In June eight blocks of explosives were found by a patrolman on a railway line between Machadodorp and Goedgeluk in the Eastern Transvaal. After reports of suspicious looking Africans in rural areas in Bophuthatswana, Pietermaritzburg and Kranskop in Natal, the security police captured between ten and thirteen ANC guerrillas and seized arms and ammunition (see Pietermaritzburg 'Treason Trial).

In July the security police uncovered a cache of explosives, hand grenades and timing devices in a house in Dube, Soweto, which they watched for four days. Fifty visitors to the house during that period were detained.

As a result the police were led to a cache of hand grenades and explosives in the Eastern Transvaal. A school principal's office at Phumuzile Lower Primary School in Soweto was destroyed by fire.

In August a hand grenade was thrown into the moving vehicle of a white construction worker who was erecting security fences around schools in Soweto. It did not explode. Several children in Soweto were injured by hand grenades which they found abandoned.

In October a home-made bomb exploded at the M.R. Varachia stadium at Lenasia causing minimal damage. There had been protests over the change in the name of the Lenasia Stadium.
In November the Orlando police station in Soweto was damaged by hand grenades thrown by a group of ANC guerrillas who fired shots into the charge office killing two constables and wounding two others. Also in November the five children of security policeman Lieut Magezi Ngobeni were seriously wounded when hand grenades were thrown into his house in Ermelo, which was destroyed. In December a railway line near Alice was damaged by explosives.

Right Wing Political Violence

On New Year's Eve the offices of the Cape Western Region of the SAIRR were set on fire. The offices of the Black Sash, the Athlone Advice Office, the Dependants Conference and the Human Awareness Programme, housed in the same building, were also damaged. The cost of the damage was estimated at R10 000.

In February shots were fired into the home of the Secretary of the SA Council of Sport (SACOS), Mr M.N. Pather, narrowly missing his daughter. Shots were also fired into the home of Mrs Helen Joseph.

On 17 March seven rounds of bullets were fired into the home of Mr Harold Strachan and on the same day shots were fired into the home of formerly banned Mr Morgan Naidoo, president of the SA Swimming Federation.

In April three shots were fired into the flat of Mr Colin Eglin, former leader of the PFP. This followed threatening phone calls which he had received. Two days later Mr Horace van Rensburg PFP, MP for Bryanston, was threatened with death. A gardener of a doctor in Estcourt died when a parcel bomb found in the garden exploded in his hands.

In August the windscreen of banned Ms Judy Favish's car was smashed outside her home. In October the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela's sister in Soweto was set alight.

Court cases relating to attacks of this nature were held during the year. In March Mr Geoffrey Wright was acquitted in the Durban Regional Court on charges of having fired shots into the home of Mr Harold Strachan in August 1978.

Arising from the shots fired into the home of Mr Eglin, Mr Bryan Hack, president of the Conservative Students Alliance and member of the SRC at Cape Town University, Mr Van der Westhuizen and Mr David Beelders were charged under the Terrorism Act, or alternatively with sabotage, attempted murder and malicious damage to property. They were alleged among other things to have conspired to blow up the Cape Times and to set fire to the bookshop of formerly banned Mr Clive Keegan; to have tear-gassed a meeting of the PFP in Cape Town; to have set fire to the offices of the SAIRR and Black Sash; to have incited conservative students to commit acts of violence against and to kidnap students of opposing viewpoints; to break into business premises of people who held differing political convictions and to steal equipment required for advancing their political objectives.

During the trial it was alleged that Mr Van der Westhuizen had planned to import a consignment of guns, plastic explosives and motor vehicles and to establish a civil defence unit in order to combat people with so called left wing political beliefs. The shots fired into Mr Eglin's home were intended to intimidate him
from continuing to express his ideas and to force him to resign. Evidence was presented of a commando group within the Conservative Students' Alliance which had experimented with explosives. Mr Van der Westhuizen alleged that he had done work for Boss which was involved in right wing activities. Mr Justice Van Winsen, passing judgement, said that while people were free to hold and propagate right wing views, the performance of acts of violence and threats against opponents which endangered law and order would not be tolerated. He sentenced Mr Beelders to an effective sentence of seven and a half years and Mr Van der Westhuizen to six years. Mr Hack was acquitted. During the trial reference was made to a letter written by Mr Beelders in which he mentioned the formation of an elimination squad which had been responsible for the death of Dr Richard Turner. Noone had been charged in connection with his death and his mother accused the police of not having conducted a proper investigation.

In June ten members of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging, a right wing nationalist group, were found guilty of crimen injuria and malicious damage to property for having tarred and feathered Professor Van Jaarsveld of the history department at Pretoria University, who had suggested that the Day of the Convenant be treated as an ordinary public holiday and not a religious festival so that all racial groups could participate. Afterwards he received threatening letters and telephone calls. Ms Phyllis Naidoo, living in exile in Lesotho, was also the victim of right wing violence (see section on Political Exiles).

References
Sunday Tribune 28 January
Star 26 April
Die Transvaler 27 April
4 Debates of Standing Committee: Vote 22 'Justice' col 514 Ibid col 618
6 GG No 6647 No R202
Rand Daily Mail 5 September
8 Sunday Times 2 September
Rand Daily Mail 6 September
10 Post 11 October
11 Hansard 12 Q col 849
12 Hansard 9 Q col 602
13 Ibid
14 Ibid
11 Hansard 6 Q col 433
16 Hansard 17 Q col 972
155
Right Wing Violence
156 1 Alternative charges are not included in the classification. The figures are based on records kept by the Institute of Race Relations 18 Sunday Express 9 September 19 See Annual Survey of Race Relations 1978 p93 and for

CONTROL OF THE MEDIA
Statistics on control of publications: 1978
According to the 1978 Annual Report of the Publications Appeal Board and the Directorate of Publications' the following statistics reflect their activities during the year:

1 Publications or objects submitted for examination:
   by members of the public 130
   by customs officers 796
   by publishers 228
   by the police 1 323
   by the Directorate 43
Total 2 520
2 Of these, those decided undesirable 1 326
   those decided not undesirable 1 096
   under consideration at 31 December 98
3 Films examined and rejected 47
   unconditionally approved 207
   approved subject to excisions and/or age restrictions 253 4 Public entertainment considered and rejected in toto 1
   approved unconditionally 3
approved conditionally 13
5 Periodicals of which every edition was declared undesirable 69 6 Publications or objects the possession of which was prohibited2 448 7 Appeals to the Publications Appeal Board against decisions that publications were undesirable:
Decision Set Set aside
Confirmed Aside conditionally
Publications or objects 6 11
Films 11 9
Public entertainments 1 1
8 Appeals by the Minister or Director of Publications against decisions that publications were not undesirable:
Decision Confirmed Set
Confirmed Conditionally Aside
Publications or objects 7 7
Films 2 157

9 Publications declared undesirable submitted for review:
Decided not Again decided Approved undesirable undesirable conditionally
Legislation Publications or objects 7 12
Films - 9 11
In addition 29 applications for the variation or deletion of conditions imposed in respect of films previously approved were granted, 24 of them partially, and 6 were refused.
According to the consolidated list of publications banned during 1978 their bannings were in terms of the following provisions.4 (Foot-note No 4 contains explanations of provisions (a) to (e).)
(a) 668 (98)
(b) 15 (c) (d) 2
(e) 742 (294)
(a) together with other subsections 102 (4)
(b) and (e) 16 (2)
(e) together with other subsections 120(40)
other combinations 18 (2)
(The figures in brackets indicate those, included in the total, which were hinned for possession.)
Publications Amendment Act No 44
The most important clause in the Act, clause 1, provides that the publication of the undesirability of a publication or object in the Gazette stands as conclusive proof of its undesirability. In the original Act it only stood as sufficient proof. The definition of films was extended to include video tapes, which would be subject to the same form of control.
In moving the bill the Minister of the Interior said that it was necessary in the light of the judgement given by the Appeal Court in the case of Sean Moroney.5 The court decided in favour of the English version of the Act which was less
stringent and ruled that 'afdoende bewys' as in the Afrikaans text meant refutable proof. The implication of the judgement was that a person convicted of having produced a publication which was subsequently found to be undesirable could contest the finding of undesirability in a court which would have the power to decide on the matter. The intention of the amendment, the Minister said, was to reverse this decision and bring the English version into line with the Afrikaans version. This meant that a person could be prosecuted for having produced a publication which was subsequently found to be undesirable by the publications committee.

Parliamentary Debate
The PFP and NRP opposed clause 1 as it removed from the courts the power to decide on the undesirability of a publication and left this solely in the hands of a publications committee. They also opposed the clause extending the definition of films to include video tapes on the grounds firstly of a basic opposition to the system of censorship, and therefore its extension, and secondly because it provided for an all-embracing censorship of photographic and pictorial representation Publications material which could be shown to the public.

Matters Relating to Publications Control
In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of the Interior said that during 1978-79 R234 901 had been spent on the administration of the Publications Act. According to the report of the Directorate of Publications the specialised committee appointed to examine the large numbers of communist and 'potentially subversive' publications which entered the country continued to function during 1978.

The report also referred to a committee appointed by the Minister of Justice in 1976 to investigate the availability for study or teaching in university libraries of publications restricted in terms of the Internal Security Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Publications Act. The investigations revealed two problems. Firstly the exemption granted to universities permitting them to keep all undesirable publications except those of a communist nature hampered study and research as librarians, not knowing which publications were undesirable, preferred not to keep such publications. Secondly, academic staff found it difficult to do all their work on publications declared undesirable during library hours which was a condition of the exemption. After considering the committee's report the Directorate of Publications decided to grant university libraries exemption with respect to all publications declared undesirable without restriction except on those possession of which had been prohibited, in which case applications for special exemptions would be required. In addition university staff would, subject to certain conditions, be able to remove publications declared undesirable from the university library. Certain other institutions and libraries were included in the open exemption.

The report said that a committee had been constituted to examine ways of preventing the importation of publications which were obviously undesirable in terms of the Act as many such publications continued to enter the country.
The report also said that there had been a marked increase in the number of publications which were prejudicial to state security or relations between the population groups, the possession of which was prohibited. Continuing a trend evidenced in 1978 a large number of student publications were declared undesirable. As at 30 November, 31 such publications had been declared undesirable. In addition, all further editions of Varsity, produced by the Students Representative Council at the University of Cape Town, and National Student, produced by NUSAS, were prohibited. A significant proportion of these publications were declared undesirable for containing material which focused on military service as a problem. For example the May issue of National Student was declared undesirable because it was deemed to undermine the morale of the defence force and was calculated to discourage South Africans from performing their military service and cast doubt on the cause for which SA soldiers were fighting.8 The third edition of Vlieg, a magazine of a literary circle at the University of Pretoria,

Publications Control was declared undesirable by the Publications Board after the Rector of the university had prohibited its distribution and removed its editor from his post, on the grounds that it was not in keeping with the Christian philosophy of the university.9

In declaring the March issue of Staffrider (Vol 2 No 1) to be undesirable Mr Vosloo, the Director of Publications, said that the reasons for this was that it contained “unfair, one-sided and offensive portrayals of police actions and methods, calculated to evoke hatred and contempt of them”. This was deemed to be prejudicial to the safety of the state. A poem called 'Tribute to Mapetla', referring to Mapetla Mohapi who died while in detention under the Terrorism Act, was "calculated to approve of subversive deeds and to present communist victories as laudable as well as being a foretaste of what was to come in SA". It also accused the police of murder. In addition he said that Staffrider was offering a medium of expression for virulent attacks on SA's institutions by hostile persons living abroad. The magazine's favourable factors did not outweigh the undesirable material.

In reply the editors said amongst other things that the perception of the police as brutal by black writers who were in rapport with the black community at large was a sad fact of SA life which could not be wished away. To disguise it by censorship would exacerbate not alleviate the problem.10

Regarding the conflict between the state and Afrikaans writers, the Minister of the Interior said that he had largely overcome the distance between them and could go no further in meeting their demands. Prof Andre Brink, chairman of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde, said that on the contrary the situation had become more serious, with writers reacting to the system of censorship by establishing an underground system of distribution." In accepting the CNA prize for Rumours of Rain which had been found to be 'offensive' but 'not undesirable' he said that writers were no longer prepared to waste their time or creative energies by
clamouring for change or openly attacking the system. They had passed the stage of declaration of intent or of armed truce and had decided on open war with the authorities."

Before the banning of his book 'n Droe, Wit Seisoen 2 000 copies were sold through the post by the private publishing company, Taurus, established by Professor Brink and three lecturers at the University of the Witwatersrand. The ban was lifted by the Publications Appeal Board on the grounds that any reasonable SA reader would realise that Professor Brink was a malicious writer who used the novel to make a political attack on the country, and that the probability of the book influencing the average reader was minimal.

The conflict became salient with the award of the Hertzog Prize by the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns to Etienne Leroux's Magersfontein 0 Magersfontein! which had been declared undesirable by the Publications Board. The Chairman of the Akademie, Dr A.P. Grove, said that recognition had been given to the best work of a specific period of time and it had not been intended to undermine the machinery of publications control. The decision created controversy amongst the Afrikaner community with some writers saying that it placed the Akademie in opposition to censorship and others, for example, Dr Koot Vorster, former moderator of the Nederduitsse Gereformeerde Kerk, saying that a new prize for "clean noble and uplifting Afrikaans literature" as opposed to "septic art" like Magersfontein 0 Magersfontein! should be established. It also created division within the Akademie itself.

Dr Louis Eksteen, Professor of Afrikaans linguistics at the University of Pretoria, resigned in September from the committee of experts formed last year to advise the appeal board, stating that the board was not sympathetic to Afrikaans literature. The new Minister of the Interior announced that Mr Snyman, Chairman of the Publications Control Board, would be taking long leave pending his retirement in early 1980. This was received with cautious optimism in circles concerned with censorship as signalling a possible change in the machinery of Publications Control.

Another controversy involving censorship arose in January when the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Munnik, threatened to withdraw the subsidy to CAPAB if it continued to stage productions like Pieter Fourie's Die Plaasvervanger which he said was insulting to the Afrikaans and coloured people. He requested that the production be stopped. As the play had been passed by the censors, Mr Munnik was seen as enforcing political control over state subsidised drama and assuming powers beyond those of the Directorate of Publications.4

The Director of CAPAB, Mr Eeden, said that CAPAB was reconsidering its criteria for selecting plays after meeting with Dr Munnik.

Burghers' Daughter, a novel by Nadine Gordimer, was banned during the year. The Director of Publications appealed against the banning which was lifted in October. The Appeal Board decided that despite crudities and profanity, derogatory references to the white section of the community and a "grossly distorted" picture of the political situation in SA the book was likely to be counterproductive rather than inflammatory.
Amongst the publications declared undesirable during the year were Muriel at Metropolitan by Miriam Tlali; Steve Biko: I Write What I Like by Alfred Stubbs; And Death White As Words, a book of poetry by Breyten Breytenbach; Call me Not a Man by Mputuzeli Matshoba; Christians or Capitalists? by Cosmos Desmond; two issues of SA Outlook and two issues of Muslim News. Publications issued by overseas organisations opposed to SA continued to be prohibited. The Freedom Charter of the ANC was banned both for distribution and possession.

Press Control

Advocate-General Act No 118

The Act empowers the State President to appoint as Advocate-General a qualified advocate. The function of the Advocate-General would be to investigate suspicions that are laid before him regarding the dishonest use of State moneys as defined in section 1 (1) of the Exchequer and Audit Act No 66 of 1975 and including revenue accruing to the Railway and Harbours Fund, the Post Office Fund, a provincial revenue fund and all other moneys received, held for or on account of these funds. (In the draft bill, this clause read that the Advocate-General would investigate the misapplication or maladministration of State moneys defined as any moneys received by or accruing to the State.) He would also investigate suspicions of a person directly or indirectly being enriched or receiving any advantage in an unlawful or improper manner through or as a result of any act or omission in connection with the affairs of the State or by any person while he is performing service as an employee of the State or which is calculated to bring about such a situation. After investigating the matter the Advocate-General would submit a report of his findings and recommendations to the House of Assembly. For the purposes of publication of the contents of the report, its being handed over to the Speaker of the House while Parliament is not in session will be deemed to constitute its laying on the Table unless the report contains a recommendation by the Advocate-General that publication of the contents of the report be prohibited in the interest of the security of the State. If the report contains such a recommendation it will be submitted to the House of Assembly as a confidential paper. A select committee appointed by the House of Assembly will consider both the report and the recommendation. The report submitted by the Advocate-General must be accompanied by a record of the evidence of the proceedings of his investigation. If the disclosure of a section of the record is, in the opinion of the Advocate-General, prejudicial to the security of the State, this section will be excluded from the record of evidence submitted with the report. The select committee can request the submission of this section.
The Advocate-General has the power to determine the procedures to be adopted at the enquiry and can decide to hold them in camera. It shall be an offence to disclose the contents of any document in the possession of the Advocate-General or his assistants without his permission. A person convicted of such an offence will be liable to a fine not exceeding R500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to both such fine and such imprisonment. A maximum fine of R500 or imprisonment not exceeding six months or both such fine and imprisonment shall be imposed on any person who fails to comply with a subpoena, refuses to answer questions put to him, gives false testimony or refuses to give evidence. The same penalties will be imposed on anyone who insults, disparages or belittles the Advocate-General or his assistants or who anticipates the proceedings or findings of an enquiry in a manner calculated to influence such findings or proceedings or who does anything in connection with an enquiry which would have constituted contempt of court. A provision was introduced by amendment that this clause would not prohibit discussion of any matter being enquired into by the Advocate-General in the Senate, the House of Assembly or any provincial council. The same penalties also apply to a person who does anything to improperly influence the Advocate-General or his assistant in respect of matters being considered with regard to an enquiry.

The State President by proclamation in the Gazette may make regulations relating to the recording of proceedings at an enquiry, providing for the preservation of secrecy and generally better to achieve the objects and purposes of the Act. The Act excluded the most contentious clause in the draft bill which had stated that no person shall, except with the written permission of the Advocate-General, and subject to such conditions as he may determine, publish or cause to be published in a newspaper (which included periodicals, pamphlets, placards, books, handbills or posters) any report relating to any matter concerning State moneys which had been referred to the Advocate-General until such time as he had submitted his report to the House of Assembly. Newspapers would be able to report on court proceedings. The penalties prescribed for this offence were a fine not exceeding R5 000 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding 12 months or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

The PFP and the NRP opposed leave to introduce the Bill. In the light of Government attacks on the Press and its warnings about introducing 'anti-rumour mongering' legislation, the PFP and NRP, having seen the title of the Bill, stated that it would have the effect of gagging the Press. The house divided and the Bill was read for the first time. In moving the Bill the Minister of Transport said that the intention, was, firstly, to create a continuous, easy machinery for investigating alleged irregularities and to provide Parliament with the means to keep a watch on corruption and maladministration. Secondly, it would provide the public with the opportunity to
make known their suspicions about irregularities. Thirdly, it would ensure that the truth about allegations of corruption, rather than rumours, would be published in order for the case of both sides to be presented. The effect of rumour mongering in connection with the Department of Information affair, he said, was to undermine orderly government and the authority of the State.

It was necessary, he said, for government officials who were serving the interests of the country to be protected. Fourthly, the Bill would prevent the abuse of press freedom and protect the security of the State and would restore authority to and confidence in Parliament. The power of the press to form public opinion was sometimes used in an irresponsible way, for example, by denigrating government officials.

He was 'left cold', he said, by the supposed sacred duty of the press to inform the public, as its prime interest was in sensational reporting in order to increase its circulation.

The PFP moved that the Bill be read "this time in six months". It argued that the effect of the Bill would be to remove officials from public scrutiny and to restrict investigative journalism of the type which exposed the Information scandal. It was a threat to the right of the public to access to information and to the freedom of the press in that one individual could decide what the press could publish with no possibility of an appeal against the decision.

In addition it interfered with the normal Parliamentary process in that it denied members of Parliament the right to communicate with their constituents on matters relating to allegations of corruption and maladministration and prevented publication of Parliamentary discussions on these matters.

As regards the scope of the activities covered by the Bill, namely the misapplication of State moneys, the PFP argued that this covered not only corruption but also incompetence, bad management, wasteful expenditure, inefficiency or extravagant policies. No newspaper reports on such matters could appear without a prior investigation by the Advocate-General. Secondly, State moneys as defined in the Bill covered not only government departments but all those institutions, corporations and provincial bodies which were dependent on State finance. The NRP supported these arguments.

The SAP supported the institution of an Advocate-General to protect the interests of the public against government abuse. However, it was opposed to the elimination of the rights of the press to investigate corruption. It proposed an amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. This was accepted by the Minister.

The Prime Minister announced on 14 June that the Government had accepted the recommendations of the Select Committee after discussions with representatives of the media and other interested bodies. He pointed out, however, that the Government was extremely concerned about the role of certain irresponsible media and said that it was committed to take steps in this regard if these actions were not stopped.
The PFP despite the amendments introduced continued to oppose the Bill on the grounds that the machinery being created could at a later stage be used to suppress the press as the Prime Minister had said that he was withdrawing the contentious clauses for the present only.

In addition, the clause making it an offence to anticipate the proceedings and findings of the Advocate-General would have the practical effect of silencing the press and individuals in respect of any matter subject to an inquiry.

An amendment by the PFP to the effect that the Advocate-General be a judge of the Supreme Court nominated by the Chief Justice of South Africa was rejected by the Minister of Transport on the grounds that the executive was responsible for the administration of the country.

English and Afrikaans newspapers were united in their opposition to the Bill's curbs on the freedom of the press and on 21 May a delegation from the Newspaper Press Union met with the Prime Minister.

Institutions and organisations throughout the country registered their protest. The PFP held a series of protest meetings throughout the country and called on everyone opposed to the Bill to submit written representations.

For further legislation related to press control see the Police Amendment Act, the Inquest Amendment Act and the National Supplies Procurement Act.

Matters Relating to Press Control

During the year, government officials made several comments on the 'irresponsibility' of the press especially with regard to its role in exposing the Department of Information affair. During his vote the Prime Minister said that the press had obligations to the public and the Government which had been disregarded to an unprecedented extent. Press freedom was being grossly abused. The press had engaged in an unbridled campaign of insinuation, suspicion, mistrust and disparagement to destroy the political system. The Press Code in terms of which the Press Council functioned could not be effective against people and bodies who despised the spirit and essence of that code and operated outside it. The Government could not ignore the demands by the public for it to intervene in this situation whether by way of legislation or administrative action. He said however that he would like to take steps only after consultations with the responsible free press. It had become a national necessity to find a solution to this matter.

In December 1978 the Christian Science Monitor reported on the discussions between the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and the Press Government. The NPU refused to comment on the report which was Control allegedly based on a confidential memorandum drawn up by the NPU in response to requests by the Government that it get its house in order by January 1979.

At the discussions the Prime Minister was alleged to have said if the press did not reform itself he would appoint a parliamentary commission to investigate all aspects of the press and to report back to the next session of Parliament.
Government officials were reported to have complained about the lack of control over foreign correspondents or local stringers of overseas papers who were besmirching SA's name, and felt that they should be answerable to someone for the accuracy of their reports. The then Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, was reported to have requested the right to get interdicts from the Press Council to prevent publication of unsuitable material and also the right to be given the sources of press reports when he required them. The Press Council was criticised for operating after the damage had already been done and the NPU was told to consider machinery which would have a preventive effect. Government officials also reportedly felt that in some cases the disclosure of proceedings of the Press Council could harm SA. The memorandum drawn up by the NPU allegedly stated that it was opposed to secret hearings of the Press Council; that liaison machinery between the NPU and the Prime Minister be established; that the right of journalists not to disclose sources of information be respected and that stringers writing for overseas newspapers and who were members of the NPU should work within the spirit of the SA press code.

The chapel of the SA Argus Newspapers at its congress in May passed a resolution censuring the NPU "for the manner in which it is unilaterally and tamely allowing the freedom of its press to be pruned and we call upon the NPU to reveal the nature of all discussions with the Government". At the annual congress of the NP in Durban the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, said that the press was an essential element in the total national strategy. In a situation in which SA faced a total onslaught it was necessary for the press to be disciplined. Speaking at the conference on the 'Survival of the Press' in Grahamstown, Mr Alistair Sparks, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, said the press would face greater threats in the future as the Government needed to control and exploit the press for its own purposes.

At the annual congress of the Newspaper Press Union in September Mr Schlebusch, Minister of the Interior, proposed that the Press Council become a statutory body with legislative powers. He proposed (1) a press code with which all newspapers, whether members of the NPU or not, must comply. Contravention of the code would entail a maximum fine of R10 000, and/or the temporary or permanent suspension of the newspaper; (2) a code of conduct for journalists, contravention of which would entail a maximum fine of R1 000 and/or the temporary or permanent suspension of the journalist; (3) that editors be SA citizens; (4) control of the activities of stringers or corres-
press protested against the proposal as introducing self censorship.

Several measures were taken against the press arising out of its exposures of the Department of Information affair. Towards the end of 1978 the Rand Daily Mail, its editor and its deputy financial editor were charged with having breached the Commissions Act by wrongfully and unlawfully prejudicing and/or influencing and/or anticipating the proceedings and/or findings of the Erasmus Commission by printing a story on the funding of the Citizen newspaper on 15 November. They were found guilty in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 18 January, the Rand Daily Mail and its editor being fined R50 each and the financial editor being cautioned and discharged. It was feared that this judgement would act as a restraint on the publication by the press of matters subject to an investigation by a commission.

The editor of the Rand Daily Mail said it seemed obvious that the processes of the law were being used to harass and intimidate newspapers which had played a leading role in exposing the Information scandal which the Government had sought to conceal.

In March members of the Erasmus Commission brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court for an interdict to prevent the Rand Daily Mail from publishing further disclosures made by Dr Eschel Rhoodie, former Secretary of the Department of Information, on the grounds that such disclosures would prejudice, anticipate or influence its findings. A temporary interdict was granted and the Rand Daily Mail had to withdraw one issue of its newspaper containing the disclosures.

On 12 March Mr Justice Coetzee dismissed the application with costs on the grounds that the Commission in its application had not set out the new aspects and fields which it was canvassing; it was impossible for the Rand Daily Mail to anticipate what it might not publish because the prohibition in the Commissions Act had not been set out in precise terms; the Commission was not entitled to a blanket restriction on any publication; anticipation of a possible offence in terms of the Commissions Act was insufficient and a contravention had to be shown; the members of the Commission were ordinary individuals performing a task with no special powers and the members were incorrect in purporting to be acting in an official capacity during the application; and, most importantly, that the sub judice rule did not apply to commissions as they were not courts of law. This finding was seen as setting an important precedent as regards the rights of the press in relation to commissions of inquiry. A similar finding was made by judges in the Cape Supreme Court in March vis a vis an application for a interdict against the Cape Times lodged by members of the Erasmus Commission.

On 12 March the Judge President of the Cape granted a rule nisi to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, restraining SAAN newspapers from publishing a report quoting Dr Eschel Rhoodie. The application was made on the grounds that the report which had been conveyed by the press to Mr Kruger for comment was injurious and defamatory in that it alleged that the cabinet and Mr Kruger had been informed about Government funding of the Citizen newspaper before the 1977 Press elections and that Mr Kruger had
said to Mr Rhoodie that disclosure of Control certain information would mean the end of his career. On 27 March the Cape Supreme Court considered Mr Kruger's application for the rule nisi to be made final and discharged it on 10 April with costs. The judge found that the report did not directly involve Mr Kruger with any accusation or charge and did not directly accuse him of any crime or fault. To involve the Minister with the Information scandal was not necessarily defamatory if it involved him only in a political sense. In an important judgement on the rights of the press the judge said that "it is the right of every citizen to concern himself with the affairs of the country by expressing his views approving or disapproving of the actions of the persons concerned directly in the government of the country and, as long as he does not impute to them improper motives or dishonourable conduct, his words are not defamatory however unfair or unfounded his criticism may be".22

In May the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to a question in Parliament, revealed the contents of his correspondence with the chairman of the Press Council regarding the imposition of fines in 1975 on two newspapers for having reported on the connection between the Department of Information and the weekly magazine To the Point. Beeld had paid R500, Rapport R1500 and Sunday Express had been reprimanded as a result of complaints laid by Dr Rhoodie. He had made an affidavit denying any financial connection between the department and the magazine. Mr Botha said that the Press Council had based its judgement on the evidence given by Dr Rhoodie which had been false. Injustice of the worst degree had been committed and he had approached the Press Council to ascertain whether the findings could be reviewed and the innocence of the papers placed on record. The Press Council set aside the adjudication against the newspapers, but could not repay the money as it had been donated.23

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of the Interior, Mr Schlebusch, said that government departments had lodged one complaint with the Press Council in 1976, 19 in 1977 and 15 in 1978. Of the total of 35 complaints eight had been laid by the Department of Justice and eleven by the SA Police. Newspapers were required to make amends in 21 cases and three newspapers had to pay fines worth a total of R2 500.24

In a private members' motion25 Mr J. Wiley (SAP) proposed that a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into and report on the share ownership of each major newspaper group in the Republic with a view to establishing the identity of the beneficial shareholders; the extent of effective control within a newspaper group and between newspaper groups; the measure of concentration of ownership and control, both financial and technical, and its effect on editorial opinion, comment and presentation of views; tendencies towards monopoly formation or the concentration of control in regard to the collection of news for internal and external dissemination; the extent to which an informed public opinion and free press were inhibited by these factors and any steps deemed necessary to combat factors found to militate

168 against a free press in SA. Mr Wiley said that the Argus and SAAN
groups owned 90% of all English language daily newspapers and all the Sunday newspapers. The Minister of Economic Affairs said that the Press Government accepted that a case existed for such an investigation Control which would be undertaken in terms of legislation governing harmful monopolistic conditions. In the speech by the Prime Minister during debate on his vote, he said he hoped the newspapers would furnish the Government with information on their shareholders.6
In April the editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Rex Gibson, and a reporter for that newspaper, Ms Jennifer Hyman, were acquitted of charges of contempt of court and criminal defamation which arose out of an article on 21 May 1978 on the role of pro deo attorneys and the security police in security trials. Ms Hyman was subpoenaed three times in 1978 to disclose information in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, until finally the charges were laid. During the trial defence counsel, Mr Sydney Kentridge, submitted that the articles were intended to criticise the security police and not the courts. The prosecution of the Sunday Express, he said, had raised fundamental issues regarding the right of the press to report and comment on the administration of justice in SA. Prosecution on charges of criminal defamation could easily be used by the Government to harass opposition newspapers and should be restricted to the most serious cases involving officers of the state in the performance of their duties. He said that criticism of the administration of justice did not constitute contempt of court unless it was absurd or so far fetched that it was a vilification of the courts. (For further details of this trial see Administration of Security Legislation.)
In October an interdict lodged by a freelance photographer, Mr Ashley Le Grange, to prevent members of the security police from hindering or interfering with his work by assaulting him when he took photographs of them at the court hearing of a claim for damages against the Minister of Police for the death of Mr Mapetla Mohapi, was dismissed with costs by Mr Justice Kannemeyer of the Grahamstown Supreme Court on the grounds that Mr Le Grange had not established that he had a right to photograph people who clearly were unwilling to be photographed. Several other cases where reporters were issued with subpoenas to answer questions in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act were reported during the year. Mr John Mattison was sentenced to 14 days imprisonment, suspended until the outcome of an appeal in March, for refusing to answer questions about his sources of information for an article on the connection between the Christian League of SA and the former Department of Information.7
Subsequently the Minister of Foreign Affairs acknowledged that the Christian League had received financial support. In March Ms Ingrid Pepler, a reporter on Beeld was summoned to answer questions on her informant on the murder of Dr Smit and his wife. She could not furnish the name so she was discharged. The information had been filed in a confidential memorandum to her editor and had never been published. The editor of Beeld suspected that the police had used spies to obtain the memorandum and lodged a complaint with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, about such 'blatant intimidation'.28 In July Zwelakhe Sisulu, news editor of Sunday Post and President of the Writers’ Association of
SA, was summoned in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act 169 to answer questions in connection with alleged offences committed by Mr Thamsanqa Mkwanazi, a reporter of Post, who was detained under Section Six of the Terrorism Act. Mr Sisulu was required to answer questions on alleged telephone conversations between him and Mr Mkwanazi. He refused to answer and was sentenced to nine months imprisonment, suspended pending the outcome of an appeal.29

In July journalists in the Transkei issued a statement condemning the practice of the security police of using journalists as their source of information about the actions of members of the public at political meetings and to issue subpoenas for them to give evidence for the State on political meetings they had attended. The statement cited the example of the editor of the weekly newspaper, Intsimbi, Mr Velile Tonjeni, who had been subpoenaed to give evidence for the state against the organiser of the Opposition Democratic Progressive Party, Mr Pikashe.30

The weekly newspaper of Inkatha, The Nation, suspended publication in March pending the outcome of the appeal against the banning of nine consecutive issues by the Publications Control Board. They had been declared undesirable on the grounds that they endangered relationships between racial groups and the safety of the state."

In July Isizwe, a weekly newspaper in the Transkei owned and edited by Mr Vuyani Mrwetyana, was banned in terms of the Transkei's security laws. Isizwe had begun publication in January after the banning of Mr Mrwetyana's previous paper, Isazizo. In May the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr Lennox Sebe, announced that reporters from the Daily Dispatch would be prohibited from attending sessions of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly as they did not report accurately on the proceedings. In response the editor of the Daily Dispatch said that to faithfully report on the Assembly debates could involve prosecution under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the General Law Amendment Act, the Bantu Administration Act (1927), or for incitement to public violence and would have offended against the Code of Conduct of the SA Press Council.2

In July Mr James Beaumont of the Star Africa News Service was sentenced to three years' imprisonment suspended for five years on charges under the official Secrets Act for possessing secret military documents and for alleging in his manuscript for a book that SA was involved in the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia War. He was granted leave to appeal.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Interior said that in 1978 four issues of Muslim News were declared undesirable in terms of Section 47(e) of the Publications Act.

In January the applications by two reporters on Post for press cards were refused making a total of seven reporters on that newspaper who had been refused press cards. In May Brigadier Jan Visser, police liaison officer, said that journalists whose applications for press cards were refused could appeal to either the Commissioner or the Minister of Police. He said that press cards were issued on the merit, background and criminal record of the applicant. The holder of the card must be a person of good conduct, behaviour and personality and
must not have a criminal record or subversive tendencies. Several black journalists were prevented from reporting on and taking pictures of events, such as the resettlement schemes. Black journalists continued to be questioned on occasion by the security police during the year. In March Mr Ole Johan Erikson, a representative of the International Federation of Journalists, was questioned for several hours by the Security Police after having attended a meeting of the Writers’ Association of SA in Soweto. Five other journalists were also detained and charged with having entered an African township without a permit. They were acquitted.

Developments in Black Journalism
The Writers' Association of SA continued to represent the interests of black journalists during the year (see section on trade unions). In March a meeting was arranged with Mr Kruger to discuss the problems encountered by black journalists in the execution of their duties. WASA submitted a memorandum detailing the various ways in which black journalists were harassed by means of detentions, banning, banishments and the denial of press cards, all of which had made inroads into the development of black journalism. Black journalists were not furthering any particular political beliefs but aiming at honest reporting and interpretation of events in the country as they affected black people.

While maintaining standards of objectivity and independence black journalists could not be divorced from the black community in the same way that Afrikaner journalists could not divorce themselves from the interests of their people. Mr Kruger decided to cancel the meeting with WASA representatives because the tone of the memorandum, he said, was such that there could be no purpose in the meeting.

WASA spokesmen said that the cancellation was indicative of Mr Kruger's disregard for black opinion and expressed the hope that he would nevertheless take the necessary steps to ensure that the rights of black journalists to practise their profession unhindered was enshrined in the police code of conduct.

In August Mr Sisulu said that black journalists had a duty to articulate the demands of the black community as part of a broader liberation movement in which the white SA Society of Journalists had no part as it had little experience of black aspirations. WASA as part of the liberation movement could not be dependent on white attitudes and could not ally itself with white journalists who had the vote. Black journalists were blacks first and journalists second. The differences between WASA and the SASJ, he said, were so fundamental as to make informal contact impossible.

WASA set up a relief fund to assist families and dependants of people who were banned or detained.

In July the board of directors of the Inkatha newspaper, The Nation, decided to cease publication in the Transvaal and transfer the operation to Natal where it would be published in Zulu. This decision arose out of the repeated banning of issues of the newspaper by the Publications Control Board. All the staff members...
objected to the decision and were consequently fired by the managing director, Mr Walter Fellgate.

The black magazine, Pace, was dropped by its owners, Hortors, after allegations by Dr Eschel Rhoodie that he and the owner of Pace had reached an agreement on editorial policy for the magazine which would promote a capitalistic viewpoint. The management of the magazine denied the allegations.

A new newspaper, The Call, commenced publication in July. It was established by a committee formed in Durban with the intention of opposing the SA Indian Council and persuading the Indian community not to participate in council elections.

SABC

In June the Department of National Education gazetted a set of conditions for the functioning of the SABC. These stipulated that the programmes broadcast should afford all the national communities of SA the opportunity of achieving full self-realisation within their own cultural and social spheres; should encourage and promote cordial and sound relations between these communities having regard to the prevailing conventions and customs of the different national communities and should report newsworthy events in SA and abroad clearly, unambiguously, factually, impartially and without distortion. Strict norms should be applied as regards reports and programmes concerning physical defects, deformities, questions of race or colour, crime, drunkenness, drug addiction, lotteries and gambling or reports and programmes containing indecent details concerning or references to parts of the human body, and all such reports and programmes should comply with standards of good taste as interpreted by the Board of the SABC. In addition the SABC should broadcast nothing which is of a blasphemous, indecent, offensive or obscene nature; contains distasteful details of torture, human or criminal suffering or executions; concerns pornography or filth; is contrary to any rule of law; may inflame public opinion or may directly or indirectly lead to any contravention of the law or may threaten the security of the State; may cause unrest or panic; may hamper any government department in the execution of its duties and is calculated to damage SA's image abroad.

Speaking during the vote on National Education Mr David Dalling (PFP) said that, despite a slight improvement, the material screened on television continued to be highly selective, with little serious and motivated criticism of the Government being allowed.

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of National Education said that during 1978 no Africans, coloured people or Indians had been appointed to the control board of the SABC or to the Black Programme Control Board or any of the committees appointed by these boards. Commenting, Mr Dalling said that this white dominance of the SABC made it an institution of 'white baaskap'.

The Director-General of the SABC said in January that the estimated cost of the planned African TV channel was R150 m.
Professor Wynand Mouton, rector of the OFS University, was appointed chairman of the SABC Board of Control as from April 1980 to replace Dr Piet Meyer. The appointment was seen as part of the reorganisation of the SABC to make it more effective in the total national strategy.

Control of the Media
According to The Super-Afrikaners, by Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, the majority of top positions in the television and radio services of SABC were held by members of the Broederbond. The book also revealed that the Broederbond had played a determining role in the introduction of television, in that seven of the twelve members of the commission of enquiry appointed by the Government in 1969 were members of the Broederbond. The Broederbond allegedly felt that the central problem was the effective control of the medium and the greatest possible insurance against the undermining of the Christian National outlook and lifestyle.

Conflict within the SABC erupted in May when the President of the Staff Association, Mr P. Rogers, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister protesting against the Advocate-General Bill. The Chairman, Mr Piet Meyer, and the Director-General, Mr Jan Swanepoel, sent telegrams dissociating themselves from the sentiments of the staff association and asserting loyalty to the Government. Mr Rogers was subsequently prohibited from programmes involving politics on the grounds that he had sacrificed his neutrality by his action and made public his political affiliations thereby rendering himself unsuitable for such programmes.41 Mr Brian Page (NRP) commented that this action proved that the SABC was nothing more than an agency of the National Party.42

In October Mr Kevin Harris was fired after refusing to omit the introductory section of a programme he had produced on Baragwanath Hospital. The introduction dealt with unsatisfactory social conditions in the surrounding community of Soweto. In May the British Actors' Union, Equity, threatened to sever ties with the British Broadcasting Corporation after it leased a programme including members of Equity to SATV in contravention of its agreement with the BBC. As a result of pressure SATV decided to stop screening the series.

References
RP 21/1979
2 When publications are declared undesirable their distribution is prohibited. However, a publication can in addition be banned for possession. Includes appeals against conditions imposed. No 6406 Notice 761 of 12 April 1979 A publication is banned if any part of it:
(a) is indecent or obscene or is offensive to public morals
(b) is blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions of any group
(c) ridicules any section of the population
(d) is harmful to the relationship between sections of the population
(e) is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or peace and good order See 1978 Survey p 132
6 Hansard 12 9 col 763 RP 21/1979
Citizen 9 July
Rand Daily Mail 18 May 10 Star 15 June
Transvaler 19 April
2 Rand Daily Mail 10 May 13 Star 3 May
1 Rand Daily Mail 3 January, Argus 22 February 15 Hansard 10 col 4 611-4 614
16 Christian Science Monitor December 1978 17 SA Journalist May 1979

IS Beeld 17 August ’9 Rand Daily Mail 6 October o Ibid 18 January 21 Natal
Mercury 15 March 2 Rand Daily Mail 11 April 23 Hansard 19 Q col 1 063, Rand
Daily Mail 2 May
27 Cape Times 9 March 28 Star 2 April 29 Rand Daily Mail 7 August 10 Sunday
Post 29 July 31 Rand Daily Mail 13 March 32 Daily Dispatch 9 May 11 Post
18 May 14 Ibid 2, 3 March, Rand Daily Mail 3 March 1s Post 12 July 36 Rand Daily
Mail 28 July, Post 2 August 37 GG 6493 GN 1249 15 June 11 Hansard 2 Q col 67
19 Cape Times 16 February 40 Star 4 January 11 Sunday Times 22 July 412 Rand
Daily Mail 17 July
173
Control of the Media

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION
General
The annual economic report of the Reserve Bank showed improved economic
Real gross domestic product increased moderately by 3 % compared with a small
decline of 1 % in 1977/78: Economic growth during the year originated largely in
the secondary sector and to a lesser extent in the primary sector of the economy.
There was an increase of 51 O/o in the real product of manufacturing which had
already started to increase in the first quarter of 1978.
The moderate rise in the real value added by the primary sector was accounted for
by increases in agricultural and non-gold mining production which rose at an
average annual rate of 81 % from 1975/76 to 1978/79 although the increase in the
real product of non-gold mining decelerated for the second consecutive year. The
real value added by the tertiary sector increased only slightly in 1978/79.
A substantial surplus of R2 395m was recorded on the current account of the
balance of payments, an increase over the R888m surplus recorded in 1977/78.
This was mainly a function of an improvement in the terms of trade, partly due to
the rise in the value of net gold output concomitant on the increase in the price of
gold, as well as an increase in merchandise exports. The value of the net gold
output, which had increased by 31 % in 1977/78, rose by 43 % to R4 613m in
1978/79.
The average fixing price of gold on the London market rose from $165,81 per fine
ounce in 1977/78 to $228,29 per fine ounce in 1978/79 (ie 38 %). (The following
prices were recorded during 1979: 8 February $254; 17 April $231,75; 26 July
$307,00, 29 October $437, and $501 on 27 December.)
In volume terms, the net gold output showed only a slight increase which was
achieved despite a lower grade of ore being milled.
The value of merchandise exports increased from R6 800m in 1977/78 to R8 015m in 1978/79 or by 18%. This increase was due almost entirely to higher export prices and not to an increase in volume which was only 1% as against an average of 13% in the three preceding years. A net outflow of capital was recorded amounting to R2 238m compared with R970m in 1977/78 consisting entirely of short-term capital. A small net inflow of long-term capital was recorded. This, together with the large current account surplus, resulted in a surplus in the basic balance of R2 440m as against R798m in 1977/78.

Gross gold and other foreign reserves increased by R878m during 1978/79 to a level of R2 807m at the end of June 1979. This included the revaluation of the gold reserves at market-related prices and other valuation adjustments.

Despite the higher level of economic activity mentioned above, however, the cyclical upswing which had commenced at the end of 1977 gained little momentum during the subsequent eighteen months, due to a number of reasons. Firstly real aggregate domestic demand failed to sustain a higher rate of growth, due to a slack in public and private sector demands, the latter resulting from the effect on personal income of the persistently high rate of inflation. Real disposable income increased moderately but found its way into higher personal savings. In addition the volume of exports made only a small contribution to growth. As in the past two years, there was a decline in real gross domestic investment. The Governor of the Reserve Bank stated that the problem confronting SA was to attain a higher growth rate and consequently a lower unemployment rate under conditions of high and increasing inflation and possible balance of payments problems.

During the year, a new exchange rate policy was introduced in line with recommendations made by the De Kock Commission of Inquiry into the Monetary System and Monetary Policy in SA. The Commission recommended that the eventual aim should be to establish a unitary exchange rate system under which an independent and flexible Rand would find its own level against other currencies in competitive spot and forward exchange markets. Movements of the exchange rate of the Rand were to be managed through Reserve Bank intervention by means of purchases and sale of foreign exchange. It was hoped to encourage foreign investment by the use of the 'financial rand'-an enlarged version of the existing securities rand-which would be cheaper for overseas investors than the main 'commercial rand'.

In October the Minister of Industries, Commerce and Consumer Affairs announced the appointment of a panel of experts to help formulate the country's total economic strategy. Declared policy was also to involve the private sector more closely in national affairs.

In a special address to businessmen in November, the Prime Minister outlined his plans for the future economic development of SA. He stated that to date the Government had endeavoured to restrict government spending, thus releasing resources to the private sector; rationalise the public service, involving the private
sector; remove restrictions to facilitate equal access to economic opportunities; lessen direct interference in the market mechanism as proposed by the De Kock, Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions; and to deregulate the economy as evidenced by the re-examination of price, rent and exchange controls. He stated that economic development was dependent on political stability and that it was the responsibility of governments of the regions in Southern Africa to see that such stability, within which private enterprise could fulfil its function, was maintained. He identified economic growth as being mostly the responsibility of private enterprise. To facilitate this the Government would endeavour, as far as possible, to make available capital and skilled labour to the business sector to allow for maximum income and employment creation. The Prime Minister outlined the following as part of his future economic plan:
(1) rationalisation of the various development corporations;
(2) further promotion of African entrepreneurs;
(3) greater involvement of the private sector in regional development;
(4) special attention to be given to the unemployment problem in the homelands;
(5) development of reciprocal relations between SA, the homelands and other countries in Southern Africa forming a ‘constellation of states’ with a concomitant development of an institutional framework.

Foreign Investment
Changes in financial dealings announced by the Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, in his budget speech and resulting from the recommendations of the De Kock Commission had a positive effect on foreign investment this year. It was reported that in the first five months of operation of the new system SA had attracted R260m in private investment capital. The UN Centre Against Apartheid released a report on bank loans to SA showing that the Federal Republic of Germany made 72 loans totalling $2 427,3m and ranked first in terms of loans to SA during this period. Together with loans and trade financing through the Export-Import Bank of the USA the total loaned through institutions in the US was $2 810,4m.
In a preface to the report it was pointed out that there was increasing secrecy surrounding bank loans, and that in a reversal of the situation in previous years where the number of banks far outstripped the number of loans, only 17 banks were identified as participating in all 31 loans of 1978. The following tables detail the position:
Summary of findings by Corporate Data Exchange:
Bank loans to SA 1972-1978
Total number of lending banks 382
Total number of nationalities
Total number of loans 21 16 19 31 28 12 31
Total amount of loans (US $ mill.) $5465,4

Bank Loans to South Africa by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of loans</th>
<th>Total amount of Loans (US $ mil.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>543,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>624,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>830,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>946,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1498,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>297,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>725,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following banks were identified as the top ten lenders:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent Bank</th>
<th>No. of loans</th>
<th>Amount (US $ mill.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citicorp (US)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1 563,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers Hanover Corp (US)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1 187,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit Commercial de France SA (French)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1158,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deutsche Bank AG (FRG)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1 156,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1 104,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill Samuel &amp; Co Ltd (UK)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1 055,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Bank of Switzerland (CH)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1 040,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerzbank AG (FRG)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>870,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kredietbank NV(B)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>859,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West deutsche Landesbank Giro (FRG)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>779,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In international loans where many banks participate it is inaccurate to claim that the loan was made by any one of the banks listed. Thus it cannot be said that Citicorp made $1,6 billion of loans but that it was involved (to an unknown degree) in $1,6 billion of loans.

US Investment

Mr Paul Gibson, vice president of the giant engineering group, Envirotech, stated that the value of the investment of the 260 US companies dealing with SA was R1,565 billion or about 1 O/o of American investment outside the US, and just over 15 % of all foreign investment in SA. US companies operating in SA employed more than 100000 people, over 70 000 of them black? He held that the combined shareholding of US universities, churches and labour unions in American companies was assessed conservatively at R130 434 million.
The US administration continued to call on companies with SA connections to assess their role in SA.

Mr R. Moose, American Assistant Secretary of State, said that unless American corporations could demonstrate that they were not supporting apartheid pressures against investment, there would be momentum both via the public and in the US Congress. There was a growing realisation that doing business in SA entailed special responsibilities and that in the absence of basic change everyone, including the investors, would lose.

However, it seemed that official US measures to control companies investing in SA were not entirely successful. It was reported that the Evans Amendment to the Export-Import Bank Authorisation Act introduced last year which sought to prohibit the Exim Bank from providing credit assistance for exports to any company in SA which had not been certified by the Secretary of State as having fair employment practices, was not being implemented.

Congressional sources revealed later in the year that the US Congress was planning fresh legislation to restrict US private investment in SA. Three similar bills were dropped in 1978 at the insistence of the Carter administration which was not convinced of their influence on the SA Government and because of the longstanding US principle of non-intervention in foreign economic transactions. The new bill would be introduced in 1980.

Charles Rangel, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, introduced two bills in January designed to restructure foreign tax credit provisions to the disadvantage of American firms in SA. Both bills were referred to the House Ways and Means Committee which took no action on them.

This year saw the formation of the Ad Hoc Monitoring Group on Southern Africa, comprising 45 members of Congress, to review US policy and to monitor the role of US business in SA. In February the Group wrote letters to more than 300 companies informing them of the Group's interests in the Sullivan principles and asking whether the companies had signed the code and requesting information on steps taken to implement it.

In November a resolution stating that no US company would, in doing business in SA, engage in any unfair employment practice in respect of any of its employees, submitted by 26 Congressmen to the House, was referred to the House of Representatives sub-committee. Unfair employment practice was defined as 'any act of discrimination on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex or national origin which is prohibited by America's Civil Rights Act of 1964'.

Endeavours by pressure groups to limit US investment in SA continued throughout the year, but it seemed with less success than last year.

During the year shareholders of 24 corporations voted on 27 resolutions concerning American corporate involvement in SA, compared with 22 such resolutions in 1978 and 16 in 1977. In addition, eight resolutions on SA were
withdrawn by their sponsors after they reached agreement on appropriate action with the corporations involved. SA accounted for more than one-quarter of all the social responsibility shareholder resolutions in 1979. The average level of support for SArelated proposals during the spring 1979 proxy season was 3.59% compared with 4.38% in 1978.8

A resolution against Fluor which was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Maryknoll Sisters of St Dominic Inc which owned 3700 shares and 200 shares respectively, was unsuccessful in its endeavour to discourage Fluor's participation in future contracts with 'the white supremacist SA Government'. The Fluor Corporation's SA business—a coal conversion project—accounted for about 13% of Fluor's worldwide revenues last year of $29 000m.9

In May GM shareholders defeated a resolution aimed at preventing the company from dealing with SA by such a large margin that the proposal may not be brought up again in 1980. The resolution attracted 6256 351 votes in support, only 2.98% of the nearly 210 million shares voting on the question. Opponents thus fell short by 40 633 of the 3% necessary to bring the question up again next year.0

GM's chairman, Mr Thomas Murphy, while in SA this year disclosed that GM's investment in SA amounted to R120m. He was opposed to withdrawing from SA believing that their operations 'on SA remain a prudent investment for our stockholders'. Plant utilisation, he stated, was in the order of 40 per cent. The company also announced that it was to make a R500 000 donation over the next five years to the Urban Foundation." At its annual general meeting computer manufacturer Sperry Rand refused to disclose to shareholders details of its sales in SA and rejected church-led efforts to induce it to declare a policy on doing business here. A motion calling on the company to stop sales to the SA Government or its agencies captured 3.1% of the shareholders' vote just enough for it to be re-introduced at next year's general meeting.2

During April in an anti-apartheid week campuses across the US demonstrated against US involvement in SA. Demonstrations occurred at Brandeis University, Princeton University, Oberlin College and Georgia State University. Demonstrations were also held outside the First National Bank of Chicago, the First National Bank of Boston and the Provident Bank in Philadelphia. In commenting on these demonstrations Mr Desaix Myers III, of the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, stated that they were not as well supported as in previous years. In March Columbia University divested itself of R2,3m worth of holdings in the Detroit Bank Corporation and Manufacturers National Bank of Detroit which refused to reveal whether they had credit relations with the SA Government, and liquidated stock in the Rainer Bank Corporation of Seattle after the University's trustees were informed that the bank did not intend to stop extending credit to SA.3
In the same month the board of regents of the University of Michigan voted to sell its stock in Black and Decker after the company refused to supply certain information regarding its operations in SA.

In April Boston University trustees announced that the University would selectively sell stock in any company active in SA that was 'not constructively seeking to maximise black opportunities and pay and to support an end to apartheid'; would refrain from depositing funds or holding stock in banks which lent to the SA Government or its parastatal corporations; and would sell all its SA-related non-voting holdings because they conferred no investor powers on the University. In accordance with this policy it began to sell bonds and non-voting stock and withdrew bank accounts totalling $6,6m.

In the same month, Brandeis University's board of trustees announced it would selectively sell and refrain from purchasing stock in companies whose SA business and employment practices caused 'severe social injury'.

This year and in 1978 Bryn Mawr College co-sponsored shareholder resolutions to Eastman Kodak on the subject of strategic sales of photographic equipment to the SA Government and its agencies. It received 3,13% support of voters.

In May the regents of the University of California voted 129 493 shares of GM stock worth about $7,5m in favour of a resolution asking the company to cease sales of vehicles to the SA police and military.

Carlton College sold 9 000 shares of Wells Fargo stock worth approximately $285 000 and a $10 000 Wells Fargo bond in June because of the bank's policy on making loans to the SA Government.

The Universities of Delaware, Illinois and Knox College all established investment guidelines this year making the retention of corporate holdings or the purchase of stock in companies dependent on the companies following the Sullivan principles.

Investment in SA

UK

Investment in SA

The University of California sold investments worth R2,3m in the Bank of America in protest against the bank's refusal to stop lending to SA, while Stanford University sold investments in the Wells Fargo Bank for the same reason.

In May Yale University decided to sell R800 000 worth of stock in J.D. Morgan Investment Bankers because it made loans to SA.

However, some universities refused to be persuaded to cut ties with SA. For instance, Harvard University's president, Mr Derek Bok, came out in support of continued investment in US Corporations doing business in SA, insisting that disinvestment would accomplish little more than throwing away what influence the University as a shareholder had. Disinvestment would also result in losses to the University of millions of dollars.
For the first time the issue of American university investments in companies doing business in SA was raised in the US Senate. Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts introduced a plan for 'phased conditional' divestiture in which institutions of higher education nationally would join in a five-year programme of divestiture of their holdings in companies, including banks, doing business in SA.0

In a first move of its nature the Californian city of Berkeley introduced into municipal law in April a call for the withdrawal of city funds from banks which lent money to SA. "

The American Baptist Church urged Eastman Kodak Co to stop selling film or equipment to the SA Government.2'

While visiting SA the Black American civil rights activist, the Rev Jesse Jackson, stated that US companies in SA should stay and expand only if they were to be a 'force for good'. He stated, however, that they were still doing too little in proportion to their potential.22 On his return to the US Rev Jackson urged American universities to stop investing in companies doing business in SA.21

Dr Ali Mazrui, Kenyan-born professor of political science at America's Michigan University supported, on a BBC programme, increased investment in SA on the grounds that it encouraged the growth of a black proletariat with increasingly high political and material expectations. Historically, industrialisation had brought with it democracy and the growth of an urban proletariat capable of fighting for its rights. Investment also provided western countries with a source of leverage against SA.24

The results of a public opinion poll on SA published this year by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace indicated that 53 % of people supported US action to combat racial injustice in SA. However, it also found that 53 % opposed official statements condemning apartheid; 59 % opposed reducing trade with SA; 56 % opposed restricting investment and 50 % disapproved of providing money and moral support to SA black organisations promoting peaceful change.2

UK Investment

Mr Basil Hersov, president of the SA Foundation, put British investment in SA at £8 billion.

Continued British investment in SA also came under fire from various pressure groups.

In March a leading ecumenical group, Christian Concern for Southern Africa, urged British church and missionary organisations to withdraw their funds from banks doing business in SA. The report stated that British banks provided almost 50 % of all SA's market borrowings-more than R2 100m between 1972 and 1976. It also urged the government to veto SA access to credit from international financial institutions such as the IMF and to halt all export credits and guarantees for British exports to the Republic."

In June the Roman Catholic Church in Birmingham stated it was selling its shares in Tuke Investments Ltd, British American Tobacco Industries Ltd and Blue Circle Industries Ltd because they exploited their African workers in SA.28
A number of businesses and banks reaffirmed their decision to continue their dealings with SA. ICL stated it planned to expand its SA operations but would comply fully with all restraints imposed by Britain.29 The chairman of Barclays Bank, Mr Antony Tuke, refused, at the annual shareholders' meeting in London in April, to reconsider the bank's decision to stay in SA. He stated 'the bank only represents 1% of all foreign interests in SA and our pulling out would make no difference to political developments'.30

In April an international campaign to discourage bank loans to SA was launched by the UN Centre Against Apartheid, End Loans to SA (a British pressure group) and the Anti-Apartheid movement. Protests were organised to take place in Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Canada and America."

In November, the British Council of Churches voted for a virtual end to all economic dealings with SA unless there was clear evidence of equal rights being given to all citizens. The churchmen sanctioned in principle economic action including Nato and Commonwealth moves to extend the UN arms embargo to cover the export of all technology which could be of use to the SA security forces, a possible oil embargo, the removal of trade credits and the withdrawal of commercial staffs from embassies in SA.12

Western Europe

In May France's anti-apartheid movement, CAO, launched a campaign against French banks which had dealings with SA and gained support from 28 other organisations including the powerful CFDT trade union, the League for Human Rights and the French National Union of Students.33

In March a campaign against Shell investments in SA and calls for a Dutch oil embargo against SA were made jointly by the Southern Africa Committee and the Kairos Work Group. Shell was critical of the fact that such groups received government funds under the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Development and Co-operation.34 (See section on Sanctions.)

In a report published in May, the Dutch anti-apartheid movement accused Philips, one of Holland's largest multi-national companies, of disregarding the UN arms embargo against SA, listing specific areas in which the company and its subsidiaries helped arm the SA police, army and air force. The report was presented to the Dutch Foreign Ministry with a petition signed by 25 000 calling on the Foreign Minister, Dr Chris van der Klaauw, to end the export of items on the UN's list of strategic articles. The report also claimed that other Dutch concerns including Dura, Shell, Van Ommeren, Van Leer and the Fokker Aircraft Company also contributed to the country's contravention of the UN arms embargo.35

In September CNV, one of Holland's biggest trade union federations, asked the Dutch government to introduce legislation preventing new Dutch investment in
SA. Secondary investment by companies should not be affected. Previously, the CNV had promoted foreign investment in SA on the grounds that it could have a moderating effect on the enforcement of apartheid.16

A ban approved by the Swedish parliament in June forbade Swedish companies from buying or permitting their foreign subsidiaries to buy new shares in SA enterprises as from 1 July. The ban would not apply to Swedish minority interests in SA companies with the exception of new share issues. Violations of the ban were punishable by fines or imprisonment for up to two years. The legislation directly affected Alfa Lavoil, ASEA, Atlas Copco, ESAB, Fagersta, Sandvik and SKF. The federation of Swedish Industries and the Employers’ Confederation commented that the ban would adversely affect all Swedish exports to SA. It could also harm Sweden's reputation as a reliable trading partner."

SA Opinion
This year Chief Buthelezi on a number of occasions indicated his support for continued foreign investment in SA. He stated at a press conference in February that foreign companies should remain in SA on condition that their operations were constructive.3"

Professor Kgware, Vice Chancellor of the University of the North, came out in support of 'enlightened' foreign investment at a press conference on his arrival in Australia in March.9

Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council, stated on his return from a conference on investment in New York that blacks in SA did not support disinvestment from SAAB

Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the African National Union of Clothing Workers, while on a trip to the US, urged this country to continue to invest in SA. She held that increased economic development would force the Government into positive action. An opposing view was put forward by Mrs Mary Ntseke, secretary of the Black Allied Workers’ Union, who while in the US as a guest of the US State Department, called for total economic withdrawal from SA as a means towards strengthening the fight of blacks against apartheid.4

Sanctions
USA and Britain
In a report on US investment in SA, Mr Desaix Myers III of the Investor Responsibility Research Centre stated that the possibility of sanctions against SA was remote.

The Rev Jesse Jackson, while visiting SA this year, stated that economic sanctions and boycotts against SA were redemptive, not punitive, and aimed at bringing about change.42

Mr Basil Hersov, president of the SA Foundation, stated that if Britain imposed sanctions against SA it would place 250 000 British jobs at stake.43

In its first policy statement on trade with SA, Britain's new Conservative government firmly rejected the imposition of economic sanc-
very valuable market for Britain, and that reduced trade with SA would endanger Britain's economic health."

A report entitled 'Britain's Economic links with SA' by two British economists, Mr Bernard Rivers and Dr Martin Bailey, stated that economic sanctions would hit SA harder than Britain, and that import-export trade between the UK and SA was a small part of the UK's world trade as a whole and was declining in importance. SA was UK's third largest export market in 1967 buying 5% of all UK merchandise exports but by 1977 it had fallen to 16th place taking only 1.8% of UK exports.45

The anti-apartheid movement in Britain alleged that civilians being trained in Britain in the use of Plessey radar equipment were employees of Armscor, SA's arms manufacturing corporation. Lord Carrington confirmed that SADF men had been trained, but had left and only civilians had remained. He denied that the Plessey deal was a breach of the UN arms embargo against SA.

Western Europe

The French government's decision to quadruple its reserves of non-energy raw materials which would lead to a short-term boost in trade with SA was interpreted as pointing to French fears about the possibility of sanctions being imposed on SA. Observers also saw the move as illustrating that government's concern that continued trade with SA could disrupt vital supplies to France from black African countries.4

A national campaign for an oil embargo against SA was launched throughout Holland by the Dutch Committee for Southern Africa, assisted by the Kairos Work Group, the Boycott Outspan Action Group and a number of anti-apartheid movements on 21 March the anniversary of Sharpeville.41

The organisations distributed about one million brochures calling for public support of their campaign. The pamphlets were published in Shell's colours and made use of Shell's promotional literature and its slogans. The Shell Oil Company complained to the Dutch Minister for Development and Co-operation, Mr J. de Konig, about the fact that tax-payers' money was used to subsidise such groups.49

UN

In January the UN General Assembly adopted a motion (by 105 to 6 votes with 16 abstentions) for an oil embargo and full economic sanctions against SA and requested the Security Council (the sole UN body empowered to impose mandatory sanctions under the UN charter) to consider the resolution. Another resolution called on all countries to halt immediately all collaboration with SA in the nuclear field.50

In May the Security Council's sanctions committee recommended that the council consider action against SA to stop it from violating the UN imposed embargo against Zimbabwe. It was reported that Britain, France and the US which hold a council veto disagreed with the recommendation on the grounds that the committee had no mandate to decide which specific measures to take against a sanctions breaker.,

Sanctions against SA
In a further debate in June the General Assembly passed a further resolution by 18 votes to nil with 16 abstentions for an immediate trade embargo against SA until it consented to free elections and a UNSanctions supervised transition to independence in Namibia. Amongst those abagainst SA staining were the US, Canada and the EEC.52

Africa
In June the OAU foreign ministerial conference debate on Southern Africa ended with the passing of resolutions calling for world sanctions against SA if negotiations on a Namibian settlement failed.53

Nigeria's Ambassador to the UN, Mr Akporode Clark, told the General Assembly in October that Nigeria was committed to push for total sanctions against SA to force its withdrawal from Namibia. The Nigerian government was to initiate a UN study of the extent to which western governments' policies in the region were determined by their dependence on Southern Africa's wealth of strategic minerals.14

SA Opinion
Speaking at a joint symposium on sanctions held by the Institutes of International Affairs and Race Relations, Mr A. Hamersma, chief economist of the Standard Bank, stated that an oil embargo would have the most drastic short-term effect on SA while investment boycotts would have a delimiting long-term effect. He stated further that SA’s economic position was strong and sanctions, paradoxically, could stimulate some industries—but African unemployment could become endemic. This could lead to more internal political instability and, in turn, to more pressure for comprehensive and effective sanctions.

Mr Solly Sithole, a law lecturer, stated that blacks would welcome sanctions against SA if this could lead to the end of their oppression, even if they were the hardest hit.

A Sanlam Economic Review listed the following effects on SA of international sanctions:

* skilled labour shortages as managers and professional men emigrate,
"higher inflation as costs of import substitutes increase, "greater Government control over the economy. It stated that about 60% of SA's exports were bought by only six countries which also provided three-quarters of SA's non-oil imports. It estimated that SA should be able to resist a total oil boycott for six years or longer but not without hurting the economy.

The review stated that the following sectors would gain by sanctions: paper and paper products, metal products, electrical machinery and equipment and electronic equipment, chemicals, and textiles. The most vulnerable sectors would be the car industry, private transport companies, shipping, hotels, the fruit and canning industry, fish, sugar and maize, copper, iron ore, asbestos and coal. Those reasonably placed to resist the effects were food, liquor, clothing, furniture, building materials, gold, diamonds, platinum and banks.5

The Rev Alan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, stated at a meeting of the SA Black Alliance (SABA) in March that economic pressure through local boycotts was the only hope for peaceful change in SA. 56
Speaking in committee on the defence vote in the budget debate, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP) stated that sanctions and boycotts, especially arms boycotts, were actions which supported violent change instead of peaceful change, to which the PFP was committed. Traditionally, Dr D.J. Geldenhuys of the SA Institute of International Affairs stated that the threat of sanctions against SA seemed to have cooled off, but isolated six possible courses which could lead to their implementation:

* a security clamp-down such as in October 1977
* foreign military 'adventures'
* procurement of nuclear arms
* denial of human rights to SA blacks
* a unilateral withdrawal by SA from the UN plan for Namibian independence
* its role in the Zimbabwe/Rhodesian situation.

Trade

The following table, extracted from volume one of the Republic's Foreign Trade Statistics for January to April 1979, gives the value of SA imports from and exports to its most important trading partners for this period and for 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>338 000 840</td>
<td>371 450 546</td>
<td>385 581 175</td>
<td>263 621 417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>197 129 379</td>
<td>369 735 232</td>
<td>365 754 037</td>
<td>373 571 388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>244 165 598</td>
<td>231 062 566</td>
<td>200 518 941</td>
<td>296 614 553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>370 375 190</td>
<td>421 754 832</td>
<td>239 604 747</td>
<td>234 208 068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>835 506 79</td>
<td>682 627 85</td>
<td>155 723 496</td>
<td>190 836 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>169 603 927</td>
<td>107 291 706</td>
<td>85 027 220</td>
<td>99 935 822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>381 533 57</td>
<td>372 970 92</td>
<td>72 908 745</td>
<td>98 303 946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>224 060 15</td>
<td>290 125 84</td>
<td>214 287 99</td>
<td>449 049 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taxation

The Minister gave the following figures in relation to the numbers assessed for normal income tax for 1977 (including loan levy):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of taxpayers</th>
<th>Amount assessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R'000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>346 692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>157 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>493 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>162 718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>108 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>78 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>71 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Taxation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that R72 635 882 was collected from 3 063 124 tax paying Africans in terms of the Black Taxation Act in the financial year 1977-78. The figures were inclusive of the independent homelands.

The Minister of Finance stated in Parliament that the Government was committed to the principle of scrapping tax discrimination as soon as possible. He announced that the Interdepartmental Committee set up to study the graduated income tax payable under the Black Taxation Act of 1969 had concluded its work and that the Commission for Plural Affairs, after consultation with the Department of Inland Revenue, had made certain recommendations which were accepted by the Government, viz:

(a) that the threshold for liability for tax be raised from R360 to R1 200 as soon as possible,
(b) that steps be taken to achieve parity between the income tax payable by Africans and other taxpayers,
(c) that the phasing in of these steps be done with due regard to the costs involved and their administrative feasibility, but that the aim would be to achieve parity within the next three years. The Minister stated that the recommendation would be introduced in three phases. Independent homeland governments, which have taxing powers, were consulted and agreed to grant similar relief to their citizens so that a uniform system would prevail. As the treasuries of those homelands were unable to absorb the loss, the SA Government decided to compensate them accordingly. The loss of revenue for 1979-80 was estimated at R33m for the first phase.

In the light of these recommendations various amendments were made to the taxation system applicable to Africans during the course of the year. Firstly the Black Taxation Amendment Act No 21 of 1979 abolished the poll tax of R2,50 for Africans. The payment of the tax had already been scrapped in 1978.62 A further amendment was made to the Black Taxation Act in terms of the Laws on Plural Relations and Developments Second Amendment Act No 98 of 1979 which set out revised tax scales for Africans. In terms of the amendment the threshold at which Africans were liable for payment of tax was changed from R360 to R1 200 per annum.

The official opposition opposed the Bill in part because they felt that it continued to impose on Africans a tax system which differed from that applicable to other population groups. Mrs Suzman (PFP) pointed out that a white married person with three children only started paying tax at R4 000. However, an African man would commence paying tax at R1 200 as the latter would not qualify for rebates as
did whites.
The revised tax scales came into force on 1 May.

General Sales Tax 18;
The Minister of Finance stated that 221,272 vendors were on register as at January 1979 and that to that date there had been two prosecutions in terms of the Sales Tax Act.63

Taxation
The deputy Minister of Finance, Mr P.T.C. du Plessis, during the second reading of the Sales Tax Bill stated that general sales tax netted R654m for the 1978/79 financial year, R4m more than expected. During the debate Mr H. Schwarz (PFP) appealed to the Government to remove the general sales tax from basic foodstuffs in order to assist people at the lower income group in SA. He stated that taxation on the basic essentials of life could never be justified.”

Mr J.A. Loots, assistant receiver of revenue, stated that the sales tax system in African townships was in a state of chaos and that no inspections had been made in those areas. Mr Veli Kraai, chairman of the Soweto Traders’ Association, stated it was not members of the association who failed to submit the tax but the illegal traders.61

Other
The Minister of Finance gave the following figures relating to the amount in income tax collected from various sources during the 1977-78 financial year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>1,879,192,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Mining Companies</td>
<td>347,623,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Mining Companies</td>
<td>108,951,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Companies</td>
<td>1,680,521,336</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total income tax collected was R4,016,289,724 and the total loan levy was R440,513,540.6

References
Rand Daily Mail 23 November
2 'Bank loans to SA' UN Centre against Apartheid, 1979 Citizen 27 June
Post 21 March
Rand Daily Mail 23 August
10 Natal Mercury 28 May " Star 12 April
12 Eastern Province Herald 2 August 11 Post 25 March
14 Propp K, op cit p 11 11 Ibid p 50
16 Ibid p 76
17 Rand Daily Mail 20 April 18 Daily Dispatch 7 May 19 Citizen 9 April
2 Eastern Province Herald 14 May 21 Rand Daily Mail 23 January 22 Star 24 July
23 Post 21 August
4 Daily News 16 November

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Economic Situation
EMPLOYMENT

Cost of Living

The monthly increases in over 1978 were as follows:

Month

January February March April May June July August September

the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for 1979

Total

11.6 11.3 12.6 12.8 12.8 13.5 12.9 13.9 14.3

Food

14.4 14.0 14.3 15.7 15.9 18.7

15.1 16.8 16.5

Minimum Living Standards

As in past issues of the Survey estimates of living standards in different areas are given below. The Bureau of Market Research, UNISA, also calculates estimates but does not release them for publication by other bodies.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce

Item

Food Clothing Housing Fuel and Light Transport Taxation Cleaning materials

Medical expenses Education Furniture Crockery, cooking utensils etc

Nov 1978

R

90.76 20.38 17.65 10.58 12.38 3.46 2.10 2.00 4.90 2.77 1.18

May 1979

R

97.61 20.97 18.72 11.01 12.38 3.96 2.18

2.00 5.39 2.81 1.19

increase

over May 1978

10.2 10.3 17.7 10.8
Minimum Living Standards

Item
Writing materials, etc Amusement and sport Personal care Savings and emergencies

Nov 1978
R
4.31 2.20 3.19 4.45
May 1979
R
4.34 2.23 3.28 4.66
increase
over May 1978
10.4 8.9 14.5 12.8
Grand Total 182.31 192.73 10.7

Institute for Planning Research
The estimates of Professor J.F. Potgieter, Director of the Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth, for the Household Subsistence Level (HSL) for an African household of six persons and a coloured family of five persons for various centres are given below:
Benoni Bloemfontein Boksburg Brits
Cape Town Durban East London Germiston Johannesburg King William's Town
Kimberley Krugersdorp Peddie Port Elizabeth Pretoria Queenstown Springs
Uitenhage Umtata Vaal Triangle

African
HSL October 1979
164,50 170,56 165,88 164,30 181,83 172,41 172,72
166,83 172,56
166,37 164,65 167,25
149,91 168,86 164,04 167,55 165,80 169,18 148,28 164,84
% increase over October
1978
9,9
14.3 11.3 18.5 9.5 16.8
14.4 12.8 9.3 17.5
5.8 9.9 12.5 13.9
5.8
14.4 11.7 13.5 10.8
8.4

Coloured
HSL October
1979
Income Levels and Wages

The Riekert Commission's Report produced the following table showing that the share of labour remuneration in SA's GDP remained almost constant over the whole post-war period in spite of structural changes which resulted in a shift of the labour force from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors of the SA economy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GDP excl</td>
<td>54,6</td>
<td>55,5</td>
<td>56,9</td>
<td>58,0</td>
<td>58,6</td>
<td>59,8</td>
<td>62,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total GDP</td>
<td>61,2</td>
<td>60,3</td>
<td>60,8</td>
<td>61,5</td>
<td>61,6</td>
<td>62,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>54,6</td>
<td>55,5</td>
<td>56,9</td>
<td>58,0</td>
<td>58,6</td>
<td>59,8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Income Levels and Wages

The Commission found that the real average earnings of white workers increased by 4,3 % from 1970 to 1976, those of coloured workers by 16,9 %, those of Asians by 30,8 % and those of African workers by 53,8 %.

The tables below give the increases in the indices of average earnings for certain sectors of the economy for group:

(i) Whites

Sector

1 All non-agricultural sectors

Mining

Manufacturing
Electricity
Construction Commerce and accommodation Transport and communication
Finance and insurance
Government and services 2 Regular farm employees
(ii) Coloured people Sector
1 All non-agricultural sectors
Mining
Manufacturing
Electricity
Construction
Commerce and accommodation
Transport and communication
Finance and insurance
Government and services 2 Regular farm employees
3 Domestic servants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>Government</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>110 106 111 111 110 108 107 110 114 100</td>
<td>114 119 113</td>
<td>95 110 109 107 114 123 100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>116 113 120 119 121 117 109 118 118 113</td>
<td>124 109 129 127 115 124 105 130 126 107</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>129 133 130 128 130 126 128 131 131 125</td>
<td>129 133 130 128 130 126 128 131 131 125</td>
<td>1974 147 158 150 148 141 139 145 154 150 148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>161 195 167</td>
<td>124 109 129 127 115 124 105 130 126 107</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>165 178 170 152 160 154 167 179 165 169</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>185 226 189 266 181 174 170 213 180 172 173</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>181 200 190 178 177 164 180 198 172</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>203 266 218 217</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>205 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>162 244 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Asians
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 All non-agricultural sectors</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and accommodation</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communication</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and insurance</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government and services</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Regular farm employees</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Domestic servants</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Africans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 All non-agricultural sectors</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and accommodation</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communication</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and insurance</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government and services</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Regular farm employees</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Domestic servants</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professor Andries Oosthuizen of RAU stated that the gap between the incomes of the average white and black households had widened between 1973 and 1978 from R464 to R637 in spite of a slower percentage rise in white incomes. He stated that white monthly incomes had increased by 44% from R519 to R749, and blacks by 104% from R55 to R112.4

Mr Punt Janson, Minister of Education and Training, stated that figures released by the Department of Statistics showed that average white earnings rose by 50.1% between 1973 and 1977 compared with an increase of 114.4% in average African earnings. He also stated that 86% of the money spent on consumer goods by people living in Garankuwa and Mabopane was spent outside these areas, while more than 70% of Soweto's buying power was spent in metropolitan Johannesburg.

Mr A.P. Mkhwanazi, an economist, calculated that 59% of about R51.4m was spent outside Umlazi by Umlazi residents in 1975. He stated the leakage was less severe in spending on food (40% of purchases) but more serious on clothing where 98% of purchases were made outside the township.

The Peromnes Survey by Fine Spamer Associates showed that skilled blacks were earning only 57% to 65% of the salaries earned by their white counterparts.
In a report UNISA’s Dr Jan de Lange stated that there is a 170% improvement in living standards over those attainable in the homelands for a worker from Ciskei who works illegally in Pietermaritzburg for nine months and spends three months in prison; a 170% improvement for a worker from Lebowa who works six months in Johannesburg and spends six months in prison; a 28.5% improvement for a person from Bophuthatswana who works only three months in Pretoria and spends nine months in prison.

Professor Jill Nattrass gave the following figures relating to the relative economic position of African sub-groups for the dates indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Average incomes per head (1975)</th>
<th>Average earnings per worker (1975)</th>
<th>Median Level of Education (Economically Active)</th>
<th>Percentage in top jobs 1970</th>
<th>Percentage in lower level jobs 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural Africans</td>
<td>R100</td>
<td>R160</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban settled Africans</td>
<td>Men and women</td>
<td>R381</td>
<td>R1,335</td>
<td>6, 7 yrs</td>
<td>5 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>R591</td>
<td>5, 12 yrs</td>
<td>6, 7 yrs</td>
<td>R822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut produced the following estimates of average earnings (excluding earnings in kind) for the different races for the years 1970 to 1978 in the non-agricultural sectors:


Whites
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Earnings (R)</td>
<td>6,3</td>
<td>6,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change</td>
<td>111,3</td>
<td>11,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Price Index</td>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>15,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Earnings (R)</td>
<td>2,4</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change in Real Earnings</td>
<td>-2,4</td>
<td>-2,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment (1970 = 100)</td>
<td>1 044</td>
<td>1 044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change in Employment</td>
<td>-0,9</td>
<td>-1,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2 367</td>
<td>2 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Earnings (R)</td>
<td>9,7</td>
<td>9,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change</td>
<td>175,1</td>
<td>174,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Price Index</td>
<td>1 082</td>
<td>1 065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Earnings (R)</td>
<td>1 121</td>
<td>1 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change in Real Earnings</td>
<td>-0,9</td>
<td>-1,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment (1970 = 100)</td>
<td>1 083</td>
<td>1 076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change in Employment</td>
<td>-0,4</td>
<td>-0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>5 377</td>
<td>3 447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Earnings (R)</td>
<td>5 867</td>
<td>2 049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change</td>
<td>9,1</td>
<td>9,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Price Index</td>
<td>3 364</td>
<td>3 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Earnings (R)</td>
<td>9,2</td>
<td>7,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change in Real Earnings</td>
<td>-2,4</td>
<td>-2,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment (1970 = 100)</td>
<td>1 128</td>
<td>1 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage change in Employment</td>
<td>-0,9</td>
<td>-1,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private services</td>
<td>2 076</td>
<td>2 076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>6 396</td>
<td>7,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>4 396</td>
<td>7,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Average Earnings (R)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Percentage change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Consumer Price Index</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Real Earnings (R)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Percentage change in Real Earnings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Employment (1970 = 100 = 2 130 478)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Percentage change in Employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476</td>
<td>1 095</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>130,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>159,6</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>44,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>121,5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>21,5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a survey of 801 persons Markinor produced the following estimates of African household incomes for March 1979:

% of total sample
7,5 5,3 6,2 12,4 9,5 14,8 13,4 13,3 6,7 11,0

Johannesburg
7,6
4,9 7,6 12,9 9,3
10,7 14,7 12,0 8,4
12,0

Pretoria
3,4 3,4 6,7 10,1 5,6 32,6 11,2 12,4 4,5 10,1

Durban PMB 5,6 5,6 3,2
The PE Consulting Group (SA) in association with Urwick International produced a survey of average black incomes in various job categories for 1979. The table below gives some of their findings:

| Job category                           | Average Wage Rates: 1979
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rand per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African over 1978</td>
<td>239 7,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>152 17,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>202 10,4 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>220 10 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>247 18,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 20,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 36 4,3 7,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,4 21,2 11,2 45,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>246 -1,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19,4 20,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-3,3 19,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 269 15,9 174,8 726 5,8 124,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 452 14,4 193,5 750 3,3 122,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,4 216,0 736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1,9 119,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Job category:
- Cook (male)
- Waitress (female)
- Messenger Scooter driver
- Copy typist (3-6 yrs experience)
- General clerk (male)
- General clerk (female)
- Senior clerk
- Wages clerk
- Personnel officer
- Operative Grade 1 (male)
- Operative Grade 1 (female)
- Operative Grade 2 (male)
- Operative Grade 2 (female)
- Operative Grade 3 (male)
- Operative Grade 3 (female)
- Operative Grade 4 (male)
- Operative Grade 4 (female)
Up to R69 R70-R89 R90-R109 R110-R129 R130-R149 R150-R169 R170-R199 R200-R249 R250-R299 R300 +  
% change % change  
over 1978 Coloured over 1978  
27,3 21,5 33,8  
19  
29,4  
5,2  
-1,2  
19  
53,8 55,1 6,3 7,5 6,8 19,3 13,2 22,5  

Job category  
Watchman Shift supervisor  
(up to 10 in control) Salaried foreman Trainee draughtsman Welder  
Spraypainter  
Trainee laboratory asst Sales representative  

Average Wage Rates: 1979  
Rand per month  
% change % change  
African over 1978 Asian over 1978  
205 12,6 -  
1,91 (an hour)  
1,06 (an hour)  
266 479  
0,2 507  
402 2,93 (an hour)  
2,47  
(an hour) 14 339  
89,3  

Wage regulating machinery  
Industrial Council  
The Department of Labour's annual report for 1978 stated that during that year 28 industrial council agreements were published in the Government Gazette, 26 of which were also declared binding upon African workers in terms of section 48(3)(a) of the Act. Three reenacting agreements and 109 amending agreements were published, while the periods of operation of 36 agreements were extended and 29 agreements were in force at the end of the year, as well as 105 agreements that provided for fringe benefits such as pension, provident, sick and holiday benefits as well as medical aid and training facilities. The number of wage agreements under the industrial council system and the approximate number of persons affected is given below:  
Date  
31/12/76 31/12/77 31/12/78
Number of wage agreements
102 102
99

Industrial Council Wage Agreements
Number of employers
41 124 39 933 39 528
Number of employees
Whites 193 369 200 173 204 339
Coloured 220 979
189 201 182409
Asians
67 944 66 653 69 154
Africans
583 074 532 345 539 397

Conciliation Board Agreements and Arbitration Awards
In 1978 32 applications for the establishment of conciliation boards were received. Of these 24 were approved, three refused and three withdrawn before they could be submitted to the Minister because the parties had settled their disputes in the interim. The remaining two applications were still under consideration at the end of 1978. Twelve of the 24 conciliation boards that had been approved settled the disputes.

Two disputes which arose in the electricity supply undertaking during 1978 were referred to arbitration in terms of section 46(6) of the Industrial Conciliation Act. In both disputes awards were made by the Industrial Tribunal.

% change Coloured over 1978

179 7,2
Total
1 065 366 988 372 995 299

1% Wage Board
At the end of 1978 69 wage determinations were in force. The following table gives the number of employees according to race in industries or trades regulated by wage determinations made during 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determinations</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total as at December 1978</td>
<td>67584</td>
<td>44483</td>
<td>13636</td>
<td>289108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancelled during 1978</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>3977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made during 1978 (determination no 375 and 376)</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>3836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% covered according to race</td>
<td>16,3</td>
<td>10,7</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>69,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures include only the number of employees in respect of whom wage returns were received and do not represent the actual labour force in the industries or trades concerned.

Various wage determinations were revised this year. Among them were those gazetted in March setting out new minima for unskilled workers in various regions as given below:

New Minima
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Male per day</th>
<th>Female per day</th>
<th>Male per week</th>
<th>Female per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>15.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>15.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>21.50</td>
<td>17.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>21.50</td>
<td>17.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>15.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>23.00</td>
<td>18.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietersburg</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of writing wage board investigations were under way into, inter alia, unskilled wage rates in local authorities in Natal (determination no 339), Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Welkom (determination no 337), East London, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage (determination no 333), certain Transvaal areas and Sasolburg (determination no 324) and Cape Peninsula and surrounding areas.

Economically Active Population

The Minister of Statistics gave the following figures relating to the economically active population as at 31 December 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1874000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>842000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>247000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>6477000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9440000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage change over December 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment

Unofficial estimates of unemployment generally put the figure between 1-2m (see last year's Survey p 169). Commenting on the various estimates Dr A. Roukens de Lange, a research fellow in applied mathematics at the University of the Witwatersrand, isolated that of Mr Charles Simkins of 2m (or 25% of the black population) as the most accurate. Dr De Lange estimated that if existing trends were to continue 27% to 39% of black economically active South Africans would be jobless by 1990. He stated that to reverse the unemployment trend, SA needed increased incentives to create labour intensive industries, increased taxation on capital intensive industries, the creation of cottage industries and the boosting of the informal employment sector.

The Department of Statistics provided the following figures for registered white, coloured and Indian unemployment for February 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>13 653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers of registered unemployed whites, coloured people and Indians in the main centres in July 1978 and July 1979 respectively were as follows:

July 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>12750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>13 653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>4 512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
r.
Whites
2 563
618 941 420
500
170 215 101
Males Coloured
1 359 4 754 1 035 97
1 487 176 119 682
Asian  Whites  207  1 894
34  898
3921  1 239
51  829
35  635
3  319
3  252
5  129
Females Coloured
580
2 187 303
73 573
31 62 238
Asian
54
975
17
2 3
UoO   JIU   -   II.   I//
Total 5593 10029 4256 6308 4169 1051
July 1979
Males
Whites Coloured  Females
Asian  Whites Coloured  Asian Johannesburg  2 225
553  52  2 053 1130 242
Cape Town 899 1 712 4 748 3 871 37
Durban 1191 281 564 868 937 3 635
Pretoria 787 63 20 349 95 46
Port Elizabeth 543 673 - 566 1 872 38
Bloemfontein 359 53 - 142 119
East London 278 76 4 222 149 4
Kimberley 122 295 4 92 614 2
George 131 206 - 57 268
Total 6535 3912 648 5097 9055 4004

198 The following table summarises the results of the Government's
Current Population Survey (CPS) on African unemployment for 1979:

Unemployment-  March  April  May  June  July
1000's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic status</th>
<th>March</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,526</td>
<td>2,531</td>
<td>2,535</td>
<td>2,540</td>
<td>2,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>1,637</td>
<td>1,646</td>
<td>1,648</td>
<td>1,654</td>
<td>1,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed as a % of economically active</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Government's CPS for coloured people for 1979 gave the following estimates of unemployment for this group for the months given below:

During the budget debate Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) called for urgent steps to be taken to tackle unemployment. He stated that SA needed to create at least three jobs in every minute of every 40-hour working week to deal with its unemployment problem. He stated that unemployment was a political time-bomb.

Speaking in the labour debate Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) stated that the unemployment situation could develop into a class struggle between those who were employed and those who were not—those who were black. Dr Boraine suggested, apart from stimulating economic growth, that there should be greater concentration on and tax concessions for the labour intensive sector of the economy.

During the debate on the laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Bill, Mrs H. Suzman (PFP Houghton) stated that the increased fine (to R500) on employers for employing African workers illegally would have the effect of increasing unemployment.

Mrs Sheena Duncan, the Black Sash's vice president, stated at the organisation's national conference in March that the Government was pretending that the unemployment crisis was under control by deporting the African unemployed to the homelands.

In an interview with the Rand Daily Mail Dr Brand, economic adviser to the Prime Minister, stated that the most important motivation for the Government's new growth strategy was to create jobs. He stated that to solve unemployment population growth would have to drop and the economy reach its full growth potential. For this SA needed foreign capital and a removal of labour bottlenecks. A lack of foreign investment meant that the growth ceiling would be lower than 5% while a growth rate of more than 5%–6% would cause acute skilled labour shortage problems.
He stated that due to industrialists' resistance to the increased introduction of labour intensive methods as a means of alleviating unemployment, it seemed more feasible to concentrate on expanding already existing labour intensive sectors rather than on creating new ones. Dr Brand pointed to various methods adopted by the Government to improve the country's growth rate viz: the allocation of state funds for low cost housing; relaxations in monetary policy and in the 1978 budget, and the De Kock Commission's recommendations. The Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, stated in April that the extent and causes of unemployment and possible solutions had been discussed at the 51st meeting of the Economic Advisory Council. He stated that from 1970 to 1978 the unemployment rate for whites increased from 3 % to 3,6 %; for coloureds from 1,6 % to 11,1 %; for Asians from 1,4 % to 9,2 % and for Africans from 4,1 % to 11,1 %. Total unemployment amounted to 9,5 % of the working population. The Government's 9th Economic Development Programme (EDP) for 1978-1987 stated that with the growth rate of 3,6 % a year unemployment would reach 21,9 % of the workforce or 2 406 000 in seven years' time. It stated further that if policy adjustments were made including tax rates, tax structure, trade policy and exchange rate policy, a growth rate of 4,5 % per year could be reached. At this rate unemployment would rise to 15 % or 1,649m people in 1987. With a 5 % growth rate per year, which could be obtained by an increased export drive, unemployment would be 11,5 % or 1,262m in 1987.

It stated that about 23 % of unemployed Africans were new entrants to the labour market, and more than half the unemployed Africans and coloured people were under 30 years of age. About half of the jobless had been looking for work for more than six months and were therefore automatically excluded from unemployment insurance benefits.8

The Urban Foundation announced it would make a grant of R100 000 towards a project to create jobs for unemployed Africans in Johannesburg and West Rand townships. The project was to be launched with R10000 from the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Jobless Africans would be hired for short periods to clean recreation grounds, parks, stormwater drains, vacant stands, streams and cemeteries, and to repair roads and sidewalks in the townships. Only people within the boundaries of WRAB'S area of jurisdiction would be hired and would be paid up to R103 a month.'9

A scheme to combat unemployment and build up 'patriotism and nationalism' amongst young Africans was established in the Ciskei. The scheme involved the establishment of a youth centre on farming land at which young recruits would live and participate in agricultural development in exchange for a small allowance. The scheme was criticised in the Eastern Cape press as an attempt to introduce 'slave labour'.20

Unemployment Insurance
The annual report of the Unemployment Insurance Fund for the year ending 1978 stated that the accumulated amount in the Fund at the end of 1978 was R211 599 698 which represented a decrease of R2 707 763 over the 1977 amount of R214 302 461.
Unemployment Insurance

During the year under review, R62,977,695 was paid into the Fund from all sources of revenue as against R57,965,477 the previous year. Of this R55,850,317 derived from the contributions of employers and employees and R7m from the state. The remainder derived from penalties, fines and other claims. An amount of R78,342,955 was paid out to applicants for the various kinds of benefits. During 1978 there were an estimated 2,793,100 contributors to the Fund.

The table below gives details regarding applications for benefits per category for 1977 and 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applications received</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary unemployment benefits</td>
<td>Approved</td>
<td>17,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>168,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>41,239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act No 9 of 1979

Various amendments were made to the Unemployment Insurance Act this session. The scope of the Act was widened to include as contributors Africans who earned less than R546 per annum. Previously this group was excluded. A further amendment empowered the State President to alter the upper ceiling of R8,400 a year for qualification as a contributor by proclamation in the Gazette whenever necessary.

Rural workers who were previously excluded from the Act's ambit were included. This group is not the same as agricultural workers, however, who are still excluded and who comprise the greater majority of the rural workforce. The intention of this amendment was to include workers who may be engaged in rural factories. The wording of section 2 of the Act which excludes foreign contract workers from being contributors was tightened up to avoid any confusion regarding the position of these workers. Previously the section concerned stated that persons
were excluded if they entered the Republic under contract and were required on termination of their contracts 'to return to the country from which (they) entered the Republic'. The words quoted have been substituted by 'to leave the Republic'. Various amendments regarding the administration of the fund were made, while the provision which allowed for the automatic review by a committee of all claims refused by the claims office was deleted. Under a different section of the Act an applicant still has the right to appeal to a committee against any decision of a claims officer.

Further amendments also extended from 14 to 30 days the period within which an applicant might appeal to the Unemployment Insurance Board against a decision of the committee, and from 21 to 30 days the period within which an applicant might appeal to a committee against a decision of a claims officer.

An amended section 36, relating to illness benefits, made provision for an application form for benefits to be signed on behalf of the contributor if she/he was unable to sign it. Previously the applicant had to sign it her/himself.

Furthermore, the payment of benefits could now be made after the first two as opposed to the first three weeks of unemployment due to illness. Also, an applicant for illness benefits was no longer required to submit a new application if she/he moved from the area of jurisdiction of one claims officer to that of another. This change also applied to maternity benefits. As far as maternity benefits were concerned a new section 37 allowed for benefits to be paid retrospectively from the date of application for a period of 26 weeks. Previously they could only be paid from the date of application.

A further amendment substituted the word 'Black' for the word 'Bantu' throughout the legislation.

The official Opposition welcomed most of the changes. Dr Alex Boraine, PFP spokesman on labour matters, asked the Minister whether he and his department, in the light of the long-term unemployment, had given any consideration to the extension of the period for receiving benefits, ie for longer than 26 weeks. The Minister in reply stated that in exceptional circumstances persons could apply for an extension.

In terms of the powers conferred on him by the Amendment Act, the Minister of Manpower Utilisation raised the ceiling for qualification for benefits to R9 600 from R8 400 in the Government Gazette 6753 of 30 November.

Second Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act No 97

The purpose of this Act is to regulate the situation regarding Venda citizens and their drawing of benefits from the SA Unemployment Insurance Fund after the date of Venda's independence.

According to the Act the SA Unemployment Insurance Act will not apply to Venda after independence. Employers in Venda and their employees are now excluded from the SA fund, as well as contract workers from Venda who must return to Venda when their contracts expire. All citizens of Venda who live and work permanently in the Republic will continue to be covered by the SA Act.
The amending Act makes provision, however, for a three-year transitional period during which Vendas who will be excluded eventually may still draw benefits. According to subsection one of section 64D a person who was drawing benefits at the time of independence or was entitled to such benefits will receive the said benefits. Furthermore, any person who, prior to Venda's independence, was a contributor may continue to receive benefits for a period of three years after independence. However, during these three years persons who will eventually be excluded will no longer contribute to the Fund. Employers are required to maintain all wage records and contributors' record cards so that any applications arising after independence may be dealt with.

The Bill when presented in Parliament received the support of the official Opposition22 although an objection was raised over the fact that it had appeared before the Venda Constitution Act.

201

Unemployment Insurance

Labour bureaux

The Minister of Plural Relations and Development gave the following details regarding labour bureaux in each administration board area as at June 1979:23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration Board Area</th>
<th>Central Transvaal</th>
<th>Northern Transvaal</th>
<th>Eastern Transvaal</th>
<th>Western Transvaal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Vaal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Orange Free State</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 385 295

The Minister stated that none of these bureaux recruited certain categories of labour only or in certain geographical areas only.

The Riekert Commission's Report into the Utilisation of Manpower gave the following figures relating to the number of territorial, district and tribal labour bureaux in the homelands as at 30 June 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Territorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Homeland
QwaQwa Bophuthatswana Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa Venda Transkei
Swazi Ndebele
of Labour Bureau District Tribal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'75</th>
<th>'76</th>
<th>'77</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The report also gave the following figures regarding the number of Africans registered and the number applying as workseekers at the various labour bureaux for the years 1975, 1976 and 1977 respectively:

202 Labour Bureaux
Total
4 64 42 37 197
131
30 29 28
4

Local Labour Bureaux
Administration Board Areas
Central Transvaal Northern Transvaal Highveld Eastern Transvaal Southern Transvaal West Rand East Rand Western Transvaal Vaal Triangle Southern Orange Free State Central Orange Free State Northern Orange Free State Northern Natal Drakensberg Port Natal Northern Cape Diamond Fields Karoo Cape Midlands Eastern Cape South-Western Cape Peninsula
No of African workseekers registered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1449</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>486</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1403</td>
<td>1371</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 678</td>
<td>23 333</td>
<td>22 675</td>
<td>12082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 576</td>
<td>1 547</td>
<td>1 241</td>
<td>9302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3555</td>
<td>1 712</td>
<td>1 414</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 506</td>
<td>1 025</td>
<td>987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 218</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>778</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>517</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Transvaal</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Transvaal</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>807</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Transvaal</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>674</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Transvaal</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>1'132</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Transvaal</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>624</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaal Triangle</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>739</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Orange Free State</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Natal</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>624</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>739</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>544</td>
<td>656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labour Bureaux:

Riekert Report

1977

90

744 121 752

641

3

86

398

846

927

984

204 District Labour Bureau

No of registrations

No of African workseekers

Labour Administration Board workseekers
Bureaux: Areas registered
1975 1976 1977
Riekert Northern Cape 2 1 4
Report Diamond Fields 54 38 297
Karoo 201 314 236
Cape Midlands 39 073 22 699 19 081
Eastern Cape 98 394 1364
Total 42121 28930 26574

The figures of the number of workseekers registered at the bureaux do not reflect the unemployment situation as many workseekers do not register as such. Labour bureaux and employers also undertake their own recruiting on the basis of requisitions issued by the labour bureaux in order to meet the demand in their own areas when the supply is not adequate.

The following table showing the number of African workers recruited through labour bureaux outside their respective areas of jurisdiction by employers and other labour bureaux also appeared in the Report:26

The Riekert report made extensive suggestions regarding the improvement of the present labour bureaux system. The Commission found that labour bureaux provided an important service for employers but felt that their functioning and quality should be improved. It recommended that no obligation should be placed on workseekers to register, and that voluntary registration should be encouraged by publicity and the improvement of services. Likewise no obligation should be placed on employers to register vacancies but labour bureaux should switch to the canvassing of vacancies in accordance with needs.

It also recommended the decentralisation of employment offices to African residential areas.

As far as recruiting from homeland areas is concerned the Commission felt that the governments of homelands should be consulted regarding the easing of problems and bottlenecks experienced at tribal labour bureaux, and suggested the establishment of central assembly centres on the borders of homelands under the control of administration boards to rationalise recruiting from these areas. The assembly centres would be responsible for seeing that all requirements regarding documentation of workers was complied with. The Government white paper accepted these recommendations.8
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in T-
o CD r..
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NO'>CD r"
.-n r4
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-c
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Recruitment of Labour

The Riekert Commission report gave the following number of licensed labour agents for June 1975, 1976 and 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TEBA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal Coal Owners' Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The report further stated that during the period 1 July 1976 to 30 June 1977 114 employers' recruiting licenses were issued in respect of 52 districts in the white area. It stated that at the time of reporting there were eleven employers' groups which recruited labour in the Republic and neighbouring states, the main recruiter being TEBA. It stated that particulars regarding the number of permits issued to farmers for recruiting purposes were not available.

In its findings on labour recruitment the Commission condemned the payment of labour agents on a per capita basis feeling this system led to abuses. Consequently it recommended that only salaried agents should be licensed and licences should be issued in respect of all prescribed areas within the area of jurisdiction of an administration board. It stated that licensing of runners in the white area of SA should not be considered and the licensing of conductors (ie persons who conduct labour to the place of employment) was no longer necessary. Labour agents' licences should be issued by administration boards as agents of the Department of Labour.

It further recommended that the licensing of employers for recruitment be abolished and employers be allowed to requisition labour through labour bureaux if local labour was not available. Likewise it recommended that permits for farmers be abolished. It found that employers' groups played an important role in the recruitment of labour and recommended that they be allowed to continue recruiting and expand where necessary. It recommended that the provisions of regulation 10 of Chapter V of the Black Labour Regulations of 1965, which prohibited an employer from using a worker admitted to an area on various premises within the area, should be abolished.

The white paper accepted all recommendations excepting that relating to farmers' permits arguing that because of the seasonal demand the following details regarding according to employers as at

| Number of licensed labour agents |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1975            | 1976            | 1977            |
| 68              | 71              | 56              |

for labour in agriculture the obligation to requisition labour repeatedly throughout the year would cause farmers unnecessary inconvenience.

Migrant Labour

The Department of Co-operation and Development supplied the following figures in respect of foreign Africans working in the Republic according to their places of origin as at 30 June 1978: (Figures for December 1977 are given for comparative purposes.)
The table below gives the number of foreign and SA workers registered as workseekers in each category of labour as defined in the regulations promulgated in terms of the Black Labour Act as at 30 June 1978 and the percentage increases over the previous year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>30 June 1978 Foreign</th>
<th>30 June 1977 Foreign</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>SA (includes workers from Transkei and Bophuthatswana)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>18 120</td>
<td>18 120</td>
<td>567 837</td>
<td>16,8 2,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>258 017</td>
<td>258 017</td>
<td>434 910</td>
<td>-10,4 -7,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>10 322</td>
<td>10 322</td>
<td>668 759</td>
<td>-1,5 -3,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>8 132</td>
<td>8 132</td>
<td>316 951</td>
<td>-5,1 -13,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>4 427</td>
<td>4 427</td>
<td>7 754 13 187 7 092</td>
<td>-24,6 -7,8 13,3 -3,7 -0,1 -1,9 -0,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in each category from Transkei and at 30 June 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Bophuthatswana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>71 441</td>
<td>72 405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>154 615</td>
<td>54 006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>72 755</td>
<td>75 689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>41 670</td>
<td>32 472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>Migrant Labour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
June 1978
341
16 325 34 664 155 623 38 525 49108 27 494 14052 500 294
843
6 399
S
Wholesale and retail trade Government services Domestic services Other
Transkei
29 147 64 397 48 750 17 519
Bophuthatswana
58 034 62 587
107 540 53 592
The Riekert Commission Report gave the following details for the number of
contract workers (section 10(1)(d)) allowed in prescribed areas according to
administration board area for the years 1975-1977:
Administration Board Area
Central Transvaal Northern Transvaal Highveld Eastern Transvaal Southern
Transvaal West Rand East Rand Western Transvaal Vaal Triangle Southern
Orange Free State Central Orange Free State Northern Orange Free State
Northern Transvaal Drakensberg Port Natal Northern Cape Diamond Fields
Karoo
Cape Midlands Eastern Cape South-Western Cape Peninsula
Year ended 30 June 1975 1976 1977
97 867 105876 112360 30419 31655 33049 13033 20052 21540 10978
10830 60787 5602 11943 22020 106820 122465 101464 84602 90 566 97
647 24 140 26 760 27 252 16 583 27 593 25 878 6140 9984 11203 7819
9106 9675
3686 4424 4746
39 275 58 733 66 779 16782 23718 35441 216293 229083 218410 18576
19284 19143 1138 2626 2351
1 697 1 618 994
4814 7178 10390 8383 6064 8040
53 545 37 506 30 796 34 307 33 155 23 726
Total 802 499 890 219 893 691
The Commission drew attention to the fact that, apart from mining which
traditionally relies on contract labour, one of the most important sectors for which
labour was imported was the construction industry due to its unpopularity
amongst African workers. In July, Mr Frans du Randt, Chief Black Affairs
Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, announced that African contract workers on
the Witwatersrand who lost their jobs might in future be registered as local
workseekers, enabling them to look for new jobs without having to return home.
A new system of recruiting Zimbabwean-Rhodesian Africans for employment in
the Transvaal introduced in September met with little success. Under the
agreement SA agreed to admit 100 Africans every month to meet a demand for
African male domestic workers which could not be met locally. The agreement applied to areas falling under
Migrant Labour:
Riekert Report

the jurisdiction of the West Rand and Eastern Transvaal Administration 211
Boards. There were no entrants under the scheme in September although 24 applications were being processed.2 Riekert Commission's recommendation on migrant labour Migrant Labour:
Labour zoning Riekert
The Commission found that labour zoning-ie the admission of contract workers from a specific homeland to the area of jurisdiction of a particular administration board-took place to a limited extent and had certain advantages. It recommended that provision for such zoning should not be written into the legislation, but that administration boards be instructed to follow the most effective procedures in regard to the import of contract labour in their areas.

Attestation of contracts of employment
The Commission found that the attestation of contracts at the place of recruitment ensured proper control over contract workers and ensured that homelands would be kept informed of the exact conditions under which their citizens would work in the white areas and enable them to insist at interstate level on satisfactory conditions, eg when negotiating bilateral labour agreements. It found, however, that the conditions of contract were not always properly explained or understood, the procedure was time-consuming, and that the twelve month period of validity of contracts was too short.
The Commission recommended that the attestation of contracts at the place of recruitment should be strictly enforced; the procedure simplified; and the twelve month period of validity reviewed and negotiations entered into with homeland governments for longer contract periods. Administration boards should provide facilities within urban African residential areas for the temporary sojourn of dependants who wish to visit the head of the family while he is working in the white area. Outside urban African residential areas the employer should make suitable arrangements.

Deferred wages
In this regard, the Commission recommended that the withholding of wages be effected on a voluntary basis, but in those cases where other governments insisted on compulsory deferment this should be arranged by means of interstate agreements.5

The white paper accepted all these recommendations.6

Labour agreements with homelands and independent states37
The Riekert Commission recommended that as far as independent states were concerned labour agreements should be retained and reviewed periodically for effective control over the utilisation of labour and maintenance of sound labour and interstate relations. It felt that the provision that contracts be attested in the area of recruitment should be retained, but in the case of independent states that
formerly constituted part of the Republic of SA, administrative arrangements should be made for the waiving of the attestation of contracts in the farming sector that are entered into for periods of less than six months.

212 Both these recommendations were accepted by the Government. As far as the homelands are concerned, the Commission noted that the first arrangement covering contract workers was finalised in 1977. Levies Its provisions dealt, inter alia, with the issue of travel documents instead of reference books containing details such as permission to be in the area, a worker's record, etc. In terms of the agreement attestation of contracts need not take place in the home district. A further section of the agreement provided that persons who qualified to be in prescribed areas could obtain permission for their families to join them if they owned houses or housing was provided by employers. Thus they could not rent houses.

The Commission recommended that consideration should be given to concluding labour agreements with the governments of individual homelands, and the Department of Foreign Affairs should be involved in the negotiations as an observer or adviser. It recommended further that no distinction should be made in agreements or elsewhere between workers who have section 10(1)(a) or (b) qualifications purely on the grounds of the area of origin of their legitimate wife and dependants.

Levies and contributions payable by employers

Black Services Levy Act

The Black Services Levy Act of 1952 was repealed by the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Act (No 16 of 1979) this session. The Levy Act required that employers, in certain larger towns, should pay into a Services Levy Fund an amount of up to 25 cents per 6 days' work per adult male African employee. Excluded from this requirement were employers of domestic workers and those who provided free accommodation to their employees. The repeal of this Act was in line with the recommendations of the Riekert Commission.38

Contributions in respect of Black Labour Act

An amendment was also made to the contributions payable in terms of the Black Labour Act of 1972 by the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Act (No 160/1979). Previously the Act stated that contributions payable by employers per African employee could not exceed R2.50 per month, and that if a contribution equalled or exceeded R1.50 it could not be increased by more than 20 % unless the Minister gave at least one year's notice thereof in the Gazette. It also stated that Africans who were self-employed, casual labourers or independent contractors had to pay R1 per month. The amendment abolished the limits on these amounts,- and empowered the Minister by way of notice in the Gazette to set the limit at any amount. The Riekert Commission9 found that the payment of contributions by employers could not be defended on grounds of principle, but that it made a substantial
contribution to the financing of services to African communities. Thus, for
financial reasons, it would be difficult to repeal the Act. It recommended that:
(a) the repeal of the Act should be accepted as a goal with contributions to be
phased out gradually;
(b) the Department of Co-operation and Development, the adminis-
213
tration boards and community councils should initiate programmes in order to
cover more of the costs of services from African communities themselves;
Reservation
(c) no further increases in the contributions payable by employers of Work
should be considered, and the rate of contributions progressively
reduced.
The white paper agreed with the cost-
saving recommendations, but those
regarding the reduction and eventual abolition of contributions would be
considered later in the light of the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry
into the Finances of Local Authorities.
In-Service Training Levies
In terms of a Government Notice (724 of 21 September 1979) the Minister of
Education and Training imposed a levy of 40c per month per African employee
on all employers in the fixed area of the Boithusong Public In-service Training
Centre at Bloemfontein in respect of industries for which training was provided at
the centre.40
New tax concessions were announced for in-service training schemes which
would enable companies to recover 92c out of every R1 spent on schemes
approved by the authorities. It was expected that the concession would lead to an
upsurge in the training and retraining of workers of all races.41
Job Reservation
No employees were prosecuted in 1978 for contravening work reservation
determinations.42
Two work reservation determinations are currently in existence. They are
determination no 4 relating to the municipal undertakingCape Town; and
determination no 27 relating to the Mining IndustryRSA. Three determinations
were cancelled this year. They were numbers 16 and 26 for the Motor Industry,
and no 28 for the Building Industry.43
Sources in the building industry commented, however, that the repeal of the
determination did not herald a new era as the legislation which most hindered the
industry's profitability—the Black Building Workers' Act—remained on the statute
book. They said the determination's repeal was purely cosmetic.
Representatives in the motor industry stated that the repeal of the determinations
affecting their industry would not alter the existing labour situation and output
because their plants were already operating under government exemptions from
job reservation.” The cancellation of the determinations were in line with the
recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions. (See below.)
The Wiehahn Commission's report on labour legislation opposed job reservation
in principle and recommended that it should be phased out in the long-term. (See
separate section on the Commission for further details.)
The Riekert Commission investigated the issue of the reservation of certain categories of work under the Group Areas Act, ie Proclamations R3, R4 and R5 of 1968 that required that permits be obtained for Africans to work as chargehands, managers, supervisors, executives.

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Manpower Needs and Shortages: Riekert Report

tives, or professional technical or administrative employees in a trading or business undertaking in a white group area unless under the fulltime personal supervision or control of a white person. The Commission recommended that the proclamations be amended so as to exempt all categories of bona fide employees so that they might occupy the premises of their employers with the object of performing work for which they were employed.

The Commission also recommended the deletion of section 20A of the Black Labour Act 1964 which empowered the Minister by notice in the Gazette to prohibit the performance of work under certain circumstances by an African person. Two notices were issued under this provision (R531 of 3 April 1970 and R1 260 of 7 August 1970) but were never applied and were withdrawn in 1977.41

The white paper accepted both these recommendations. (See section on mining for developments concerning work reservation no 27.)

Manpower

The Riekert Commission report stated that the proportion of whites in the total labour force from 1951 to 1970 dropped from 21.4 % to 18.6 % while the proportion of Africans increased from 67.7 % to 70.3 % and the proportion of coloured people and Asians remained constant at 8.8 % and 2.1 % respectively. It predicted that the proportion of whites would decline further to 17.4 % in 1981 while that of coloured people would rise to 9.1 % and Africans (including foreign Africans) to 71.3 %.

It stated that the labour force was very strongly concentrated in the white area of SA, 78.5 % of the total labour force as against 67.1 % of the total population, particularly in the PWV, Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage, Cape Peninsula and Durban/Pinetown areas. These four areas accounted for 46.6 % of the total labour force in the white area, 63.9 % of the white labour force, 48.0 % of the coloured labour force, 69.1 % of the Asian labour force and 38.8 % of the African labour force.

Further details are given in the table on page 215.41

This data was based on a projected potential growth rate of 5 % pa and insofar as the actual rate of growth realised is lower than 5 % the data overstates the demand. Consequently, the unemployment figure will be higher. The table shows that a growing percentage of whites were moving into professional and managerial occupations and reflects a declining percentage into production work as well as those employed as artisans and apprentices. The projections indicated that an increasing number of Africans were moving towards the production workers' group and transport and a slight increase in Africans employed as clerical and sales workers, foremen and artisans.
Manpower Needs and Shortages: Rieke Report

Manpower Needs and Shortages: Rieke Report
Manpower Needs and Shortages

The following table also given in the Riekert Commission's Report shows that in 1981 the labour supply will be more than adequate to meet the demand and that there will be a surplus, in particular, of African labour.

Projections of the supply of and demand and 1981:51 for labour in the RSA, 1975

1975
1981
Annual growth rate
Availability of labour population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total2</th>
<th>25 524</th>
<th>29 744</th>
<th>2,58</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 240</td>
<td>4 836</td>
<td>2,22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Whites)&quot;</td>
<td>(4 099)</td>
<td>(4 456)</td>
<td>(1,39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 380</td>
<td>2 800</td>
<td>2,74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
<td>730</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>2,54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 174</td>
<td>21 260</td>
<td>2,65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economically active

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total&quot;</th>
<th>9672</th>
<th>11348</th>
<th>2,70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 710</td>
<td>1 975</td>
<td>2,43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Whites)&quot;</td>
<td>(1 644)</td>
<td>(1 803)</td>
<td>(1,55)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td>850</td>
<td>1 028</td>
<td>3,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
<td>215</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>2,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 897</td>
<td>8 089</td>
<td>2,69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Utilisation of labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>9 170</th>
<th>10 784</th>
<th>2,74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 706</td>
<td>1 970</td>
<td>2,43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td>846</td>
<td>1 023</td>
<td>3,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
<td>213</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>2,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 405</td>
<td>7 537</td>
<td>2,75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between availability and utilisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>502</th>
<th>564</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td>492</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In its findings on the manpower situation as a whole, the Rickert Commission stated that the labour force, in particular the African labour force, was growing rapidly. The African labour force was strongly concentrated not only outside homeland areas but in the four major metropolitan areas and particularly the PWV area. It found that both the numbers of migrants and commuters were increasing, with special implications for the 'orderly regulation of labour relations, the co-ordination of training, and functioning of the labour market' etc. The movement of the labour force from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sections was well advanced in the case of whites, coloured and Asians, whereas, in the case of Africans it was still in an early stage, although rapidly gathering momentum. The Commission predicted an overall adequate supply of labour (indeed a surplus of African labour) but persistent shortages in certain professional, technical and artisan fields and a great need for more reliable and timely information on existing and expected shortages. It stated that 'sustained and purposeful' attempts would have to be made to create employment opportunities in the homelands and
adjoining areas if migration of African labour from these areas to existing metropolitan areas and other industrial centres and the concomitant social costs and problems were to be obviated.

The Wiehahn Commission recommended the establishment of a National Manpower Commission (NMC) to co-ordinate the manpower situation (see section on the Wiehahn Commission for a description of the NMC).

In its quarterly survey of employment prospects Manpower stated that it appeared that the number of companies, over the country as a whole, planning to decrease their staffing levels had dropped. The Johannesburg area showed increases in staff of 25,1 % for whites and 22,7 % for blacks and the Cape increases of 14,5 % for whites and 20,6 % for blacks. Areas which showed a movement towards decreasing their staff in the black sector were Pretoria, Western Cape and Eastern Cape.

This year commentators on the manpower situation again focussed on the two important issues of job creation for the growing labour force and the shortage of skilled workers in the labour force.

During the labour vote Dr Alex Boraine (PFP) stated that 217 000 new jobseekers entered the market in 1978, approximately 230 000 persons would be looking for jobs during 1979, and that by the end of the century at least 360 000 new jobseekers would be entering the labour market each year. He stated that 1 500 new jobs would have to be created every working day for the next 21 years at an estimated cost of R1,8 billion per year which would require a growth rate of between 5 % and 6 %.1

Dr S. Brand, the Prime Minister's economic adviser, stated in April that the Government was investigating measures aimed at increasing the number of Africans in skilled occupations. He stated that approximately 800 000 Africans were unemployed and 260 000 were expected to enter the labour market every year for the next 10 years. Commenting on the same issue, Professor J.A. Lombard of the University of Pretoria stated that one in every four African workers moving into urban economic activity would have to be a skilled worker if long term manpower objectives were to be met.

The President of the Chamber of Mines, Mr Dennis Etheredge, in discussing manpower and productivity stated that it was unrealistic to expect a high level of productivity from a migrant worker who was away for long periods from his family, was at best partially trained, whose mobility in the workplace was severely limited by legislation and who had virtually no opportunity to improve his lot through collective bargaining. Likewise it was unrealistic to expect a high level of motivation from a white worker who was protected by legislation and trade union policies from
serious competition in the workplace to the extent that there was an artificial scarcity of workers to perform each semiskilled function.

He suggested that the employer could do the following to make his workforce more productive: make use of job evaluation, increased and better training of employees; mechanise low productivity, unskilled jobs; introduce career development programmes and establish merit as the basis for payment and promotion.7

Brigadier Smith of the Directorate of Orientation Services said that 160 committees for the adjustment of national servicemen were helping the Department of Labour find work for the 12 000 servicemen who completed their military training in January, and that a further 10 000 would be aided in July.

Apprentices and Artisans

The Minister of Labour gave the following figures regarding the number of new apprenticeship contracts registered in 1978: White Coloured Indian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>7383</th>
<th>601</th>
<th>264</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% change</td>
<td>-26.5</td>
<td>-30.9</td>
<td>-18.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He stated that as at 31 December 1978 30 354 current contracts of apprenticeship were in operation in the various industries9

A Chamber of Mines report stated that the present 227 000 artisans employed in SA represented a shortfall of approximately 10 000 on the economy's needs. According to forecasts this need would increase by about 31% to 364 000 artisans in 1981.

Amendments or proposed amendments were made to the conditions of apprenticeship in grain milling, the printing trade, the jewellers' and goldsmith's industry, the hairdressing industry in Durban and Pretoria, railways, and the metal industry, amongst others.

In November four African apprentices were granted official approval to be trained in 'white' areas. However, all would work in black areas. The four were to be given theoretical training by the employer concerned. Usually this is provided by technical colleges.6

The Wiehahn Commission, in examining the issue of apprentices, found that the employment of coloured people and Asians was hampered by the Department of Labour's policy of refusing to indenture members of these groups unless applications for the registration of an apprenticeship contract were supported by the apprenticeship committee concerned, and unless whites were not available for such employment. Secondly it found that a large percentage of coloured people and Asians did not possess the minimum qualifications for apprenticeship. As far as Africans were concerned, the Commission pointed out that the Department's policy had been to refuse their indentureship as apprentices outside the homelands. It recommended that existing policies be reviewed for the following reasons: the need for skilled artisans in various sectors of the economy, and the danger of serious shortages in the event of a significant upswing in the economy; and the need for African artisans in African townships and homelands, given the proposed development of these areas.

(For its recommendations see the section on the Wiehahn Commission.)
Employment in the manufacturing industry

The annual economic report of the SA Reserve Bank for the year ended 30 June 1979 stated that a higher level of activity in the secondary sector was reflected in an increase of 51% in the real product of manufacturing.

Average monthly numbers employed and average monthly wages for workers in the manufacturing industry for March 1978 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average numbers</td>
<td>279 000</td>
<td>216 000</td>
<td>71 500</td>
<td>704 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employed</td>
<td>279 000</td>
<td>216 000</td>
<td>71 500</td>
<td>704 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>5,2</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>2,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>168 242</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wages</td>
<td></td>
<td>221</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment and Wages in Industry

% change

Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries

The following figures give the average number of employed in various sectors in these industries for the year percentage changes over 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Metal</td>
<td>40 200</td>
<td>1 900</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>64 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metals</td>
<td>26 600</td>
<td>13 300</td>
<td>2 700</td>
<td>73 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products</td>
<td>27 800</td>
<td>6 500</td>
<td>1 600</td>
<td>40 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>20 900</td>
<td>7 900</td>
<td>1 900</td>
<td>29 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change over 1977</td>
<td>3,9</td>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>N/C</td>
<td>1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>-18,2</td>
<td>-2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,8</td>
<td>6,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Employment and Wages in Industry: Steel and Engineering

It was reported that Iscor was turning away Muslim job applicants because of their religion after advertising vacancies at its Newcastle plant for apprentice fitters and electricians.63

This year the Mine Workers Union (MWU) concentrated on recruiting workers who were dissatisfied with section 35 of the Iron and Steel Industries’ agreement introduced last year which opened up previously reserved jobs for Africans while giving protection to existing job holders. Most of the workers thus recruited were from Iscor. Most unions party to the agreement held that it was working although the real test would be during an expansion in the economy.64

A survey undertaken by the National Productivity Institute (NPI) to determine the demand for industrial engineers and technicians in SA concluded there was a shortage in these categories and that endeavours should be made to help colleges for advanced technical education to attract more students. Furthermore better planning and improved training in these categories should be introduced. Department of Statistics estimates of the average monthly wages for workers in the different race groups for 1978 and the percentage changes over 1977 are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change over 1977</td>
<td>11,4</td>
<td>41,7</td>
<td>28,1</td>
<td>17,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Metal</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change over 1977</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>2,6</td>
<td>24,9</td>
<td>15,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Products</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change over 1977</td>
<td>10,0</td>
<td>10,7</td>
<td>5,4</td>
<td>10,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change over 1977</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>8,4</td>
<td>17,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4
The average national wage per hour for various job categories in the civil engineering industry increased as follows between November 1977 and November 1978:61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and extent of highest increase</th>
<th>Carpenter</th>
<th>Transvaal</th>
<th>= 13c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
<td>14c</td>
<td>Natal = 24c</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>20c</td>
<td>Cape = 28c</td>
<td>and Wages in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welder</td>
<td>18c</td>
<td>Transvaal = 20c</td>
<td>Industry:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicle driver</td>
<td>8c</td>
<td>Natal and OFS = 10c</td>
<td>Clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant operator</td>
<td>3c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction hand</td>
<td>5,5c</td>
<td>OFS, Tvl, Cape = 7c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>5,5c</td>
<td>OFS = 8c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In May pay rises from 10 % to more than 14 % were negotiated by the 10 engineering trade unions and SEIFSA for the approximately 500000 workers in the steel and engineering industry. Minimum rates for the top artisan grade increased by 10 % to R2,75 an hour, with an additional across-the-board increase of 25c an hour. Basic rates for the bottom labourer grade increased by 14,5 % to 80c an hour with a general increase of 10c. Holiday leave bonuses increased by 10 % for skilled and semi-skilled grades and 12,5 % for lower grades. The parties also agreed to the introduction of a new training scheme for artisan grades in which shortages had been experienced. The main intention was to open up job opportunities for mature workers who wished to become artisans and who could not be apprenticed in the normal way because of the lower pay rates for apprentices. One of the scheme's chief aims was to cater for returning servicemen. The scheme initially applied only to the plate and boilermaking trades and would operate alongside existing artisan arrangements in the industry.

Wage increases for Iscor's 62 000 workers were implemented as from July. White technical workers received a 10 % increase, administrative workers 8 o/o and African workers 12 %. In all the increases amounted to R25m.67

Clothing Industry
The Department of Statistics gave the following estimates for the numbers employed in the clothing industry in 1978 per racial group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>% change over 1977 Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>38 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>21 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>30 400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extensive evidence was presented to the Rieker Commission regarding the effect of section 3 of the Environment Planning Act on the clothing industry in the Transvaal.

224
Employment and Wages in Industry: Clothing and Textiles
The table below documents the position regarding employment in the Transvaal as opposed to other areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total employment in the Clothing Industry in the Republic of South Africa by area, December 1966 and July 1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal section 3 controlled areas Natal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS and Northern Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Board areas Homelands Rustenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A survey conducted during 1976 by the Department of Planning and the Environment showed that as at 30 September 1976, 221 of the 352 clothing factories in the PWV area had contravened the section. This evidence was one of the bases for the Commission's recommendation that section 3 of the Environment Planning Act be repealed.68 (See section on the Environment Planning Act for further details of the Commission's findings in this regard.)

Probably as a result of the Commission's recommendation (the Government having received the report in 1978) the Government announced in March that African women who had section 10(1)(a) or (b) rights to live in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area and who were housed satisfactorily would no longer be considered in the determining of the clothing industry's black/white ratio in terms of section 3 of the Environment Planning Act. As part of the concession, the Minister of Planning and the Environment invited applications to his department from clothing factories which were exceeding their authorised quotas, operating on temporary permits or wishing to extend their operations. The effect of the concession was to remove the threat to the jobs of about 4 000 African women then employed in excess of ratios laid down in terms of the Act. Spokespeople in the industry also expressed hope that the concession would revitalise the industry. Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the
National Union of Clothing Workers, stated that the union had lost over 4 000 members in the last two years through factories being forced to close down due to restrictions on the use of African labour.69

The following table gives the average monthly wages for all races 225 in the industry in 1978 and percentage changes over 1977:70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Wages in</th>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>11,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>5,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Asians</td>
<td>9,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>10,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clothing workers in the Transvaal received a 7,5 % rise in minimum wages from 1 July as opposed to a 25 % demand. The pay deal provided for a further increase of 7,5 % in July 1980 and a third rise of 5 % a year later. Mrs Lucy Mvubelo stated that workers were 'very disappointed' with the increase.7 Workers in Cape Town's clothing and knitting industries received a 5 % rise in October with a further 5 % due in December.72

Textile industry

The following tables give the average number of persons and average monthly wages per race group employed in the textile manufacturing industry for 1978 and the percentage changes over 1977:11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>8 700</td>
<td>-1,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>22 000</td>
<td>-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Asians</td>
<td>7 900</td>
<td>6,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>69 800</td>
<td>-0,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>7 05</td>
<td>14,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>18,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Asians</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>-1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>13,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chairman of the Frame group announced a 10 % increase from January for their 4 500 workers in East London. Further 10 % increases would be granted in 1980 and 1981 respectively.

Workers in the Transvaal knitting industry were to receive increases of almost 50 % over the following two and a half years, affecting approximately 100 white and coloured and 2 300 African workers. The agreement provided for a wage increase of 7 % on a compound basis every six months for two and a half years. For the first time the agreement provided protection against loss of earnings in the case of bankruptcy of firms: this had caused problems in the industry in the past.74

RRS - I
Manpower

Employment The members employed in the reselling and repair section of the and Wages in motor industry as at February 1979 were as follows: Industry:

Whites 45337
Motor Coloured 7390
Asians 21 372
Africans 80 436

Figures for the automobile manufacturing section were unobtainable as no record is kept by the relevant industrial councils.

A number of car firms laid off workers during the year as a result of the slump in the motor industry arising mainly from the increase in fuel prices over the year.

In January BMW(SA) retrenched 150 workers at its Rosslyn plant in Pretoria as a result of the suspension of their export of cars to Iran due to the unrest there.76 Volkswagen laid off approximately 200 workers for the same reason.77 In March 140 of the 150 BMW workers were reemployed as the company had found new export markets and production was again normal.71

As a result of the increase in fuel prices and the expected reduction in purchases of vehicles Ford placed its workers in some factories on a three day week in June.7 Later it retrenched 297 workers. By July General Motors in Port Elizabeth had dismissed 220 workers. It also introduced a four day week and reduced working hours to 71 a day. It reverted to a five-day week in August. Commenting on this situation a spokesman for the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers stated that employers should ‘carry workers’ until conditions improved. ‘It is better that people work fewer hours than lose their jobs completely.’8

The chairman of Leyland announced in June that the company had decided to stay on in SA but would streamline its operation which would involve the retrenchment of approximately 3 500 persons. The company would move its operations to Cape Town in order to save on overheads.

Wages

No information on average wages was available from any of the industrial councils nor the employers association for the industry. In July 2 000 workers in the motor industry, all members of the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers, threatened to down tools unless their demands for better wages and job security were met. They rejected the wage proposals of General Motors, Ford and Volkswagen who offered to increase minimum starting wages from R1 an hour for grade I workers and R3 an hour for grade 12 workers and across the board by from 6c for grade I workers to 15c an hour for grade 12 workers; to continue with the six monthly wage review to keep pace with the increase in the Consumer Price Index; and to extend the agreement from 1 August 1979 to 31 July 1980.3 At a meeting the workers decided to press for higher minimum wages than those the companies offered, higher across-the-board increases and for job security measures
which included severance pay of a month's wages for every year of service of retrenched workers.4

For the strikes which occurred in November in the PE area see the section on strikes and work-stoppages.

Employment

Printing and Newspaper Industry

The average numbers employed and average wages in the printing Industry: industry per race group for 1978 and the percentage change over 1977 Printing are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Average Numbers Employed</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Average Wages</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>17 400</td>
<td>-1,1</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>6,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>7 700</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>16,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>1 900</td>
<td>N/C</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>25,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>8 000</td>
<td>-6,3</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>7,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of a new agreement for this industry negotiated in June the minimum weekly wage rates for skilled and semi-skilled employees in the printing and newspaper industry were to be increased by 11% from 1 January 1980 and 12,5% for labourers and drivers. Workers earning more than the minimum rates would be entitled to increases of only R5 a week in the case of the 9 000 journeymen, R2,50 for 14 000 semi-skilled men and R1,25 for 18 000 labourers and drivers. At present labourers earn a minimum starting wage of R29,27 a week which increases to R31,87 after two years.5

A dispute over the computerisation of printing at SAAN was settled in July when an agreement regulating the future introduction of electronic editing and printing equipment at other newspapers was built into the main agreement of the industrial council for the newspaper industry. Mr E. Van Tonder, general secretary of the Typographical Union, stated that union members whose traditional jobs disappeared with the introduction of electronic editing were guaranteed jobs in the case of older people. Younger men facing replacement were guaranteed retraining for other skilled employment without loss of income.86

Wage negotiations between English-language newspaper journalists and employers broke down in December and the dispute was referred to arbitration. The South African Society of Journalists demanded increases totalling 22,5% of the December salary bill including 15% across-the-board increases and the remainder for distribution on merit. Employers were prepared to offer 11% increases based on January 1979 salaries, which included a 5% minimum rise for all staff, and the rest for allocation at editors' discretion.87

Other

The average numbers employed and monthly wages for 1978 and percentage changes over 1977 in various other industries are given below:

Average numbers employed

Food

Whites Coloured Asians Africans
Beverages
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Tobacco
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Leather
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Footwear
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Wood and Cork
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Furniture
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Paper
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22100</td>
<td>8 600</td>
<td>102 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 600</td>
<td>3 700</td>
<td>500 16500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 200</td>
<td>800 N/C</td>
<td>2 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>900 4 000 500 3 900</td>
<td>1 200 8 000</td>
<td>5 900 2 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 300 6 900 900 40100</td>
<td>2 500 8 900 2 400 10400</td>
<td>6 900 6 000 3 500 17800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average % change monthly over 1977 wages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1,8</td>
<td>-19,2</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>-6,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1,6</td>
<td>-16,7</td>
<td>-1,2</td>
<td>9,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-11,1</td>
<td>9,5</td>
<td>N/C 2,6</td>
<td>N/C 9,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td>1,7</td>
<td>-3,8</td>
<td>-8,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-10,0</td>
<td>-2,9</td>
<td>-3,8</td>
<td>3,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-7,7</td>
<td>-2,8</td>
<td>-2,5</td>
<td>-6,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-7.9  
-2.7  
% change over 1977  
13.4 1.6 9.3  
12.3  
23.3 -0.9 16.4 13.4  
14.1 36.1  
15.9  
-6.3 10.0 2.9 11.1  
-2.0  
8.0 7.8 18.0  
15.5 4.4 25.9 1.1  
12.7 8.3 14.1 18.0  
13.1 12.2 33.4 14.2  

Average numbers % change monthly % change employed over 1977 wages over 1977 R Industrial Decentralisation Whites 4 200  
Plastic Products  
20.0 728 12.1  
Coloured 5 400 3.8 236 37.3  
Asians 700 75.0 266 38.0  
Africans 10 700 5.9 189 16.8  
Non-Metalic Mineral Products  
Whites 11 600 0.9 697 10.8  
Coloured 7 800 1.3 163 -2.9  
Asians 1 300 N/C 233 -9.8  
Africans 64 600 -0.6 141 9.7  
Rubber  
Whites 4 000 -7.0 712 17.3  
Coloured 1 900 11.8 262 33.5  
Asians 800 14.3 232 17.1  
Africans 10 500 N/C 201 4.7  
Other Manufacturing  
Whites 6 100 1.7 699 19.8  
Coloured 6 700 17.5 166 4.4  
Asians 1 100 N/C 224 5.3  
Africans 9 400 1.1 158 5.4  

Decentralisation of Industries  
Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu, speaking to a group of investors from America, Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland in March, encouraged decentralisation of industrial growth points to African areas.  
Speaking at a NDMF conference in May on the role of the Eastern Cape in the SA economy Mr Heunis, then Minister of Economic Affairs, stated that the
Government's development programme was to promote growth in the four main metropolitan areas; to create a limited number of balancing growth poles' in certain localities; to stimulate sufficient employment in those areas to stem part of the flow of workers to metropolitan areas; and to establish various limited growth points in other localities to promote regional development in general.

A Benso publication 'Statistical survey of Black Development 1978' gave the following table on border industry development as at June 1977:

Establishment of industries in border areas, through the mediation of the IDC, June 1977 By IDC on White housing, loans,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrialists and industrial Bla r areas of Border areas (estimated) buildings</th>
<th>Total emplo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R'000</td>
<td>By share capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 083</td>
<td>56 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>43152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King William's Town</td>
<td>35 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulu</td>
<td>30 647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammarsdale (Elangeni)</td>
<td>43 435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>94 023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard's Bay</td>
<td>66 443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanger</td>
<td>31 417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>71 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?wa</td>
<td>3 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>2 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrismith</td>
<td>1 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalaborwa</td>
<td>2 419 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietersburg</td>
<td>5 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4 572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda Gazankulu KaNgwane Louis Trichardt Letaba Tzaneen Malelane Nelspruit Other</td>
<td>1 292 3 797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626 11 922</td>
<td>4 49 11 473 5 212 1 465 2 938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 918</td>
<td>15 719 1 320 14 399 18 359 5 167 11 761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nated</td>
<td>1 900 0 326 909 775</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
494
86
347 782 367
415 847
451 059 337
365 3 922
78 3 844 938
50 361 527
Subtotal 443 386 200 152 643 538 48 658
Transkei Zastron 27 777 804 10
Bophuthatswana 141 892 64 062 205 954 14 926
Brits 3 041 22475 52926 5152
Lichtenburg 46 560 10 484 57 044 758
Rosslyn 50 933 20 210 71 143 6341
Rustenburg 6 246 6 371 12 617 1 784
Other 35112 4522 12224 891
Total 585 305 264 991 850 296 63 594

The Minister of Economic Affairs cerning the amounts spent to date on tunities
created in certain areas:
gave the following details conduciveentralisation and job oppor-
Public Funds Private Funds Tax concessions
Job opportunities
Whites Africans
Phalaborwa R10 607 527
7 300 000
628 000
Berlin
R12 856 359
9 700 000 1 006 360
ThabaNchu
R377 000 109000
382 456
Borde
Ciskei
KwaZi
QwaC Lebow

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E
Industrial Decentralisation
He stated that the only undertaking established at Thaba'Nchu had been placed under liquidation.9'

The Riekert Commission's Report gave the following table regarding the irrecoverable amounts spent by the State on the decentralisation of industries programme in SA, Transkei and Bophuthatswana from 1974-1977: (for the Commission's findings on decentralisation in relation to section 3 of the Environment Planning Act, see the following section).

From an examination of this table, which shows an increase in the irrecoverable amount from R11.6m in 1974 to R30.8m in 1977, the Commission concluded that the Government was prepared to spend an increasing amount of money in the form of irrecoverable concessions for the promotion of its decentralisation programme.

In its findings (see the section on the Environment Planning Act) it stated that the decentralisation of industries should be promoted only by incentives, and where existing concessions were not adequate, consideration should be given to adding to them since the irrecoverable sums spent thus far on the promotion of the programme were comparatively small in relation to the total state expenditure.

The Commission also recommended that the proposed Co-ordinating Council for Manpower Matters should revise the policy guidelines in connection with the utilisation of manpower which are laid down in the White Paper on the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Decentralisation of Industries and amendments made since then. These revisions should be in line with recommendations of the Riekert Commission and Wiehahn Commission adopted by the Government and publicised in a further white paper.93

Environment Planning Act

The Minister of Environment Planning and Energy stated that three persons were prosecuted under section 3 of the Environment Planning Act in 1978 for the unlawful establishment of factories on land not zoned for industrial purposes.94

The Minister gave the following figures regarding the applications received, granted and refused during 1978 in respect of each province in terms of section 3 of the Environment Planning Act:9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Establishment</th>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>Received 974, Granted 877, Refused 77</td>
<td>Received 653, Granted 556, Refused 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>Received 12, Granted 8, Refused 7</td>
<td>Received 4, Granted 1, Refused 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>Received 29, Granted 23, Refused 7</td>
<td>Received 5, Granted 4, Refused 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>Received 114, Granted 97, Refused 11</td>
<td>Received 218, Granted 204, Refused 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the numbers refused and granted do not tally with those received, this is the result of outstanding applications being carried forward.
The number of potential employees affected by the refusal and granting of applications was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Refusal</th>
<th>Granting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>4 611</td>
<td>21 060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>2 505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Riekert Commission as part of its brief considered the effects of sections 2 and 3 of the Environment Planning Act on the utilisation of manpower.96 It recommended firstly that section 3 be withdrawn. In support of this it found that the measure was unpopular and that it had adversely affected the clothing industry in the PWV area. (See the section on the clothing industry for further details.) Witnesses had stated that it prevented employees from organising their factories properly, and that it was in conflict with the principle of free association. Further evidence from witnesses showed that the enforcement of the section had made no noteworthy contribution to decentralisation; that the pegging of the number of African employees of a successful undertaking was indefensible and unrealistic against the background of increasing unemployment amongst Africans; and the section's application was conducive to mechanisation and automation and this hampered the creation of new job opportunities for Africans.

In assessing the evidence the Commission stated that during the period 30 June 1972 to 30 June 1977 an average 97.9% of the African workers applied for in respect of the extension of existing factories were granted, showing that the section had been administered leniently. This also confirmed that the enforcement of the section entailed a needless waste of manpower.

The Commission also found that development in the PWV area was little affected by the enforcement of section 3 in regard to its share in the total net industrial return of the country. The area's share in net production remained virtually constant over the period 1968 to 1976, as shown in the table below:97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Decentralisation</th>
<th>Percentage share of the areas controlled in terms of section 3 in the net return and total employment of manufacturing during 1968, 1972 and 1976:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Controlled areas in: Transvaal Western Cape Eastern Cape Ors</td>
<td>Non-controlled areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net return 1968 1972 1976</td>
<td>50.4 14.4 6.2 2.8 25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment 1976 1968 1972</td>
<td>50.9 12.7 5.8 3.4 27.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It found that although section 3 had slowed down the normal growth of the clothing industry in the PWV area and was an unpopular measure it was not possible to determine on balance whether it had more advantages or
disadvantages for the country. It rejected the contention of some witnesses that the repeal of the section would be a breach of faith towards industrialists who had already decentralised.

The Commission further recommended that the temporary concession in respect of the employment of African juveniles should be retained until section 3 had been repealed. It also recommended that where decentralisation concessions did not appear to be adequate

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Coloured Development Corporation

they should be augmented to serve as a positive incentive to industrialists to decentralise.

The Commission recommended as well that a new provision be included in the Environment Planning Act which would prohibit, except under the authority of a permit, the erection and extension of factories on land situated outside an area zoned for industrial purposes and defined the extension of a factory as an increase in its employees, or an enlargement of its buildings, or the installation of additional plant.

The Government in its White Paper agreed that section 3 in its present form should be repealed feeling that while it had had positive effects it had also had considerable negative effects. The Government felt, however, that financial incentives on their own would not lead to decentralisation of economic activity and that they should be backed up by control measures in some form. It intended directing the relevant authorities in conjunction with industry to make recommendations on the form of such measures stating specifically that they should preferably not discriminate between employees of different population groups.

As a consequence an investigation was undertaken by the Department of Planning into the issue. It referred a document on the outcome of its investigations into section 3 of the Environment Planning Act to the Total Economic Strategy Committee under Dr S. Brand.

Coloured Development Corporation

During the year September 1977 to September 1978 the board of directors granted applications for financial assistance amounting to R3 856 952 in total. The number of businesses financed increased by 12% compared to the previous year, but due to a decrease in the average amount granted to applicants from R73 911 to R55 099, the total amount was less than in the previous year. In contrast the contribution by businessmen themselves improved from 28.2% to 41.0%.

The following table details the position for the year under consideration regarding the number of applications for assistance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1977/78 Cumulative to 30 September 1978 Applications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brought forward</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapsed</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For consideration</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considered</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Granted  70  785
Rejected  80  934
Still under consideration  54  54

Of the 785 granted, 169 had been previously assisted while 115 were turned down by the applicants themselves, leaving 501 assisted.

The amounts granted per business venture for September 1978 are given below:

The years 1962 to
Independent Businesses
Boat builders and sawmills Bottle stores Building contractors Cinemas
Commercial buildings Drive-in cinemas Dry cleaners Filling stations Furniture stores Holiday resorts Hotels
Manufacturing Motor traders Printers
Panelbeating and spraypaint workshops Restaurants/Liquor outlets Retailers
Transport businesses Tyre retreaders Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>196394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1475147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1466562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>4 637 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>525 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>205044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>300 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>77992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>106318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>4130499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1 137 867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>77844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>324 842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>2 985 723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>4049106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>732112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>60322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>440 491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corporation undertakings
The board of directors approved R1,87m for corporation undertakings during the year, which brought the total amount approved to R26m including 23 projects amounting to R3,08m which had already been transferred to coloured persons.

In Parliament the Minister of Coloured Relations stated that from October 1977 to September 1978 six bad debts had been incurred by the CDC in respect of the following concerns:
Panelbeater Metal works Small commercial building Furniture dealer Light engineering works Reconditioning motor spares
R
897 2 165 354 16 471 50 000 8 313
The general manager of the Corporation, Mr M. Pentz, announced a shift in investment policy from CDC partnership in 'traditional' coloured businesses such as bottle stores, cinemas, motor outlets etc to a stake in industrial ventures, hence the purchasing of three clothing factories in the Cape.'1
Coloured Development Corporation
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Employment and Wages in Agriculture
Agriculture
In February, following the disappearance of 20 children from the border village of Olifantsdrift, Botswana police claimed that local primary school children were being illegally recruited inside the country to work on white-owned farms in SA.'0'

Mr Geoff Antrobus, agricultural economist at Rhodes University, stated that cash wages as low as R7 per month were being paid to farm labourers in some parts of the Albany district according to a survey conducted in 1977. He estimated that wages for this year would be in the region of R10 and R11 per month for youngsters and placed the average wage in 1977 at R20.26.'02

In the light of a survey on wages the ombudsman of the SACC, Mr Eugene Roelofse, called on the Minister to institute an inquiry into wages and employment conditions on farms. A survey of African employees of farmers throughout the Western Transvaal showed that 13 out of 23 adult men interviewed were receiving R12 or less in cash every month. Only six had cash wages ranging from R25 to R50. Fifteen of the workers were receiving a bag or half a bag of mealie meal in addition to cash wages and nine an annual bonus of a bag of maize."3

A Post newspaper investigation into working conditions on Letaba Citrus Estates— one of the biggest in the country—revealed that some workers were paid less than R30 per month, and some men claimed they worked from 6 am to 6 pm for six days of the week. The general manager of Consolidated Citrus Estates, the Schlesinger group company which ran the farms, stated that their rates were better than those of the surrounding farmers."4

A further investigation revealed that labourers on a farm owned partly by the Corporation for Economic Development and the KwaZulu Development Corporation were being paid R45 for every ton of cotton picked. Top pickers with the help of their children earned a maximum of R80 per month. The cotton was sold on the SA market for about R350 a ton. Mr Van den Aardweg, the KwaZulu Agricultural Company area manager, stated that for each R13 earned by a worker she/he received a bonus of a bag of mealie meal."05

The Minister of Agriculture gave the following figures regarding housing loans for farmers in 1978:
Western Province Cape Province OFS Transvaal Natal Farmers applying No. granted Total amount R
133 113 563834
60 55 308510
41 31 198999
38 28 183250
7 5 36232

Sixteen applications were still under consideration at the end of December 1978. In August a new organisation, the Africa Co-operative Action Trust (Acat), was formed by businessmen and professionals to promote agricultural productivity and saving amongst Africans. Acat's main objectives would be to form saving clubs to teach members to save, promote subsistence agriculture and encourage cash cropping. It had received the approval of the KwaZulu government.

Delegates to the annual congress of the Transvaal Agricultural Union in September called on the Government to provide comprehensive health services for African farm labourers. In a paper Mr J. Van Aswegen stated that the present health services were fragmented and unorganized. He called for clinics to be established in the community more or less within a radius of 20 km from each other. This would enable labourers to reach them relatively easily by primitive means of transport such as donkeys or horsecarts and would also save the farmer money if he were to provide the transport.

Various recommendations made by the Riekert Commission related to the agricultural sector and dealt mainly with provisions in Chapter IV of the Development Trust and Land Act 1936.

Labour Tenants
The labour tenant system was abolished in most cases in 1970. Consequently the commission recommended that provisions of the Development Trust and Land Act dealing with this system should be repealed. This recommendation was accepted by the Government which stated it would be put into effect once the system had been abolished totally in Natal where it still functioned in certain areas.

Following on the Commission's recommendations the labour tenant system was abolished in terms of Government Notice 2089 (GG 6663) of 21 September. The notice stated that no further labour contracts could be entered into, and tenants registered; and that presently registered tenants might not be employed as such on any land in the Republic after the expiry of the contract or after 30 August 1980 whichever was the earlier date.

Occupation of land by the aged
The Commission found that there was insufficient provision for the accommodation of African aged persons in rural white areas or in the homelands, and that from a social point of view it was highly undesirable to uproot the people completely in their old age. At present if an employer wishes to accommodate
such a person he must first get permission from the Commissioner. It recommended that African aged persons should be able, merely with the permission of the landowner concerned, to settle on farms if they were in the employ of the landowner prior to their retirement, or if they were the dependants of bona fide employees of the landowner. Section 31(1)(b) of the Act could be amended to permit particulars of aged persons' so accommodated being called for, by way of return, by a proposed body concerned with rural African community development. The Government felt it could not accept this recommendation until further investigation had been undertaken to find out whether it would lead to large-scale squatting on farms.

Labour Control Boards"
The Commission recommended that labour control boards and the determination of labour quotas for farmers be abolished. This followed on its findings that labour quotas were unnecessary as farmers, for economic reasons, employed only as many workers as were essential. It found that labour control boards were not an effective check on farmers who accommodated African workers unlawfully, and that section Employment 26 of the Act regulated the situation in any case. Furthermore these and Wages in controls were in conflict with the principles of the free market system. Domestic

The white paper stated that the recommendation could not be accepted without further investigation and consultation with organized Work agriculture.

Squatters"2
The Commission recommended that the statutory provisions in Chapter IV of the Act relating to squatters be repealed as the system of registering squatters was virtually outdated and thus served no useful purpose.

Regulation 16 of Chapter III of Black Labour Regulations 19651"
The Commission found that the restrictions under this regulation on the use by the owners of land, of stock or equipment of their African employees and on the cultivation by employees of any land of their employers for a portion of the crops, were outmoded. Its recommendations for the repeal of this regulation was accepted by the while paper.

(For information on farm prison labour see section on the Administration of Justice, Police and Prisons.)

Domestic Workers
A motion introduced by PFP Johannesburg City Councillor, Janet Levine, proposing that the standard building bylaws be altered to make hot running water, flushing toilets, ceilings and electricity compulsory for all living-in servants was agreed to in the Johannesburg City Council in February. She stated it would add at most 3 % to 5 % to the cost of building a house. Current building bylaws for
Johannesburg specified only minimum size and ventilation standards for living-in quarters. "4
In March the Sandton City Council adopted a proposal to examine the regulations governing the building of servants' quarters."5
In a survey of 225 domestic workers in the Eastern Cape, Rhodes University sociology lecturer, Ms Jacklyn Cock, found that the average monthly wage paid to full-time workers was R22 a month. The average paid to full-time domestic servants on farms was R11 a month."6
The question of the employment of living-in domestic workers in coloured and Indian areas was examined by the Riekert Commission. The current situation was that domestic servants of other race groups were not exempted from the provisions of the Group Areas Act which regulated employment in coloured and Indian areas and required a special permit to do so. (Exemption for domestic servants allowing them to work in white areas is granted in terms of Proclamation 70 of 1970.) The Commission found that the prohibition was discriminatory and recommended that Proclamation 70 of 1970 be amended to make the exemption granted to domestic servants applicable to members of all population groups in proclaimed group areas. This recommendation was accepted by the Government.

In line with this recommendation, proclamation 70 was amended in November to allow employers in Indian and coloured group areas to have on their premises live-in domestics who were disqualified people in these group areas. However, the proclamation was further amended to make it unlawful for a domestic worker in any group area to have visitors on the premises between 10 pm and 8 am."17
The Domestic Workers and Employers Project recommended a minimum monthly wage of R71.50 for a 44-hour week for a live-in unskilled domestic. The recommended wage for a skilled domestic was R88 per month. Living-out domestic workers should be paid not less than R82.50 for a 40-hour week and given a transport allowance. Domestic workers employed on a daily basis should receive at least R5, or R1 an hour.

Mining Industry
Manpower
The mining statistics report of the Department of Mines gave the following figures of workers employed in mining for the year 1978. The percentages show the change in the average numbers over 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold mines</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34058</td>
<td>-13,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>729</td>
<td>N/C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-0,8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment and Wages in Mining

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coal mines</th>
<th>All mines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>% change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 130</td>
<td>47,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 866</td>
<td>-0,7 2223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>11115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Chamber of Mines estimates of Africans employed on its gold, platinum and copper mines according to place of origin as at 31 August 1979 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RSA</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Bophuthatswana</th>
<th>Venda</th>
<th>Lesotho</th>
<th>Botswana</th>
<th>Swaziland</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>134020</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>72398</td>
<td>436588</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chamber of Mines stated in its monthly report for August that the number of Africans applying for work on the mines exceeded the number of jobs available. Employment in surface occupations was 102% and underground labour requirements were 100% net. The Chamber stated that few employment opportunities elsewhere, and a more competitive employment package offered by the mining industry.

Whites Coloured Asians Africans

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Employment and Wages in Mining

Whites Coloured Asians Africans were leading to the creation of an increasingly stable and more experienced workforce. It stated that many workers were intent on extending their stay on the mines and were taking leave rather than being discharged.

Wages

The mining statistics report for the Department of Mines gave the following figures for the average monthly wages on various categories of mines for 1978 for all race groups. Percentage changes over 1977 are also shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All mines</th>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Coal</th>
<th>Diamond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 871 341 355 128</td>
<td>R 1 011 372 344 123</td>
<td>R 946 841 348 135</td>
<td>% change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,2 50,2 24,6 20,8</td>
<td>30,0 12,0 27,9 20,6</td>
<td>4,5 47,3 20,0 28,6</td>
<td>% change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The minimum cash rates of pay of novices as at November 1979 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surface</th>
<th>Underground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>R 58.50</td>
<td>R 86.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>R 39.1</td>
<td>R 30.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above wages Africans were provided with free accommodation, meals, medical attention and sports facilities valued at R60 per month. The average cash earnings per month for Africans was R118 and for whites R874 at the time of writing.

In 1978 SA's gold mines spent R560m on African wages of which R130m was transmitted home by way of deferred pay and remittances by the miners. Of the R130m, R60m went to Lesotho, Mocambique and Malawi.

The Council of Mining Unions (representing white miners) asked for a 12.5% rise in wages this year plus fringe benefit improvements, as well as a 9% rise in employer and worker contributions to the industry's pension fund. The miners were granted a 10% increase as from May after 'smooth' negotiations. In addition to the 10% the miners obtained a major increase in death benefits, from R5 700 to R10 000, under their pension scheme, at a cost of an additional R2,20 a month contribution by every worker; an increase to R40 in the R22 allowance to split-shift workers who had to travel to work twice a day; and an undertaking from the Chamber to look at demands from specific interest groups among the unions during further discussions related to improvements in productivity.

In May the Chamber announced a 10% increase in starting wages to all officials on the mines. The offer was accepted by the Underground Officials' Association and the Surface Officials' Association (combined membership of 20 000) but was rejected by the Technical Officials' Association which had asked for a 16% increase in minimum rates, an increase in overtime tariffs and improvements in service incre-

ments. The technical officials embarked on a 'work to rule campaign' as a form of protest, with Mr Mallet-Veale, secretary of the Association, claiming that all of the Association's 2 100 members on the gold mines were taking part. The Chamber claimed that only some mines had been affected. Later the Association declared a dispute with the Chamber and asked for a conciliation board.

In June three Free State mines-Harmony, Welkom and President Brand-and two Transvaal mines, Randfontein Estates and Vaal Reefs, obtained temporary interdicts restraining the officials from striking. However, despite these interdicts officials continued with their 'withdrawal of co-operation', stating they were
following the Mines and Works Act strictly and were not acting in contempt of court. The Chamber, however, held that they were.27

The first meeting of the conciliation board on 17 July ended in deadlock. However on 19 July an agreement was reached between the Association and Chamber with the latter making no concessions and the Association accepting the same increases as originally offered. Its members would receive their increases only from 17 July while members of the other associations received theirs from 1 June.128

The Council of Mining Unions, representing all white mining unions, approached the Chamber in October for an interim pay rise. Normally pay rises for white miners are bargained for annually. The Chamber was not prepared to consider the demand.129

African miners received rises from 1 July. The minimum starting wage for a novice underground worker increased from R17,70 a week to R20,04 (13 0/6) plus free board and lodging. Novice surface workers' starting rate increased from R11,70 to R13,50 (15 %) also with free board and lodging.130

Other Benefits

The Chamber of Mines released figures this year showing that by 1981 the mining industry would have spent R350m in eight years on housing for its African workers. Almost half the amount had been allocated to improving existing accommodation and the balance to the provision of new hostels and houses. It stated that more than 3 000 houses for married Africans on gold mines costing about R36m would be completed in three years.

In March the Chamber announced increases of up to 22 % in white miners' pensions applying to all pensioners who retired before 1974. Those who retired after that date would receive proportionately lower increases-down to 4 % in the case of miners who went on pension in December 1977. The increases were backdated to 1 January 1977. 181 The pensions of those who retired after 1977 or who would retire in the future were to be increased as well.

11-shift fortnight

The Underground Officials’ Association rejected the recommendations of the Franzsen Commission on the 11-shift fortnight (see last year's Survey p 216) and asked for a five-day working week instead. The association stated its members wished to work more hours during the week so that they could have Saturdays off."2

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Employment and Wages in Mining

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Employment and Wages in Mining

Deaths

During the Mines Vote Mr N.B. Wood pointed out that mining fatalities per 100 000 miners had increased from 1.1 to 1.28 in 1978 or by 20 %. In numbers this represented an increase from 730 to 877 actual deaths.3
A miner was fined a total of R700 or 350 days in the Viljoenskroon Regional Court in March after being found guilty of culpable homicide and of contravening four regulations under the Mines and Works Act. The court found that Mr F. Hurn had been negligent in allowing unqualified Africans to handle explosives which had led to a fire at the Vaal Reefs gold mine which trapped and killed 41 miners.14

Union activities
A new union—the Federated Mining, Explosives and Chemical Workers' Union—for coloured miners was established in August."5 The union, which comprised about 600 members, was an offshoot of the SA Boilermakers' Society, which had been given registration to represent both white and coloured workers before this was curbed by the Government.

Competition to this separated union was provided by the Mine Surface Officials' Association—which also applied for registration for a parallel union—the Coloured Mine Employees' Association for coloured officials and other coloured mineworkers. MSOA's general secretary claimed in July that it had recruited about 250 workers in the Stilfontein area.'36

Job reservation
The secretary of the Underground Officials' Association (UOA) stated that the UOA had agreed to phase out job reservation in the mining industry provided the Government would allow it to enrol Africans moving into those jobs. It would also require assurance from employers that none of the Association's present members would be disadvantaged. The determination concerned (No 27) reserved jobs in the ventilation, survey and sampling department for whites. It would require ministerial exemption from the ban on mixed trade unions. It was estimated that about 100 Africans and coloured workers would be eligible for membership at present and that the probable inflow of Africans into the jobs concerned over the next five years would amount to 1 200. Mr Arrie Paulus, general secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, warned that the union would do everything in its power to resist scrapping the determination.7

See section on strikes and work-stoppages for a description of the strikes and riots on the mines this year.

Construction
The Building Industries Federation of SA's annual report gave the following figures for all employees and artisans employed in the industry as at July 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Employees</td>
<td>36 000</td>
<td>36 500</td>
<td>4 500</td>
<td>173 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans</td>
<td>17 500</td>
<td>16 000</td>
<td>1 500</td>
<td>1 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>250 000</td>
<td>36 000</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 250,000 employees of all races represented a drop of about 100,000 over the June 1976 figure of 350,000.

Its projection for average annual artisan requirements for the years 1978-2000 were as follows:

3 100 3 900 4 800 5 500

The table below documents the situation regarding apprentices for the years 1971 to 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New registrations</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Rescinded</th>
<th>Current</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 014 1 926 1 624 1 596 1 597 1 113 730 399</td>
<td>1 086 1 483 1 509 1 893 1 836 1 416 1 732 1 241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contracts:
6 366 644
6 243 5 637 5 068 4 459 3 169 2 135

Registrations for apprenticeships three years were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bloemfontein</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Durban</th>
<th>East London</th>
<th>Johannesburg</th>
<th>Kimberley</th>
<th>Kroonstad</th>
<th>Pietermaritzburg</th>
<th>Port Elizabeth</th>
<th>Pretoria</th>
<th>Welkom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 22</td>
<td>471 164</td>
<td>112 63</td>
<td>32 31</td>
<td>204 198</td>
<td>14 39</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 1 113</td>
<td>730 399</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment and Wages in Construction

The Master Builders Association's annual report for this year revealed that the June 1978 figure of 25,121 skilled workers was the lowest since 1964; the skilled labour force countrywide had declined 21% from July 1977; and the industry had lost 400 artisans a year over four years due to resignation, retirement or death as opposed to an annual intake of only 100. The report stated that delays in publishing the Wiehahn Commission's report had seriously hampered the industry's preparation for the future.'
Mr J.H. Grotsius, director of BIFSA, warned in April that if the then current upswing in building activity continued the industry could be faced with a serious shortage of artisans.40

BIFSA stated in its report that the building industry derived little direct benefit from the Wiehahn commission's report as the Black Building Workers' Act which prohibits the employment of Africans in skilled work in white areas was still in operation. Thus the industry could not effectively implement recruitment and training policies to meet its training needs for the future. Its intention to request exemption from the Act was thwarted as it failed to obtain the support of the national trade unions concerned.

Building workers in Natal were granted a 23% increase in wages from 1 May over 30 months. The industry also abolished the system of linking wage increases to the consumer price index. Employees will now get fixed wage increases at prescribed intervals rather than biannual adjustments to their wage packets based on the movement of the consumer price index. In return for the increases the industry obtained major concessions from the unions in respect of work that can be performed by assistants or operatives in mass low-cost housing schemes for Africans financed from public sector funds. Unskilled Africans working on these contracts can now be trained and employed in the laying of all clay products and in any painting jobs.141

BIFSA approached the Government for an additional R300m for housing and services for the lower income groups over and above the additional R250m allocated for low cost homes in 1977, of which R70m had already been drawn by the building industry from the banking sector.42

The first of four training centres to be erected to provide practical institutional training for apprentices was completed at Springs at a cost of R1.8m. Training at temporary centres at Cape Town, Durban and George continued.

The following numbers of African labourers and operatives were trained at the six in-service training centres over the last two years. 143

1977/78
Apex Boithusong Emthonjeni Pinetown Sebokeng Waltloo
42 578 192
511
56 195
Total 1 131 1 574

Finance

245

The following figures give the average employment and wages in the finance sectors for the quarter ending March 1979 and the percentage increases over March 1978:114

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Average Employment</th>
<th>Employment % change</th>
<th>Average Finance and Wages</th>
<th>Finance and Wages % change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numbers</td>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking</td>
<td>employed % change</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>% change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                   | Average 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numbers employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Entrepren-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eurs Wholesale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Whites</td>
<td>83 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>22 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>11 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>91 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
<td>134 400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As from the beginning of February, discrimination in wages between women and men was abolished for tellers and check clerks at Barclays and Standard Banks after negotiations between the banks and trade unions. Sex discrimination in wages still existed in the salaries of intermediate and junior grades however. The annual report for the African Bank showed that it ended the year with R6,7m in deposits and had advanced R4,2m in loans. Mr S. Motsuenyane, its chairman, stated that although the bank was still posting a loss overall it had attained a break-even point during the second half of 1978. The highlight of the bank's work was the successful flotation of Black Chain Ltd and the raising of R350 000 capital. The bank showed an unaudited group profit of R10 000 for the six months ended 30 April 1979 compared to a loss of R38 000 for the six months ended a year earlier.

The United Building Society opened its first branch in an African area-Dube, Soweto, at a cost of R150 000. The Natal Building Society announced in March that it was to build the second of a chain of NBS branches in Soweto in the light of the success of its Diepkloof branch.

**Commerce**

The tables below give the average numbers employed and average monthly wages for the wholesale, retail, hotel and motor trades for March 1979 and the percentage changes over March 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Entrepren-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eurs Wholesale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Whites</td>
<td>83 300</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>22 600</td>
<td>-9 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>11 400</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>91 400</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
<td>134 400</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whites Coloured Asians Africans
49 982 2 874 1 780 7 299 4,6 1,9 18,5 6,0 614 277 332 218 8,3 16,4 10,6 16,0
Building Societies
Whites Coloured Asians Africans
11 607 454 314 2 171 4,3 9,1 7,9 5,1 481 242 323 162 5,9 14,7 9,1 14,1
Insurance Companies
Whites Coloured Asians Africans
24 174 3 900 948 4 881 1,6 3,4 6,0 0,04 749 295 471 233 13,1 16,1 20,5 16,5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>46 900</th>
<th>0,6</th>
<th>133</th>
<th>1,4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>19 300</td>
<td>-0,5</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>3,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>162 000</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>9,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Motor Trade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>44 400</th>
<th>1,1</th>
<th>593</th>
<th>7,9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>12 000</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>7,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>4 100</td>
<td>N/C</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>8,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>49 500</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>13,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hotels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>8 500</th>
<th>1,2</th>
<th>347</th>
<th>13,2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>6800</td>
<td>-1,4</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td>2,9</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>7,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>30 700</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>11,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three trade unions—the National Union of Distributive Workers (representing white workers), the National Union of Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers (coloured and Indians) and the unregistered Commercial Catering and Allied Workers’ Union (African) submitted a memorandum to the Natal Provincial Executive Committee in August protesting against plans to extend trading hours to 10 pm from Monday to Saturday. The unions argued that the extension of trading hours would be inflationary, increase fuel consumption, lead to an increase in the crime rate and disrupt the family life of workers in the trade. It could also lead to labour abuse. It was also debatable whether the plan would reduce unemployment because many retailers employed students and schoolgirls for casual work. Furthermore public transport services would operate less frequently outside business hours and workers would experience difficulties in getting to and from work.

**African Business**

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, in answering a question in Parliament, stated that 1 562 trading licences were operative in Soweto as at 1 January 1979. The question of white expansion into African urban areas continued to be a controversial issue.

In March Dr Koornhof had talks with representatives of Edgars, OK Bazaars, Greatermans, Pick ‘n Pay and Metro Cash on ways of encouraging business in the townships without harming African traders. He informed African traders that he was not prepared to open African townships indiscriminately to white traders because this would swamp African traders. Later in the year he told the NAFCOC annual conference that his department would see that all businesses owned by the administration boards in African urban areas would be sold to African traders. There would eventually be no Government agency owning an Entrepreneur business in an African area.

African businessmen throughout the year continued to voice their opposition to any kind of ‘unequal’ white expansion in their areas.
In his presidential address to NAFCOC in July Mr Motsuenyane stated that NAFCOC would continue vehemently to oppose any movement of white companies into African areas if Africans were still barred from conducting any business in the white areas. He called on the Government and the private sector to help emerging African entrepreneurs with training and capital in order to help them establish viable and competitive enterprises before bringing competition to their doorstep.' Speaking at the conference Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, stated that the Afrikaner elite was not ready for change and that such conferences could achieve nothing as long as separate development was the policy of the land.116

African businessmen also reiterated their opposition to the development of the R21m white owned supermarket to be built in Soweto by the Township Development Corporation. (See last year's Survey p 224.) Opposition to this complex was expressed by, amongst others, the Soweto Traders' Association which at a meeting in July decided to appeal to the Government to expropriate the land involved in Klipspruit and hand it to African traders to develop.' This view was also that of Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of NAFCOC. A petition was sent to Dr Koornhof asking him to stop the project.18 In the first week of June Mr Cohen, director of the company, served two months notice on the white and African shopowners who had been running businesses on the land as the building of the complex was to commence in August.159

In September NAFCOC held talks with the Minister on the issue and it was announced that the area had been declared an African one and was part of Soweto.'6 NAFCOC stated it would investigate how the area could best be developed by African entrepreneurs. Mr Cohen stated, however, that the decision had not changed the corporation's plans to develop the area.'61

The West Rand Administration Board in October issued an official expropriation order on Mr Cohen, the Board thus becoming the official owner of the sites. The terms of compensation for Mr Cohen still had to be worked out.162

Through the influence of Mr Sam Motsuenyane an American company, Sentry, bought 65% of Permanent Life Assurance with part of the agreement being that Permanent Life shares would be made available to NAFCOC and the African community.63

In March NAFCOC turned down a proposal by the Wits Business School to take over the training of African businessmen. NAFCOC stated it would prefer the university to offer assistance to the NAFCOC training programme by assisting with lectures and facilities.16

A contract for the establishment of the Black Chain R1.5m business complex was signed between Black Chain Ltd and the African De-
consulting rooms and a small hall.1," Later in the year Mr Lesolang, director, stated that insufficient funds had been raised for the construction of the complex through the sale of shares. Furthermore, it was impossible for white financial institutions to come to its aid in raising the required R1.5m due to problems over land tenure rights and the period of leasehold. Black Chain thus resolved to use its own resources for the funding of the project.6 This problem was overcome when the Government gave an assurance that 99-year leasehold rights would be granted to Black Chain. As a result the company was able to secure building society loan finance for its Diepkloof shopping centre.67

In March the Rembrandt Group announced the establishment of the Small Business Development Corporation with a nominal capital of R1m. It was founded as a company for aspirant entrepreneurs and open to all population groups. Its purpose was to lend assistance to small businessmen-whether in the fields of commerce, industry or services-with limited financing and advice to assist in their participation in the economy. Small Business would finance entrepreneurs by means of obtaining shares in the business (acting as a partner) or by making loans available, or a combination of both. Loans would be limited to R10 000.161

In November Dr Koornhof announced details of a plan to draw Africans into the free enterprise system 'to unite them with whites against Marxist ideology'. Dr Koornhof announced that the Government had approved white/African business partnerships in which Africans would hold a 51% share; an offer by the Afrikaans industrial magnate, Dr Anton Rupert, to use his Small Business Development Corporation to establish an industrial complex in Soweto and eventually in other townships; and a white/African partnership agreement to build a large commercial business centre in Soweto. He stated that 'economic freedom of participation' by Africans would not 'in principle threaten the order of the State'. Furthermore Afrikaans business now had to accept a central role in the creation of a 'peaceful coexistence' between whites and Africans. The level of progress that could develop among Africans in a free enterprise system should be so advantageous that chaos and revolution would hold such risks that Africans would fight against it.169 African traders decided at a meeting to send a petition to Dr Koornhof protesting against this concept.70

Riekert Commission 17

The Riekert Commission as part of its brief investigated the question of businesses in African urban areas. It recommended that the allocation of sites to African individuals, partnerships in which all the partners are Africans, and companies the issued shares of which are owned exclusively by Africans, should be vested with the community councils and should not, as previously, be dependent on requirements of birth, employment or residence in a prescribed area.

Furthermore community councils should make recommendations on the admission of whites, coloured people and Indians to trade in urban African residential areas on a permit basis, and on the creation of delimited free trade areas in African residential areas. It recommended that employment in urban
African residential areas should not be restricted to Africans only. The issue of trading licences in urban African residential areas should be placed on the same basis as that in group areas for other population groups, while the restrictions on the acquisition of more than one site should be removed, as well as the provision that a trader should personally exercise supervision over his business.

The White Paper pointed out that certain recommendations had already been accepted. Regarding the opening up of African residential areas to traders of other groups it accepted the Commission's view that the capital, expertise and initiative of non-Africans would have to be involved in the development of business centres in these areas, but felt that, given the opposition of African businessmen to this, such participation should be regulated to the satisfaction of organised African business and the community councils.

'Illegal' traders

During the year various administration boards and other authorities throughout the country acted against 'illegal' hawkers. In February WRAB officials harassed and arrested at least 30 hawkers in Soweto, holding that they had received complaints from shopkeepers that unlicensed vendors were undercutting their prices, and from the Johannesburg City Health Department about the standards of the produce sold. In further raids in March more hawkers were arrested and their goods confiscated or set alight.

Raid against hawkers were also conducted in Johannesburg by the Traffic Department. In March nearly 200 hawkers were arrested and fined between R30 and R100 and their goods confiscated. Some of the confiscated merchandise was auctioned, the rest destroyed. After the opening of the new Johannesburg Stock Exchange in April, shopkeepers in the area were forbidden to display their wares on the pavement. Warning tickets were issued to traders.

Protests to WRAB over the arrests were made by Soweto councillor Martha Taylor resulting in negotiations by Mr Malan of WRAB with the Johannesburg Department of Health. Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council, held a meeting of representatives of the Soweto Traders' Association, street vendors and councillors from the various wards to discuss the matter. In May Mr Thebehali proposed that a commission of inquiry be appointed to investigate ways and means of helping street hawkers and vendors. The transportation committee investigated the possibility of giving hawkers permanent sites near Diagonal Street but in August stated this was not feasible as the pavements were too narrow. Furthermore, because there was heavy traffic in Diagonal Street, it could not be closed off.

Raid were also conducted in the Vaal Triangle, in Mdantsane and King William's Town.

In March Bophuthatswana police moved against street vendors in Winterveldt and Mabopane and confiscated and burnt merchandise.

African Entrepreneurs

Employment and Wages in Public Service
worth hundreds of rand. Major S.J. Mototsi, Bophuthatswana's deputy Commissioner of Police, stated that the blitz was prompted by an antilitter campaign directive from the Department of Health."8

Public Authorities
Central Government

The average numbers employed and average wages in the central government for all race groups for June 1979 and percentage changes over June 1978 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Average wages</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>128813</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>R514</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>57933</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>11106</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>116717</td>
<td>-8.1</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Police gave the following figures relating to the numbers per race group who enlisted in the police force in 1978 and the numbers who terminated their service:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
<th>Service terminated due to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resignation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>2349</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answering a question in Parliament the Minister provided the following information on the number of police reservists on active service in each province as at 31 December 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>6381</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal OFS</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>3470</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numbers in each race group joined the police force and purchased their discharge from it during 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2164</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of vacancies existing in the force as at May 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured/Indians</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2176</td>
<td>47 68</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>1 654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Police gave the following details concerning pay scales for the different ranks in the police force per race group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Wages in Public Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Constable: R2 100 x 180-3 900 x 210-5 160</td>
<td>Sergeant: R3 540 x 180-3 900 x 210-6 000 x 300-6 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warrant Officer: R4 350 x 210-6 000 x 300-7 200</td>
<td>Lieutenant: R6 000 x 300-7 800 x 420-9 060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Captain: R7 200 x 300-7 800 x 420-10 320</td>
<td>Major: R8 640 x 420-11 580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sergeant: R10 320 x 420-12 000 x 600-13 200</td>
<td>Colonel: R12 600 x 600-16 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warrant Officer: R14 320 x 210-6 000 x 300-7 500</td>
<td>Lieutenant: R5 160 x 300-7 800 x 420-8 640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Captain: R16 000 x 300-7 800 x 420-9 060</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coloured/Indians:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Wages in Public Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constable: R1 842 x 114-2 070 x 150-2 820 x 180-3 900 x 210-4 320</td>
<td>Sergeant: R3 000 x 180-3 900 x 210-5 790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrant Officer: R3 720-3 900 x 210-6 000-6 300</td>
<td>Lieutenant: R5 160 x 210-6 000 x 300-7 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain: R6 300 x 300-7 800 x 420-8 640</td>
<td>Major: R8 640 x 420-11 580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Africans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Wages in Public Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constable: R1 272 x 114-2 070 x 150-2 820 x 180-3 900 x 210-4 740</td>
<td>Sergeant: R2 220 x 150-2 820 x 180-3 900 x 210-5 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrant Officer: R3 000 x 180-3 900 x 210-5 160</td>
<td>Lieutenant: R4 320 x 210-6 000 x 300-7 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain: R5 160 x 300-7 800 x 420-8 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In April policemen received a 10% increase in wages. Salaries for national servicemen were raised from R45 a month to about R100 a month as from 1 April.181

The Prime Minister announced in the Assembly that the Civil Service Commission had set aside R257m for salary improvements and allowances for the various departments under its control this year.186

He stated further that plans were under way gradually to narrow the wage gap between white and black staff members in the management levels of the civil service as from 1 April. It was estimated that more than 400 staff members would be placed on full parity while a further 1 300 members would move closer to parity. An amount of R3,5m had been made available for this. Positions affected included posts such as first medical officer, professor, specialist, medical officer, inspector of education, and certain school principals who were in possession of higher qualifications.87

Answering a question in parliament, the Minister of the Interior and Immigration stated that there was no discrimination based on race or sex in respect of training in the Public Service, nor regarding any post for which a person might qualify.
Public servants were members of pension funds falling under the Minister of Social Welfare and Pen-

sions. He stated that a medical aid scheme for coloured people and Indians was in operation and was subsidised by the State on the same basis as that for whites. During the previous five years measures had been introduced to eliminate differences between population groups as far as leave privileges were concerned and since 1975 coloured and Indian employees had participated in the subsidy scheme in respect of housing loans.

As part of a new strategy to create a more efficient public service the Prime Minister brought in a number of business executives to key posts in the public service. They were Mr J. Maree, executive director of Barlow Rand; Mr D. Goss, chief executive of SA Breweries; Dr J.H. van der Horst, chairman of Old Mutual, and Mr W.J. de Villiers, chairman of General Mining.'88

In November the Prime Minister outlined details for the rationalising of the public service. He stated that Government departments would be reduced from 39 to 22 and these would fall under 18 ministries. The new structure would be as follows:

Under the Prime Minister:
Office of the Prime Minister: this would co-ordinate activities in all sectors
Office of the Commission for Administration-this would control the public service
Directorate of National Security

Under the Minister of Finance:
Department of Finance
Office of the Auditor General

Under the Minister of Transport Affairs:
Department of Transport
SA Railways and Harbours
Other Departments:
Foreign Affairs and Information
Industries, Trade and Tourism
Agriculture and Fisheries
Water Affairs, Forestry and Environmental Conservation
Post and Telecommunications (including SABC)
Internal and Constitutional Affairs (formerly separate Departments of Interior, Coloured Relations and Indian Affairs)
Justice and Prisons
Co-operation, Development and Education (Africans)
SA Police
SA Defence Force
Manpower Utilisation
National Education (including Sport)
Community Development and Government Auxiliary Services
Health, Welfare and Pensions
Mineral and Energy Affairs
The Prime Minister stated that with 12 000 vacancies in the civil service no person would lose her/his job. The posts of heads of departments would probably be upgraded, some of the existing departmental secretaries would retire and their positions would fall away; others would be incorporated into the proposed new departments.18°

Provincial authorities 253
The numbers employed and average wage rates for all races in the Provincial administration for June 1979 and percentage changes over June 1978 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Average Wages</th>
<th>Public Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>% change</td>
<td>% change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>123 193</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>502 1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>23 716</td>
<td>4,2</td>
<td>176 16,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>4 024</td>
<td>4,6</td>
<td>351 15,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>91138</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>120 15,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local Authorities
The average numbers employed and average wages per race group for local authorities for June 1979 and the percentage change over June 1978 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>57200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>25 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>5600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>135 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In July the Johannesburg City Council retrenched 42 African artisans, claiming that the Black Building Workers' Act stipulated that African men might not be employed in white and coloured areas and the council no longer had any work for the men. They had been working in coloured and Indian areas. The artisans, all qualified, had been employed in the City Engineer's Department for 15 years or more. Mrs Janet Levine, PFP, said that legal advice showed that there was no clarity as to whether they definitely fell under the prohibitive clauses of the Act, and condemned the action as pre-emptive, ill-judged and unjust.19 The men were later employed by the Department as labourers.191

Opening the annual conference of the Transvaal Municipal Associations Mr Schlebusch, Minister of the Interior, called for greater co-ordination through the public service in the recruitment, training, pay and conditions of service of the public sector, including municipal workers. The TMA's deputy chairman stated that local authorities risked the loss of their independence if they relinquished control over their staff.m92
More than 200 Indian and coloured workers were affected in February when the Pietermaritzburg City Council introduced equal pay for equal work in municipal departments following a decision taken in December. The introduction of equal pay for equal work would cost the council an extra R64 000 a year. The new scale applied only to salaried employees and not to weekly wage earners.

In April the Pietermaritzburg City Council decided to increase all staff salaries and wages and all municipal pensions by an average of 8% as from 1 May 1979. The increase for the City Council's 4 000 em-

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Employment and Wages in Public Service: SAR & H
ployee would cost the council over R1 029 000 in the next financial year. 195 More than 1 500 members of the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association rejected a City Council pay increase on 3 March. It comprised a rise of 5% to 8% from 1 April and a further rise from 1 October. Employees had asked for a 17.5% average rise retrospective to 1 January. 196

The executive committee of the Cape Town City Council ordered an investigation into the wages and conditions of employment of municipal watchmen. This resulted from a Cape Times report that municipal watchmen were working 14-hour shifts six days a week for R37.59 a week. 197

About R10m was set aside in the Johannesburg City Council's budget to provide for a 10% increase in council employees' salaries. The chairman of the council, Mr Oberholzer, stated that a review of council salaries had become essential because of the rise in the cost of living and because of competition with salaries offered in the public sector. Salaries were increased by two notches on 1 July and by a further notch on 1 January 1980. 198

Mr Oberholzer stated in November that the pay gap between whites and blacks in comparable posts would probably be eliminated in June 1980. At present blacks were earning about 15% less than whites for comparable work. 199

African employees at the Vanderbijlpark Municipality received a 4% pay rise on 1 April. 200

The East London City Council stated that holiday bonuses for African municipal staff were to be calculated on the same basis as for whites from February. Equal pay for equal work was achieved for all staff on the East London Municipality. As from 1 January all staff from grade F upwards would receive the same fringe benefits. 21

Railways, Harbours and Airways Administration

The total number of employees per race group employed by the SA Railways, Harbours and Airways as at March 1979 and the percentage change over March 1978 was as follows: 202

Whites Coloured Asians Africans
Average numbers employed
114312 24 463
1 833 124 365
% change
-2.3 -1.7 -3.7
The Minister of Transport gave the following figures regarding the numbers of Africans (a) with residential qualifications and (b) who were contract workers employed by the Railways and Harbours Administration in the Cape Peninsula for the years given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total 1</th>
<th>Total 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>3880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>1626</td>
<td>2607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td>2212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was stated in Parliament that more than 20 000 posts previously held by whites were filled by Africans in 1977, 7 200 of them on a temporary basis.

The average wages for March 1979 and the percentage changes Employment over March 1978 for all race groups on the SA Railways and Harbours and Wages in are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Average Wage</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Transport announced in the Assembly a wage increase of 12.5% for coloured people and Indians, 10% for whites and 15% for Africans, as from 1 April.

Mr Muller also announced that a manpower section had been created as from 1 January with the task of identifying potential, developing managerial skills, and providing higher level training amongst SAR employees.

In March an arbitration board turned down a 15% wage increase claimed by railway footplatemen, granting them instead a 10% increase in line with rises for other railwaymen.

The Footplate Staff Association general secretary stated his members were lagging 35% behind rises in the Consumer Price Index. He later announced that the Association, which represented 9 500 drivers and firemen, would refer its rejected pay claim to the Supreme Court. He said it would be contended that the rejection of the Association's claim by the arbitration commission was based on considerations which were irrelevant to the claim. The Association originally claimed 20% at the end of 1977, since when two separate increases of 5% and 10% had been granted. In October, all seven of the Railway unions had lodged pay demands of more than 15% with the Minister of Transport.

Railway artisans decided at the annual conference of the Artisan Staff Association that job reservation no longer served a useful purpose and that the white worker must protect himself by becoming more skilled. Furthermore, workers should be protected by the collective efforts of trade unions and not by discriminatory laws.
The Minister of Transport announced increases in pensions of 10% for ordinary pensioners and of 20/o for widow pensioners who qualified for pensions before 1 December 1973, and 10/o for widow pensioners who qualified between 2 December 1973 and 30 November 1977. The move was welcomed by Mr Brian Currie, Chairman of the Federal Consultative Council of Railways Staff Associations.209

He stated that a total amount of R3 623 014 per month was paid to 15 099 railways pensioners who retired before 1973.210

Mr V.A. Volker (NP) called on the Government during the debate to house African railway workers with their families instead of in single quarters as was Government policy. He stated hostels for African railway workers costing about R50m were to be established in the KwaZulu region at Umlazi and Pietermaritzburg. He said the hostel

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Employment and Wages in Public Service: Posts and Telegraphs

schemes could be converted into family housing schemes at a lesser CoSt.211

In support of his argument he estimated that per capita costs for hostels would be more than R7 600 while the costs for building family houses was R5 000 per house. It would therefore be possible to build family houses for 3 700 persons at a cost of R18.5m. He advocated that a large percentage of the budget should be spent on such family housing. The Minister asked Mr Volker not to pursue the matter, saying it was being investigated.212

Mr Muller stated that Soweto trains would get 66 more coaches this year in the biggest passenger expansion programme in the country. It would enable 22 000 extra passengers to use the train service during peak periods."3

In March African train drivers took over services in Transkei.214

SA and Maputo signed an agreement in February providing for Mocambican and SA Railway authorities to assist each other with professional advice, labour and materials; the recognition of the importance of the harbours of Maputo and Matola; and hire charges for rolling stock and equipment while on the lines of the other administration. SA exports daily more than 15 000 tons of goods through Moambique.15 SA has eight officials stationed in Maputo and the Frelimo government has a permanent representative in Johannesburg.

The Minister of Transport stated that 24 877 coloured people, 1 904 Indians and 124 254 Africans were entitled to benefits from the Railways and Harbours Sick Fund. A total of 151 574 members and 225 582 dependants were registered in respect of the Fund in 1977-78.216

Twelve black ground hostesses submitted a memorandum of grievances to the SA Airways in which they claimed they were paid less than their white colleagues although some of them had higher education, that they did not have medical or pension benefits as did whites, that their annual bonuses were less and they had limited promotion possibilities. SA Airways stated it would investigate the matter.27

Posts and Telegraphs
The average number of employees per race group in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and their average monthly wages as at March 1979 and percentage changes over March 1978 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>45 576</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>R 472 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>7 161</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>R 288 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>1165</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>R 288 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>21 042</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>R 288 128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications stated that the number of postmen employed was 1 971 whites, 896 coloured, 349 Indians and 975 Africans. In 1978, 7 713 officials resigned, which is 3 000 less than in the previous year. The post office's staffing complement was 26 440.

It was stated in Parliament that the introduction of mechanised sorting in three main post offices had effected a saving of 989 447 manhours.

The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications gave the following information regarding the number of telecommunication technicians employed and their salaries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Starting Salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>R 960 plus R 468 personal pensionable allowance pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>R 267 plus R 645 personal pensionable allowance pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>R 2475 plus R 621 personal pensionable allowance pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister announced wage increases of 10% for whites, 12.5% for Africans and coloured people and 15% for Indians as from 1 April.

Mr Widman (PFP) stated that the wage gap was still in the ratio of 100%/871% and called for it to be closed. He stated that it would cost R2.9m to close the gap created by 4 464 African officials being paid an average of R50 less than their white counterparts doing the same work.

Mr R.B. Miller asked the Minister to investigate why more than 80% of African workers were earning less than R175 per month, with many of them earning below R140 per month.

Introducing the Post Office budget the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications stated that operating expenditure for the coming financial year would be R808m, about R103m higher than for 1978/79. This arose mainly from the growth of the
telecommunication system, salary adjustments from 1 April and the expected cost escalation on material, stores and transport. He further stated that the Post Office was systematically narrowing the wage gap between the different population groups and this had already been achieved in SWA, Caprivi and Walvis Bay. Medical aid schemes which were subsidised by the Post Office on the basis of R1.50 for every rand contributed by members were available to white, coloured and Indian employees. The establishment of a scheme for Africans was being investigated by the Department of Co-operation and Development. There was parity between the population groups and the sexes for participation in the 100% housing loan scheme. Since the introduction of the 99-year leasehold scheme it would be possible to assist more African officials to obtain housing. Differences which existed in the basis for the calculation of overtime had also been eliminated. He stated further that future plans envisaged the participation of Africans in the housing subsidy scheme enjoyed by other population groups; admission of temporary Africans to a pension fund after two instead of five years’ service; and equalisation of remuneration for staff groups as wage gaps were gradually phased out.

Opening the congress of the Post and Telegraphs Association in April the Postmaster General, Mr Louis Rive, stated that it was Government policy that the post office, public service and railways should maintain relative uniformity on starting salaries for certain key groups.

Employment and Wages in Public Service: Posts and Telegraphs

The post office had three options: parity with the public service; parity with the railways; or a distinctive salary and posts structure compatible with the requirements of the post office but within the Government’s guidelines. Speaking at the same congress the President, Mr B.G. Blume, stated that salaries in the Post Office had fallen 39% behind the cost of living since 1974. In Parliament, Mrs H. Suzman (PFP) welcomed the introduction of an automatic exchange telephone service in Soweto, mentioning that the number of private telephones had increased from 985 in 1975 to 1171 in 1976, and to 6 000 in 1979 with the proposed number for 1981 being 14 000.

Other Dental technicians

The jobs of more than 500 'unqualified' black dental technicians throughout the country were placed in jeopardy by the passing of the Dental Technicians Act. Section 28 stated that dental laboratories may employ an unregistered person as a dental laboratory assistant provided the person does not operate an articulator or cast plaster models for crown and bridge work. These two trades had been
reserved for whites for the past 33 years but the reservation had been honoured in
the breach. Now the ruling would be enforced under Section 28. The three main
factories dealing with dentures stated that there were no courses for blacks to train
them in the work.229

Night watchmen

In March the Minister of Labour agreed to a request of the National Union of
Security Officers for a wage board investigation into the wages and conditions of
employment of night watchmen. The secretary of the union, Mr Hercules Munro,
stated that the watchmen were working under bad conditions—twelve hour
shifts, six or seven days a week, and were paid the minimum laid down by the
Wage Act which was R24.92 a week or R108 per month. The union demanded a
48-hour week with Sundays and public holidays paid double time. The minimum
wage should be R1 an hour.30

The Natal Association of Security Guards requested the Department of Labour to
investigate the conditions of African security guards in the Durban area. About 25
% of firms were reported as not belonging to the association and as paying rates
lower than those prescribed. The Association itself was paying only R108 a
month for an 84-hour week, although this complied with legislated minimum
rates.23

University Workers

In June more than 600 workers at the University of Cape Town threatened to stop
working unless university authorities agreed to raise their wages to R200 per
month. They demanded that the wages of all workers be raised to cover the rise in
prices since the last wage increase; that all further negotiations should include
residence and refectory workers who were not directly employed by the
university; and that all the demands be immediately implemented. The
University's ad-

ministration agreed in principle to the wage demands, but they still had 259 to be
approved by the University's council.232

Workmen's Compensation

Employment

The Minister of Labour stated that 194 711 industrial accidents oc-
curred during the year ended 31 December 1978, and a total of R32 608 815 was
paid out in respect of such accidents. The total period that injured persons were
off work as a result of such accidents amounted to 2 494 640 days.233

An amount of approximately R4,2m owing to 212 000 injured workers remained
unclaimed as these persons could not be traced.34

Employment and Training Act

The Riekert Commission proposed that there should be one Act which would
regulate employment matters. It recommended that the Act should contain no
provisions which discriminated on the grounds of race and should include the
relevant provisions of the following Acts which in their present form should
disappear from the Statute book:
1 Black Labour Act 1964
2 Chapter IV of the Development Trust and Land Act 1936
3 Black Employees' In-Service Training Act 1971
4 Apprenticeship Act 1944
5 Training of Artisans Act 1951, and
6 Registration for Employment Act 1945
It should comprise various chapters that deal with related matters. A possible division could be as follows:
Chapter 1 - Definitions
Chapter 2 - Manpower planning, research and advice. (Provision should be made in this chapter for the establishment of a National Coordinating Council for Manpower Matters and for the constitution and functions of the Council according to the specific recommendations in this connection contained in the Commission's report.)
Chapter 3 - Employment matters. Provision should be made for, inter alia, the establishment of labour bureaux, the definition of the functions of labour bureaux, the registration requirements applicable to employers and employees, recruiting procedures, etc. It should also be stipulated that no employment may take place without the authorisation of a labour bureau, which authorisation may be given only on the grounds of a firm offer of employment, the non-availability of local labour and the availability of approved accommodation.
Chapter 4 - Training of apprentices
Chapter 5 - Training of adult artisans
Chapter 6 - General in-service training
The proposed Act should be administered by a single department, the Department of Labour, in respect of all population groups, and the Department should use administration boards as agents as necessary.
The Act should be drawn up and constantly revised by a standing technical committee on labour legislation which has headquarters in the Department of Labour and on which experts from the private and public sectors serve.

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Employment and Training
References
Taken from various Statistical releases, Department of Statistics
Ibid pp 18, 19
Rand Daily Mail 8 March
Ibid 24 March
6 Ibid 5 April Star 3 July
Sunday Times Extra 18 November
Jill Nattras, 'The Economics of Rising Expectations', Paper to SA Institute of Race Relations
50th Anniversary Conference, 1979
The data refer only to the Republic of South Africa (including the Black states) and the Republics of Transkei and Bophuthatswana. The utilisation of labour was determined on the basis of a growth rate of 2.2 per cent per annum in the GDP per worker. As a result of the low rate of growth in 1976 and 1977, and probably after that too, it is expected that this productivity will not be realised and consequently the demand for labour for any realised growth rate will be higher.

32 Including 30 000 immigrants per annum net 53 Endogenous White population

14 Manpower, Survey of Employment Prospects, October, November, December 1979 23 Debates of the Standing Committee on Appropriation Bill: Vote No 6, Labour, col III 36 Star 26 April

Information supplied by the Department of Statistics 9' Daily Dispatch 8
December 9' Information supplied by the National Industrial Council for the
Automobile Manufacturing Industry 16 Post 16 January '7 Rand Daily Mail 19
January 7' Post 12 March Citizen 7 June
Cape Times 21 June " Post 20 June 52 Sunday Tribune 24 June
Star 12 July
Rand Daily Mail 13 July s Star 18 June ' Ibid 19 July 9' Ibid 5 December'
Information supplied by the Department of Statistics Post 17 March Daily
Dispatch 5 May 9' Hansard 14 Q col 886 92 Riekert Commission Report p 232 9'
Ibid p 276 Hansard 3 Q col 152 9s Ibid 9 Q col 680 16 Riekert Commission
Report pp 226-233 17 Ibid p 229
* Unless otherwise stated information on the CDC was taken from the annual
report of
the Coloured Development Corporation, 1977/78
* Hansard 8 Q col 546 "@ Financial Mail 11 May 9" Post 21 February '9' Eastern
Province Herald 5 April " Star 1 May 19 Post 13 June 1's Ibid 15 July 9' Hansard
5 Q col 375 '9 Natal Witness 10 August '9 Rand Daily Mail 6 September "
"' Ibid p 184 1,2 Ibid p 186 113 Ibid
', ' Rand Daily Mail 24 February '" Star 27 March '9 Eastern Province Herald 19
July '" Riekert Commission Report p 226 and Government Notice R269 of 9
November '" Mining Statistics Report, Department of Mines 1978, RP 74/1979 ",
Information supplied on request by Chamber of Mines
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:20 Rand Daily Mail 7 September 121 Mining Statistics, op cit 122 Information
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19 April 125 Rand Daily Mail 1 May 226 Star 7 June ,27 Financial Mail 22 June
226 Rand Daily Mail 20 July 229 Financial Mail 12 October 3I Citizen 1 July 131
Rand Daily Mail 27 March 232 Star 12 April 133 Debates of the Standing
Committee of Appropriation Bill, Vote No 6, Labour, col 68 134 Rand Daily Mail
13 March 13 Government Gazette 6612 Notice 615, 10 August 1979 136
Financial Mail 20 July '3' Rand Daily Mail 7 November 13 BIFSA annual report
1978 139 Rand Daily Mail 8 February Ibid 24 April 141 Natal Mercury 15 May
242 Star 30 March 143 BIFSA annual report 1978 p 61 14 Department of
1979 147 Post 29 June ,48 African Business March 1979 ,41 Financial Mail 9
March ,10 Department of Statistics News Release p 84 September 1979 131 Daily
News 18 August 152 Hansard 2 Q col 58
Sunday Times 18 March 114 Citizen 9 February 15 Rand Daily Mail 5 July 156
Star 5 July '5 Rand Daily Mail 2 July '5 Post 23 July '19 Ibid 1 June 16 Ibid 7
September 1,1 Rand Daily Mail 15 September 162 Financial Mail 2 November
163 Sunday Times 18 February 164 Rand Daily Mail 3 March 165 Ibid 9 March
Black Trade Unions

The number of African trade unions and bodies to which they are affiliated is given below:

Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) Chemical Workers' Industrial Union Metal and Allied Workers' Union National Union of Textile Workers Transport and General Workers' Union United Automobile, Rubber and Allied Workers' Union Sweet, Food, and Allied Workers' Union Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union Engineering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (Springs Branch) National Union of Motor Assembly Workers (coloured) Glass and Allied Workers' Union Eastern Province Sweet, Food, and Allied Workers' Union (coloured) Western Province Motor Assembly Workers' Union (coloured) Chemical and General Workers' Union (coloured) Jeweller and Goldsmiths' Union (coloured and White)

Consultative Committee (CC)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Urban Training Project unions</th>
<th>Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union</th>
<th>Union of SA</th>
<th>National Union of Clothing Workers of SA</th>
<th>Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal)</th>
<th>Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA)</th>
<th>African Leather Workers' Union (Transvaal)</th>
<th>African Tobacco Workers' Union</th>
<th>African Trunk and Box Workers' Welfare Fund</th>
<th>African Transport Workers' Union</th>
<th>National Union of Clothing Workers of SA</th>
<th>SA Bank Employees' Union</th>
<th>Tobacco Workers' Union of African Women</th>
<th>Urban Training Project (Johannesburg)</th>
<th>Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union</th>
<th>Engineering and Allied Workers' Union</th>
<th>Laundry, Dry-cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| SA Chemical Workers' Union       |                                           | Unaffiliated unions | Trade                          | African Garment Workers' Benefit Fund (Natal) | African Leather Workers' Benefit Fund (PE) | Black Allied Workers' Union Bodies | African Food and Canning Workers' Union | Western Province General Workers' Union | TUCSA                           | Opening TUCSA's annual conference Mr R. Webb, the organisation's president, stated that 'apartheid could not be dead' while total equality was 'bedevilled by a statute book bristling with racial, discriminatory provisions which are an affront to human dignity'. He congratulated the Wiehahn Commission on a 'job well done' and described the legislation arising from it as 'a significantly progressive step in extending legitimate trade union rights to certain black workers'. He appealed to the Minister of Manpower Utilisation to give urgent attention to the contradiction presented by the exclusion of migrants and commuters, and the retention of the status quo regarding mixed trade unions. 
The conference made a unanimous call on the Government for the urgent creation of a joint body of employers, trade unions and the Government to investigate the 'critically high' unemployment situation. The council also forecast possible unrest in the fields of labour, politics and society at large if the crisis situation arising from spiralling food prices was not corrected. It called on the Government for the immediate abolition or reduction of the general sales tax on food, or effective subsidisation. It also called for an investigation into agricultural control boards-known for raising prices of foods which showed surpluses. It urged the Government to investigate the allegedly excessive profits of oil companies. 
After intense debate the conference asked its national executive committee to investigate the white Mineworkers' Union's wildcat strike and conditions for Africans in the mining industry. Mr Alan Fine of the Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Trades Union stated that there was no justification for the Chamber to pay low wages (R58.46 starting wage for surface workers, and R86.77 for underground workers) in view of the present gold boom. |
Speaking at the conference Mr A. Grobbelaar, general secretary of TUCSA, stated that there was little chance of SA being readmitted to the ILO while its labour legislation remained inferior to international standards.

A motion calling on TUCSA to condemn the actions of the Fattis and Monis and Eveready managements for dismissing striking workers and calling for full moral and financial support for the workers and their unions was narrowly defeated after a recount of votes. The motion, introduced by Mr Morris Kagan of the WWR Liquor and Catering Union, was opposed by Ms Christine du Preez of the National Union of Cigarette and Tobacco Workers who stated that the Food and Canning Workers' Union involved in the Fattis and Monis dispute had 'political inclinations'.

266 Confederation of Labour
In May the Confederation of Labour was involved in a series of talks with the Minister of Labour over the Wiehahn Commission's ReTrade port, totally rejecting at the first meeting the majority recommendations. At a second meeting draft legislation was made available to the Confederation. The organisation's executive voted by 13 votes to 11 to accept the proposals with reservations. The outcome of the vote precipitated a crisis at a third meeting with the Minister, with Mr Arrie Paulus, general secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, Mr Gert Beetge, secretary of the Blanke Bouwerkers Vakbond and Mr J.F. Kidson, secretary of the Transvaal Transport Workers' Union, walking out.

As a sequel to this the MWU's nineteen-man executive decided to terminate membership of the confederation. Mr Paulus called on all alienated unions to join forces with the MWU in a new organisation. It later rejoined the Confederation.

Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU)
The Federation of SA Trade Unions was formally constituted in April and initially comprised twelve unions representing some 45,000 workers. Eight were unregistered unions for African workers and four for coloured workers of which three were registered and one unregistered.

The Federation is a non-racial body with a national congress, central committee and executive committee. Regional councils are to be established in the Transvaal, Natal and Eastern Cape with a council in the Western Cape at a later stage. The Federation would also encourage affiliates to set up local offices. No official of the Federation or its affiliates would be eligible for any positions as elected office bearers.

Officials attending meetings would have speaking rights but no voting rights. All financial donations would be pooled and allocated by the Federation on the basis of agreed budgetary estimates.

FOSATU's aims as set out in the constitution were to "secure social justice for all workers" strive to build a united labour movement independent of race, colour, creed or sex

* bring together all splinter groups, craft unions and small unions into broadly based industrial unions " secure decent standards of living, social security, and
fair conditions of work for all members of affiliated unions and the working class as a whole
"comment on, advance or oppose any policy of any authority or institution affecting worker interests generally and the interests of the labour movement in particular. It rejected being influenced or dominated by foreign organisations or governments and promised to be guided by the interests of SA workers only; it also rejected all party political alignment or support and pledged itself to resist any attempts by a party political organisation to control FOSATU.

Association of SA Black Trade Unions (SABLATU) 267

Plans proceeded for the establishment of a second African trade union body-the Association of SA Black Trade Unions (SABLATU) which would replace the Consultative Committee and include a num-

Trade ber of other unions as well. It was felt, inter alia that the Consultative Unions Committee was too loose a grouping to offer effective leadership.

Workers' Service and Educational Organisations

The organisations that continued to provide services to workers during the year were the Industrial Aid Society (Johannesburg); and the Urban Training Project (Johannesburg); (for further details of the nature of their activities see Survey 1978 p 290 and 1979 p 243). The Institute for Industrial Education (IIE) (Durban) closed down with the formation of FOSATU.

Companies' attitudes to African Union Rights

A number of disputes over union recognition took place this year. Toyota Marketing refused to meet the Metal and Allied Workers' Union which stated that dissatisfaction with the liaison committee had led to 125 of the 200 African workers joining the union. The firm dismissed two men on the grounds that they had refused to work. The men, both shop stewards, claimed they were called off their jobs and dismissed. A further dispute occurred in October when Toyota Marketing dismissed all its African workers following unrest when four workers were asked to sign forms acknowledging that they were not meeting their production targets. Eventually all except 23 workers were rehired. MAWU held that the 23 were not rehired because of their union activities, and threatened to charge Toyota with victimisation. Toyota's managing director rejected this claim.

The dispute between MAWU and the British firm Glacier Bearings continued (see last year's Survey) with the union accusing management of using delaying tactics and making unreasonable demands after the union had submitted its constitution to Glacier's lawyers in 1978.

Approaches by the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union to Revertex for recognition were unsuccessful with the company stating it would wait for the Wiehahn Commission's Report.9 Later in the year the union sent the Revertex firm a lawyer's letter asking for certain improvements to be made in safety precautions at the plant, believing that they did not meet the requirements of the Factories Act. Management responded by making certain changes although a spokesman for the company denied that safety conditions were inadequate before receipt of the union's letter.
Various attempts were made by white unions to organise African workers both
before and after the Wiehahn Commission's report. In March Ted Frazer, general
secretary of the registered Brewery Employees' Union, addressed Intercontinental
Breweries' workers and urged them to join the unregistered non-racial union his
union was organising. Workers opposed this, indicating that they were against a
takeover by whites. ICB, however, stated it would be prepared to recognise
Frazer's union rather than the unregistered Sweet, Food and Allied Workers'
Union to which many workers at ICB belonged.

268 In April the Metal and Allied Workers' Union claimed that Williams
Brothers on the East Rand was victimising its workers who were members of the
union. The union alleged that management refused to Trade recognize the
union which had a 60% membership at the plant. The
Unions company dismissed five workers, all of them shop stewards of the
union, during the first half of the year.
Problems with union recognition also occurred at Forbo Krommene, which
refused to deal with the unregistered Transport and General Workers' Union and
later stated it would establish a plant-level works' committee which would be
recognised for bargaining purposes.
An out of court settlement was reached in October between Transkeian contract
workers and Dura Construction with the company agreeing to pay the workers
R12 500 in back pay together with R2 600 interest and legal costs. The workers
alleged that Dura had recruited them in Transkei at a pay rate of 77c per hour but
had sent them to a construction site at Atlantis where they were paid only 57.3c.
The case for the workers was supported by the Western Province General
Workers' Union.
In August an affiliate of FOSATU, the Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union,
won recognition from the Reef-based company Kelloggs (SA). The agreement,
signed after prolonged negotiations, was the second of its kind in the country.
According to the agreement the company recognised the right of the union to
represent its members, negotiate on their behalf, and work for improved
conditions of employment. The company also recognised the right of shop
stewards to
represent union members and negotiate on their behalf.
BMW(SA) criticised West Germany's biggest trade union, IG Metal, for accusing
it of 'stubbornly' refusing to recognise African unions. A BMW spokesman stated
the firm was not against African union activities on their premises but union
organisers had to prove
first that they had the support of all the African staff.
SEIFSA sent the following guidelines on union recognition to its members in
November:
"companies should not recognise African or mixed unions until they had
achieved full registration and were admitted as members of the three industrial
councils for the industry;
* no in-house bargaining with any unions on matters falling within the scope of
parties to the industrial council;
* no active assistance for trade union organisation;
* no access to company premises for recruiting by trade union representatives 'allegedly catering for African workers'; "continuation of in-plant committees to cater for communication at company level. It stated that stop-order facilities for membership dues for unregistered unions might not be granted in terms of industrial agreements.

Mr Ike van der Watt, general secretary of the Boilermakers' Society, said it appeared that SEIFSA was doing everything it could to prevent or delay the unionisation of Africans.6

White and Black Trade Union Affairs
Black unions
The Diamond Cutters' Union for coloured and Indian operators in the diamond trade which was formed in 1978 was formally registered this year.7

There were reports that a dissident faction of the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) expelled Mr Drake Koka, general secretary, and other office bearers of the union. The dissidents decided to change the name of the union to the South African Allied Workers' Union.8

A trade union for blind workers was formed in Umlazi in July and affiliated to the SA Allied Workers' Union. The majority of its founder members were employed at Eduduzweni Black Blind Institute in Umlazi.9

The SA Co-ordinating Council of the 13.5m-strong International Metalworkers' Federation was reconstituted in July after having collapsed last November following a walkout of black delegates. A visit by IMF's assistant general secretary, Dr Werner Thoennessen, in January facilitated its reconstitution.20

The Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union established a Natal branch. This led to protests by Mr A.C. Reddy, general secretary of the Natal Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union, who was planning to organise an African 'parallel' union in licensed hotels in Natal.

A new African union, the SA General Building Workers' Union, is to be formed in the Cape under Mr M. Arendse, a former artisan in the building industry. An unregistered union for Africans in the building industry, the Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union, is already in existence.21

In August a new trade union for coloured workers in the mines and related industries, the Federated Mining, Explosives and Chemical Employees' Union, applied for Government registration.22

The SA Boilermakers' Society decided in September to organise a parallel union for Africans in the steel and engineering industry if this seemed desirable following discussions with independent registered unions.

A new trade union, the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union of SA, was formed out of the old Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, which split in November 1977 with one section later affiliating to FOSATU.23

In October in an out of court settlement the state agreed to pay R21 359 to nineteen African workers and a banned trade unionist, Mr Gavin Andersson, who were injured during a police baton charge outside the Heinemann Electric factory.
in Elandsfontein in 1976. The State also agreed to pay legal costs believed to be in
the region of R10 000. 4
Conflict broke out between the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), an
unregistered African union affiliated to FOSATU, and the Textile Workers' Union
(TWU)-an affiliate of the Indian and coloured Textile Workers' Industrial Union
(TWIU)-over recruitment of members. NUTW accused the TWU, a Transvaal-
based union, of poaching on its territory in Natal where the NUTW was already
organising workers. 25

270 At a South African Black Alliance (SABA) rally in July Chief
Buthelezi of KwaZulu stated that without the support of the Black Alliance trade
unions could not further the aims of trade unionism. He said that Trade talks
between SABA and trade unions were overdue. Points for discusUnions could be the tactics which linked worker interests with the monitoring of
employment practices and the development of consumer action wherever it was
needed to make employers aware that blacks were
speaking from a position of strength. 26
In August, at the inaugural meeting of the Natal branch of the Commercial,
Catering and Allied Workers' Union, he called on trade unionists 'to come
together with Inkatha'. He stated that an alliance between unions and Inkatha
could help enforce worker demands
through consumer boycotts. 27
Mr Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation, warned Chief Buthelezi that
he would consider refusing to register trade unions from KwaZulu unless the chief
assured him that Inkatha would not involve itself in trade union matters. 28

White unions
At its annual congress the council of the Mine Workers' Union decided it would at
all costs resist further African job advancement. The council also reaffirmed its
commitment to win a five-day working week for miners, and resolved that the
MWU would remain a white union 'for all time'. It further resolved to negotiate a
'living wage' for miners
this year. 29

International Labour Movement
The Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) criticised the AFL-
CIO's policy of continued support for SA trade unionists. AFL-CIO was accused
of refusing to recognise the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) as the genuine
representative of SA workers. The
AFL-CIO recognises both Sactu and African unions in SA. 30

Mr Ole Erickson, a representative of the International Federation of Journalists
(IFJ), recommended after a visit to SA that the South African Society of
Journalists (SASJ) be asked to leave the IFJ. He recommended further that the IFJ
set up a training school for African journalists in SA and send a permanent
representative to Southern Africa to
monitor harassment of African journalists."
In November the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisation (AFL-CIO) representing more than 13m workers called for legislation in America to force American companies operating in SA to apply 'fair employment codes'.

Victimisation and bannings
In February the home of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Writers' Association of SA (WASA), was raided by security police. WASA announced it would present a memorandum to the then Minister of Justice, Mr J. Kruger, protesting against the harassment of African journalists Mr Kruger refused to meet the WASA delegation.

In April security police questioned the chief organiser of the Black Allied Workers' Union, Dr Denis Pewa, in Durban, and other union members in East London. Questions were asked about the nature of the organisation, its constitution, and information requested on former and present union officials. In the same month, a national organiser of the union, Mr Tozamile Gqweta, stated that a security policeman offered him R40 a month to inform police of discussions at meetings of the union. He was asked if there was political activity amongst members and about details of the South African Combined Labour Conference held the previous month.

In May banned trade unionist Pat Horn won the right in the Durban Supreme Court to receive unemployment insurance benefits although she was under a banning order. The Unemployment Insurance Fund's Durban claims officer had withheld her benefits for six weeks citing a section of the Unemployment Insurance Act which imposes such a penalty if the claimant loses his/her job through his/her own misconduct. The officer held that Ms Horn had lost her employment as a direct result of her conduct. However, the judge found the only reason established for Ms Horn losing her job was the banning order.

In the Assembly Mrs H. Suzman (PFP) made a plea to the Minister of Justice to reconsider the banning orders on 122 people - including about 20 union organisers.

In September banning orders on Jean and Eric Tyacke and Dr Loet Douwes-Dekker, all of whom had been involved in the Urban Training Project at the time of their bannings, were lifted. All three were banned in 1976.

Works and Liaison Committees
At the end of 1978 there were 2664 liaison committees, 303 works committees, eight co-ordinating works committees and nine coordinating liaison committees in existence. Altogether they represented 771,015 African employees.

Labour Relations
A three month investigation undertaken by management and African worker representatives at Anglo American found that despite the stated intentions of the Corporation, there was no evidence of its moving rapidly towards its goal of equal opportunity in employment; "whites had considerable advantages over Africans in appointments and promotions;
* from September 1977 to September 1978 only whites were recruited and promoted to top management posts, and there was only one African at divisional plus level; " from January to October 1978, 71 Africans but no whites were declared redundant at head office. The report also stated that training schemes for Africans were too hastily planned and executed. About 216 whites as against eleven Africans had attended external courses since February 1977 and 123 whites had received part-time educational assistance as compared with ten Africans. Over the same period thirteen in-service bursaries had been awarded to whites and none to blacks. All ten management trainees were white.

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The Corporation's deputy chairman, Mr G. Reilly, stated that the commission's recommendations had been accepted?9 As a result of the report a committee under the chairmanship of Mr N.F. Oppenheimer was established to institute policies designed to achieve African advancement.4 African workers held a meeting at Anglo to discuss the issue. At the meeting workers called for the document on the investigation to be distributed and for the resignation of the Employees' Representative Committee chairman, Mr S. Mota, whom they accused of being management-oriented. Many believed that the presence of discrimination for so long was due to the existence of an in-company committee rather than a trade union.4' The company promised to establish a multiracial committee to represent its 500 black and 1 700 white employees at head office. Later in the year Mr N. Oppenheimer stated that Anglo American and De Beers would spend about R3m over five years on a scheme-the undergraduate cadet scheme-to train African matriculants for management roles in finance and engineering.4 The University of the Witwatersrand would co-operate in the academic side of the training.

Mr P. Mark-Graaff, personal Liaison Manager of the Barlow Rand group, stated at a NDMF conference that its policy was not to acquire any business where wages and service conditions were below the group's standards; that it was striving towards integration of work areas and other facilities; and that advertisements for staff stated that applicants of all races and both sexes would be considered.43 In an updated version of their 1978 survey on employment practices in 200 companies employing nearly 500 000 workers, Fine Spamer Associates found that* more than half the firms paid minimum wages of more than R150 a month. The average minimum wage was R154 a month-14% more than the average in the 1978 survey. A third started their lowest paid workers at R100-R150; * more than two-thirds of the firms reported that they had an integrated pay structure and equal pay for equal work;
almost six out of every ten firms said that trade unions prevented them from employing blacks in certain positions, but more than three-quarters reported that they had no objections from white staff to black advancement. Where whites objected, the objections came from fewer than a tenth of this group;

desegregated offices existed in 89% of the 200 firms questioned compared with 84% in the sample of 167 firms surveyed in 1978;

desegregated toilets were reported from 45% of the 200 firms compared with 42% in the previous survey;

a large number of firms reported that all race groups used the same offices, toilets and canteens without objections from white staff;

three-fifths would prefer not to deal with an African union, while over half would prefer not to deal with any union. Only 39% stated they were prepared to recognise an unregistered union;

90% stated they believed that plant committees were preferable to unions from management's point of view. Only one-fifth believed that a union served worker interests better than a committee did;

Only 22% of companies had Indians, coloured people or Africans supervising whites, and only 3% had Africans in these positions. In summing up the findings, Mr Bernard Chalmers, director of Fine Spamer, stated that overall there had been only a small trend towards further improvement over the past year, particularly in remuneration practices and in the training of black employees relative to that of whites."

He also stated that SA companies were lagging behind both American and British firms in eliminating discriminatory job practices. Half the companies were SA-owned, 21/o were linked with the US and 19% with the UK.45

The Minister of Labour stated that international corporations should stop complaining abroad that local laws in SA prevented them from introducing measures which improved the lot of their workers. He stated that the Government had no laws which restrained the development of its people."

Codes of Conduct

In February the British Secretary of State for Trade, Mr John Smith, gave details of reports on the implementation of the EEC code by 131 companies with a 50% or more SA holding and 34 with less than 50/o. Only eight claimed to recognise trade unions for Africans. They were Barclays, BAT, Thomas French, Lindustries, Lucus, Smith and Nephew, Standard Bank and Cadbury Schweppes. Forty-two companies stated that wages and conditions of employment were not determined by negotiations, another 40 indicated that African wages were negotiated with industrial councils by trade unions not representative of African workers. About 85 000 of the 98 000 blacks employed by the first companies to report were being paid above the Minimum Effective Level required by the code. Eighteen companies were paying below the PDL: of these Lonrho employed the most at the lowest level.41
In April the European Parliament called for annual reports by EEC companies on the implementation of the codes, under the threat of penalties against those failing to comply.48

Of 89 German companies asked by the Bonn government to report on their employment practices only 40 had reported back by June.49

A report on the implementation of the Sullivan principles which appeared in April 1979 covering 116 firms showed that 73% of signatories had integrated eating, toilet and work facilities. Twenty-six per cent of all supervisors and three per cent of all managers were black (about 600 African managers). The 500 blacks in training would almost double the number. Almost one-third of the firms had no black supervisors or managers. Most companies were paying above minimum wage levels, but Africans were generally in lower-level positions. Where Africans and whites overlapped, only 20% of African employees were at or above the average income for the level.

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Wiehahn Commission

The Wiehahn Commission into labour legislation appointed in 1977 presented the first of seven reports to the Government this year. Wiehahn (See 1977 Survey p 302 for the Commission's brief and composition.)

Commission The Commission's recommendations, and the Government's responses as presented in the White Paper,2 are summarised below.

Changing role of the Department of Labour

The Commission recommended that the Department's name be changed to reflect its functions more accurately, and to herald a new era of dynamism in the administration of labour affairs. Of the names suggested the White Paper chose the 'Department of Manpower Utilisation'.

National Co-ordinating and Advisory Body

The Commission felt the State had a particular responsibility with regard to the future planning, rationalisation and development of manpower. It thus recommended the establishment of a National Manpower Commission (NMC) comprising representatives of the State, employers and employees all appointed by the Minister, who could also decide on terms of office provided these would be for a minimum of two years. The Government accepted the recommendations with the exception that there would be no two-year minimum term of office and that the Commission would elect its own executive rather than have the Minister appoint it.

Industrial Relations in SA

The Commission felt the industrial relations system had been successful, but that it needed to be adapted to changing conditions, and that certain problems had developed especially with respect to trade unions. These concerned the poor financial state of some unions; funds being used for purposes other than those provided for in the constitution of unions; a lack of clarity on criteria to determine
the representativeness of trade unions and a need to streamline procedures; the prominence and de facto recognition of African trade unions; the codes of conduct, which it felt could impose strains on the management/labour relationship, particularly if monitored by agencies with no vested interest in maintaining industrial peace; and clarification of the relationship between unions and committees.

The Commission recommended that legal recognition should be extended to African unions and advanced the following reasons for this:

" twenty-seven African trade unions were already in existence; " African workers were accepted as a permanent part of the economy;
" job advancement would place the statutory trade union system under stress if Africans continued to be excluded; " African unions were not subject to the 'protective and stabilising' elements of the system, and the interests of their members could better be served within a more structured and orderly situation;
" it was undesirable that African unions, many of which received 275 money from external sources, should not account for income and expenditure;
* overseas contacts and foreign training could lead to the de- Wiehahn development of an alien system of industrial relations in SA; Commission
* African unions would grow in importance and they could undermine the statutory system, for example by gaining control of works and liaison committees.

Freedom of Association

The majority commission view was that no restrictions should be placed on any worker's eligibility for union membership. A minority view supported the principle of the right to organise but felt that 'frontier commuters' and migrants should be phased into the movement through a process of consultation and negotiation between the SA Government and governments of the states concerned.

The Commission recommended that the fundamental principles underlying all adjustments to the industrial relations system should be:
" the preservation of industrial peace
" the establishment and growth of an integrated and unitary system incorporating both the industrial council and committee systems
" the fullest possible expression of the principle of self-government
" the promotion of decentralised consultation and negotiation.

The Commission also recommended that individuals should be free to join any trade union of their choice and trade unions should be free to prescribe such membership qualifications as they saw fit.

The Government accepted the first recommendation as a point of departure; it accepted with certain reservations the concept of freedom of association and decided that at present only those Africans who enjoyed permanent residence in SA and were in fixed employment would automatically be eligible for trade union
membership. The NMC was to advise the Minister at an early stage on the criteria for fixed employment. It would also provide guidance on exemptions. Non-union members (migrants and commuters) might in the interim be accommodated through the committee system.
The Government stated that it regarded trade union membership as a domestic matter and it would maintain its autonomy and flexibility in this matter. It accepted the principle of trade union autonomy but would refer the issue to the NMC.
Trade union structure
The Commission recommended that a union should have the discretion to elect office bearers although the position would be kept under surveillance by the NMC. Statutory provision should be made for a system of provisional registration of new trade unions and employers' organisations. Existing registered organisations would not be required to re-register but would be subject to the law in all other respects. Financial inspectors should be appointed to inspect and analyse the financial affairs of industrial councils, trade unions, employers' associations, federations and committees.

276 As far as industrial councils were concerned the committee recommended strict parity in the representation of various employee parties to the council, a right to veto by any parties on the council in voting. Wiehahn appropriate measures for the handling of deadlocks arising from the Commission exercise of veto, recourse to the industrial council on matters of rights, and the registration of parties concerned to ensure the legal validity and enforceability of agreements. The Government accepted these provisions.
Closed shop
A majority opinion stated that the closed shop should be retained on the present basis: ie that a measure would apply if the negotiating bodies were representative. A minority argued that the closed shop was a way of restricting skills training and of limiting entry to the skilled trades, and also opposed the proposed abolition of job reservation. The Government accepted the minority view; it suspended the practice, disallowed further agreements but allowed existing agreements to continue, subject to the wishes of the parties concerned.
Membership Fees
As far as the deduction of trade union membership fees was concerned, it recommended that registered organisations should be allowed to continue to regulate the matter through collective bargaining, but deductions in favour of any unregistered employees' organisation should be prohibited. Deductions should only be allowed if the individual employee had given written authorisation and such an employee should have the right to withdraw authorisation at any time. The Government accepted these recommendations but looked to the NMC for guidance on safeguards against the abuse of this facility.
Prohibition on political activities
The Commission recommended that the existing prohibition should be extended
to include any legislative body at a national, provincial or local level. Extension to
include bodies not covered by the present prohibition should be effected by
proclamation. The Government accepted these recommendations.

Employees' organisations at the level of the undertaking
The Commission recommended that the council and committee system should be
integrated and that all population groups should be permitted representation in the
unitary system. It felt that where an industrial council was registered in respect of
an undertaking, industry, trade or occupation, a works committee or council
should have no statutory bargaining powers. Where no industrial council was
registered a works committee or council should have statutory bargaining powers
only if a wage determination or other wage-regulating measure did not exist or
had been in existence for longer than twelve months.

Provision should be made for regional works councils for workers of all
population groups. The National Manpower Commission should give constant
attention to the question of future statutory bargaining powers for committees and
councils in the light of developments. The Department of Labour should open a
new register for trade unions,

employers' associations and industrial councils as well as for works councils and works committees.
The Government accepted the recommendations with certain reservations. It
accepted that where industrial councils existed there Wiehahn should be a limit on
the statutory negotiating powers of committees, Commission but those bodies
should be enabled to negotiate on as many matters as possible and come to firm
agreements with employers. Further, persons of minority groups should not feel
compelled to sit on an integrated committee against their wishes.

Work Reservation
The Commission recommended that the principle of statutory work reservation
should be abolished by the immediate removal of Section 77 of the Industrial
Conciliation Act. It recommended a variety of ways in which safeguards for
individual and group interests could be introduced. Existing work reservation
determinations should remain valid, however, but the Department of Labour
should make a determined effort to phase them out in co-operation with interested
parties. The Government accepted these recommendations. It reaffirmed its policy
that remaining determinations would only be phased out after consultation with
all the parties concerned.

Industrial Court
The Commission recommended that the present industrial tribunal (none of whose
functions are of a judicial nature) should be redesignated the Industrial Court with
a president who should be a senior jurist and the only permanent member of the
court.
In a dispute he should appoint at least two suitably qualified assessors on a parity
basis from names submitted in order of preference from parties involved in the
dispute. The Court's functions should include hearing cases of undesirable labour
practices, labour matters in general, interpretation of labour laws and regulations, etc, settling of disputes of a legal and non-legal character and adjudication on matters of rights, and the development of a body of case law. The court, however, should not have the right to decide criminal cases. It should be competent to award compensatory damages or impose fines. The right of appeal to the Supreme Court should exist. Access to the court should be open to all persons and costs kept as low as possible. The court should feel free to take into account all extra-legal considerations which had a bearing on the matter before it. Rules of conduct and procedure should be drawn up in consultation with the Department of Justice and promulgated by the State President. The Government accepted these recommendations commenting that the court should fall under the Department of Labour but maintain close ties with the Department of Justice.

Apprenticeship and Industrial Relations Training
The Commission noted that the admission of Africans to apprenticeship training outside African areas was a delicate matter, but felt that the present and potential shortage of artisans in the Republic, townships and homelands made it imperative to review existing policy and practice.

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It recommended that any person should be eligible for apprenticeship as long as his application complied with the provisions of the Apprenticeship Act etc, that the protection of group interests should be achieved through negotiation, consultation and consensus with necessary safeguards, and where possible public centres established in terms of the Black Employees' In-service Training Act should be used for the training of African apprentices. Remission should be granted to indentured apprentices called up for national service whether or not they served at their trade during the period.

The Government accepted these recommendations in principle but considered it would not be desirable to sacrifice flexibility by restricting the training of African apprentices to the public centres referred to.

Industrial Relations Training
The Commission felt that both employers and unions should enjoy autonomy in training, but considered that some degree of regulation of industrial relations training was necessary.

It recommended that the State should encourage and facilitate industrial relations training by registered trade unions, employer associations and federations, works councils, committees and industrial councils through the formulation of broad guidelines for such training.

"ongoing research into training"
"expansion of adult education programmes particularly in literacy and numeracy.

It recommended further that legislative provision should be made for the Secretary of Labour, after consultation with the National Manpower Commission, to approve a centre as a training centre. Legislative provision should be made to prohibit any training in industrial relations except at approved centres. Exceptions were training given within the system of formal education, or by employers,
registered employers’ associations, registered unions, federations, industrial councils, registered works committees and works councils, or other bodies exempted by the Secretary for Labour.

With minor changes the Government accepted these recommendations.

Separate facilities and Social Security

The Commission noted that there was a general movement away from the segregation of facilities.

It recommended the repeal of the relevant sections in the Factories, Machinery and Building Works Act, and the Shops and Offices Act as well as relevant regulations which governed the separation of facilities. The issue, as far as factories were concerned, should be regulated by industrial council agreements and through consultation as far as the Shops and Offices Act was concerned. Disputes which could not be settled through normal conciliatory machinery should be referred to the Industrial Court for adjudication.

The Government accepted these recommendations but emphasised the importance of the ‘cautious handling’ of the matter and stated that in the meantime the Minister would retain powers he presently enjoyed.

General reaction to the Commission


White right-wing trade unions generally regarded the Commission's report as a threat to the position of the white worker. The general secretary of the MWU, Mr Arrie Paulus, stated that in accepting the Wiehahn report the Government 'committed the greatest treachery against the white employees of SA since 1922, when hundreds of miners were shot because they opposed the Chamber of Mines who tried to force them to share their work with blacks.”

The Secretary of the SA Confederation of Labour, Mr Attie Nieuwoudt, stated that the changes were too drastic and could precipitate a backlash. Mr Wessel Bornman, general secretary of the SA Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union, commented that the report was a call for total labour integration which in turn would lead to social integration of all races.

TUCSA's senior vice-president, Mr Andre Malherbe, welcomed the report, stating that TUCSA had been fighting for 25 years for the changes recommended by the Commission, especially the removal of job reservation.”

Later TUCSA expressed reservations because of the Government's limiting of trade union rights to section 10(a) and (b) people, and its opposition to the introduction of mixed unions.

The Government's exclusion of migrants and commuters from trade unions as expressed in the White Paper was critically received by the Consultative Committee and the Federation of SA Trade Unions whose general secretary stated that the Minister's stand 'on migrant workers makes a mockery of the well-argued reasons in the majority report for admitting them to union membership'. At a UNISA symposium on the Report, Mr Ben Nicholson, director of the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions, warned that the labour relations committee system as proposed in the report could lead to the breakdown of the
industrial council system. He stated employers could use works committees or councils as loopholes to escape the application of industrial council agreements. Dr Alex Boraine, PFP spokesman on labour, stated that the White Paper was essentially positive, although it was a 'pity' that the Government had limited trade union membership to those African workers who were in permanent jobs.

Amongst the organisations which welcomed the report were Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, IBM, GM, Ford and Chase Manhattan Bank.

Initial overseas reactions to the report, such as the responses of the ICFTU and ILO, were favourable although they were later drastically tempered by the White Paper and subsequent legislation.

Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act No 94

This Amendment Act, which came into operation on 1 October, arose out of the Wiehahn Commission's Report and the Government's White Paper in response to the Report, and its main features are summarised below.

Labour Legislation

National Manpower Commission

The Act allows for the establishment of a National Manpower Commission (NMC) consisting of a chairman and members appointed by the Minister for a period of time specified by him. The members will be representatives of the State, employers and employees. The Minister has powers to terminate the period of office of any person if he deems there are good reasons for so doing, and to appoint additional members, fill vacancies, and appoint an acting chairman. The NMC may establish committees to help it in its functions and make appointments to these committees. The functions of the Commission as stated in Section 2D are to make investigations into and recommendations to the Minister concerning all labour matters, including labour policy and administrative matters referred to it by the Minister. The Minister maintains the right to withhold the publication of any report which the NMC may submit to him.

Industrial Court

Section 17 of the Act establishes an industrial court consisting of a president appointed by the Minister by reason of his knowledge of the law relating to labour. The terms of service are determined by the Minister who will also appoint an industrial registrar. The Act also empowers the Minister to establish local divisions of the industrial court and appoint and determine the conditions of service of the chairman and other members of such divisions.

The functions of the industrial court shall be to perform all functions in regard to disputes arising out of laws administered by the Department of Labour, as well as to hear disputes between two parties in regard to their interests (such disputes are at present heard by the industrial tribunal) or in regard to their rights (where an existing legal right is at issue).

The court has powers to subpoena, to make its own rules of procedure, and to make law. Under the Act the court is not bound to refer proceedings on appeal to
the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court but 'may' do so. This represents a major departure from the Commission's recommendation which states that appeal should be automatic. It was later announced that Professor N. Wiehahn would be the president of the Court.

Trade Union Rights

Admission to unions

In terms of the Amendment Act certain Africans, previously excluded, were included under the Act by an amendment of the definition of an 'employee' and therefore given the opportunity to join trade unions. The definition states, inter alia, that an 'employee' means any person(i) who is employed by or working for any employer and receiving or entitled to receive any remuneration, and any other person whatsoever who in any manner assists in the carrying on or conducting of the business of an employer; and (ii) who may legally reside on land in the Republic of SA,

but excluding any person who resides on land as contemplated in section 21(1) of the Development Trust and Land Act 1936 (Act No 18 of 1936), or on any land within a territory which in terms of any other law is a self-governing territory within the Republic of SA, as well as any person who enters the Republic for the purpose of carrying out a contract of service within the Republic, if upon the termination thereof the employer is required by law or by the contract of service or by any other agreement or undertaking, to repatriate that person, or that person is so required to leave the Republic.

The Act also gives the Minister powers to include any group so excluded under the definition. The effect of the definition is to exclude migrants and 'frontier commuters' from the ambit of the Act and thus from being able to join or form registered trade unions.

The Act also specifically prohibits the existence of mixed trade unions although the Minister may make an exception where there are too few employees from one population group to form an effective separate union, or where the ratio between the 'numbers of employees of the different population groups concerned' makes it 'expedient to form a union in respect of more than one such population group'. This second provision was added as an amendment to the Bill on the initiative of the NP during the second reading debate.

Trade Union Administration

The Act introduces a system of provisional registration for newly constituted trade unions as well as employers' organisations.

The registrar is given wide powers with regard to provisional registration: he may determine the length of the period of registration, and withdraw an application without giving any reasons for his actions. Such provisional registration does not apply to already existing organisations.

The Act also forbids any registered trade union from admitting as a member a person who is not an 'employee'. Contravention of this provision renders a union on conviction liable to a fine not exceeding R500 in respect of each person admitted. The wording of this provision was amended after debate as the relevant
clause in the original Bill stated as well that no registered trade union should have 'any relationship' with a person who is not an employee, and thus would have had an excessively wide scope.

Veto
The Act accords the power of veto to existing parties on an industrial council by stating that no new parties may join such a council unless all parties already on the council agree thereto in writing. In terms of an amendment to the original wording of the Bill any party so excluded which feels aggrieved by the decision may appeal to the industrial court.

Trade union dues
An amendment to Section 51(5) prohibits an employer from making deductions from workers' salaries for membership dues on behalf of a trade union if the union is unregistered.

Labour Legislation

Work reservation
The Amendment Act repeals Section 77 of the principal Act which allowed for the promulgation of work reservation determinations. However, any determination made under Section 77 before its repeal would remain in force until cancelled. This means that the existing work reservation determinations would remain in force. (See 1979 Survey p 179.) Nevertheless, protection of group rights is still to be maintained through the concept of the unfair labour practice, which the Act introduces. The concept is to be defined by the industrial court.

Parties who hold that an 'unfair labour practice' has taken place will have recourse to the industrial court, and may also ask the Minister to issue an order instructing the employer to 'restore the labour practices which existed' prior to the introduction of the new practice, or 'not to introduce the alleged unfair labour practice' if it has not already been introduced. If an 'alleged unfair labour practice' is referred to an industrial council, the council cannot endorse its continuation unless all the parties concerned agree. This will enable a union to block a proposed change and take it to the court or the Minister. An industrial council dispute arising over an unfair labour practice must be referred to the court if a deadlock is not broken within 30 days. If this is done the right to strike is removed.

Parliamentary Debate on the Bill
The Official Opposition during the debate on the Bill opposed the legislation and moved an amendment stating that 'this house, while noting the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill provides for some advancement in the field of labour legislation in the Republic, nevertheless declines to pass the Second Reading of the Bill, because it seriously negates major recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission by inter alia,

1. limiting the eligibility of Black workers to join registered trade
unions to those workers permanently resident and employed in the Republic; and

2 restricting the freedom of association of workers and trade union autonomy by prohibiting the formation of racially mixed registered trade unions.'

In motivating the PFP's stand Mrs H. Suzman (PFP) stated that the definition of 'employee' effectively barred from union membership 1.1m migrants and commuters from the homelands and im from the 'independent' homelands, and stated the measure was in direct contradiction to the findings of the majority of commissioners who sat on the Wiehahn Commission. Only an estimated 1.4m of all economically active Africans would benefit from the new definition. She stated that the measure would be the 'deathknell' for eight out of ten of the unregistered unions as these had a majority of migrants and/or commuters.8

During the Second Reading Mrs Suzman also protested, inter alia, against the provision (later amended) prohibiting unions from having 'any relationship' with non-members; the lack of right of appeal from the industrial court to the Supreme Court; and the granting to the industrial court of both judiciary and legislative functions (the court may, for example, decide what constitutes an 'unfair labour practice'). She also pointed out that the veto granted to parties on an industrial council enabling them to exclude any new parties might be abused given the retention of the status quo on the closed shop, as exclusion of a party from the council would prevent its members from being employed by the employers party to a shop, where such a shop existed.

The main amendment moved by the PFP to include all African workers under the Act, to give a precise definition of an 'unfair labour practice', to change certain issues regarding the functioning of the NMC, to ensure that the registrar gives reasons for withdrawing provisional registration of newly constituted organisations and gives the organisation one month's notice of the withdrawal of its registration, was rejected. Also rejected were amendments to the effect that the president of the industrial court should be a judge of the Supreme Court of SA; that the status quo regarding the veto on the industrial council be maintained, and that the provision allowing for the five existing work reservations to be written into the statute be removed. The amendment that the industrial registrar should be a senior official appointed by the Minister by reason of his knowledge of the law relating to labour matters was accepted.

The NP itself introduced certain important amendments which were accepted, viz those allowing for an aggrieved party to appeal against the veto exercised by parties on an industrial council, the widening of the Minister's powers to allow for mixed trade unions if the 'ratio' between the numbers of members of various population groups makes this expedient, and the removal of the requirement that unions should have 'no relationship' with non-union members.

Regulations in terms of the Act were amended in Government Gazette 6699 of 28 September bringing them into line with the amendments to the Act.

General response to the legislation
Both the Bill and Act were critically received by most trade unions, in particular the unregistered trade union movement which stood to be most affected by the exclusion of migrants and 'frontier commuters' from the Act's ambit. Mrs Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, stated that by withholding trade union rights from migrant workers and 'frontier commuters' the legislation reduced African union rights to a mere token and would cause division amongst African workers. Others voicing their disquiet were FOSATU and the Consultative Committee which sent a telegram to the Minister after the Bill appeared, expressing dissatisfaction and requesting a meeting with the Minister. FOSATU warned that its unions would have 'seriously' to reconsider their position as regards the new labour dispensation, 'due to the denial of freedom of association to all black workers'.

Dissatisfaction was also voiced by TUCSA, which sent a memorandum to the Minister lodging its objections to the Bill. Homeland leaders were criticised for their 'silence' on the issue of the exclusion of migrants and commuters. In interviews with the Financial Mail, Transkei's Prime Minister, Mr George Matanzima, stated that Transkei was an independent country and had nothing to do with the internal affairs of SA; and Bophuthatswana's Minister of Internal Affairs stated that he had appointed a committee to consider the Bill's implications. Neither Gazankulu nor Lebowa made direct representations to SA expressing disapproval; while Mr Gibson Thula, KwaZulu's urban representative, stated he would raise the issue on Dr Koornhof's PWV regional committee on urban Africans. Later, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, called for trade union rights for all Africans throughout SA. He stated that the entire system should be open and free, and that it was a tragedy that migrant workers and frontier commuters should be excluded from trade unionism. He said he had no objection to the establishment of trade unions in Lebowa and did not see such a move as being detrimental to Lebowa's economy.

In June at the ILO conference, international workers' federations rejected the legislation. The International Metalworkers' Federation withdrew its earlier qualified support for the report because of the exclusion of some sections of African workers from trade union membership. In a critique of the Wiehahn report and the legislation the University of Cape Town's SA Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) pointed out that the overall effect of the new Dispensation would be to create added State control over the industrial relations system. This would be achieved through the NMC which was seen as a 'watchdog on labour', and through increased control over the unregistered trade union movement.
SALDRU pointed to further areas of control such as the system of provisional registration, the proposed NMC surveillance of the election of appointment of persons to union office, and the establishment of financial inspectors to inspect organisations’ financial affairs ‘with a view to guarding against irregular or undesirable practices’. The critique further stated that the industrial council system was structured so as to restrict the right of presently unregistered unions that became registered to gain admission to such councils (ie through, inter alia, the veto), and that the restrictions on industrial relations training were designed to counteract unregistered trade union activity in this sphere. It saw the Commission's requirements for registration of unions as imposing restrictions on freedom of association—especially the restrictions on the formation of mixed unions; as well as the expanded role of the works and liaison committee system and the creation of regional works councils recommended by the Commission.

Further Developments

Prof Wiehahn travelled widely overseas in May and June to 'sell' the Wiehahn Commission's report abroad, with mixed results. He reported a negative response from US Department of Labour officials, while trade unionists from Britain's Trade Union Congress (TUC) refused to meet him.

On returning from his two month tour Prof Wiehahn stated that governments overseas had given reserved approval to the report but were disappointed with the legislation. He stated that 'the report's recommendations and the Government's reaction to them in the White Paper created great expectations. It was the gap between these and the legislation which led to the criticisms.'

The Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr 'Fanie' Botha, stated he had requested the Wiehahn Commission to complete outstanding reports by the end of the year instead of producing a series of reports into 1981. The Government was also planning to pilot all its post-Wiehahn legislation through the 1980 parliamentary session instead of phasing-in legislative changes over a fairly lengthy period.

African

The six remaining reports would deal with the following issues respectively:

* details of industrial relations development up to the year 2000, plus the question of the public sector
* training in industry
* the mining industry
* social security
* the role of manpower development
* other matters not covered in the first six parts

Exemption of migrants and commuters from exclusion under the Industrial Conciliation Act

In terms of Government Gazette No 6679 of 28 September (Notice R2167) the Minister, in a reversal of policy, extended statutory trade union rights to all citizens of SA and countries which previously formed part of SA. The concession was granted in terms of the powers of exemption accorded to the Minister in terms of the amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Responses to the concession
Prior to the concession the unregistered union movement had taken a united stand against applying for registration. The Minister's concession reopened the issue. Unions which decided to continue to refuse registration were the Western Province General Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, as they felt registration would increase State control over their functioning. A stand against registration was also taken by the political body, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). FOSATU decided to accept registration subject to the following requirements: that unions should be completely non-racial in their membership and control; provisional registration would not be accepted and registration should at least accord with the present criteria for final registration; no additional controls over unions would be accepted; existing unions should be acknowledged; and unions should not be fragmented by registration.67 The first African unions to apply for registration were the Motor Industry Workers' Union of SA, a 'parallel' union created by the TUCSA-affiliated coloured Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union,6 the African Tobacco Workers' Union and the Mine Coloured Staff. S~ W a~-. 99 icins were made but the names have not been released. FOSATU indicated its intention to apply for registration sometime in December. A further union, which indicated its intention to apply was the African National Union of Clothing Workers. Chief Matanzima of Transkei stated that the extension of trade union rights to African workers in SA was a progressive move, but the same move in Transkei would be detrimental to the Trankeian national interest as the country was not an advanced industrial state.69

In November FOSATU attacked TUCSA for showing an interest in actively recruiting African workers into parallel unions in response only to the new legislation. The parallel unions which had sprung up Strikes were the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union, the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union, the SA Electrical Workers' Association, the Textile Workers' Industrial Union and the Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union. FOSATU also stated that employers were bypassing the established unions of African workers and were supporting the parallel unions.70

National Manpower Commission
The National Manpower Commission comprising 41 members was established in November with Dr H.H. Reynders, president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, as its chairman, and Professor P.J. van der Merwe of Pretoria University as its assistant chairman. Members were drawn from universities, trade unions, the Government and business and industry.

Strikes
Statistics
The following table taken from the report of the Department of Labour for 1978 gives details of strikes and work stoppages falling under the Industrial Conciliation Act from 1976 to 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of work stoppages</th>
<th>Number of shifts lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>37671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1978 46 strikes involving African workers falling under the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act were held, causing a loss of 59 711 man-hours, in comparison with 38 strikes in 1977. No lockouts involving African workers occurred in 1978. A total of 55 disputes with stoppage of work which could not be regarded as strikes in terms of the Act occurred.

Details of Strikes

Gompo Bus Strike

On 19 January about 286 of the 326 bus drivers employed by Gompo Transport run by the Ciskei National Development Corporation went on strike maintaining that they had not received overtime pay which was due to them. The drivers were given until 5 pm on the 287 same day to return to work and 196 who refused to do so were fired. As a consequence the bus service operated on a reduced basis over the weekend but enough new staff were recruited by the beginning of the Strikes week to give a full service.

In court the secretary of the Ciskei Intelligence Service commented that the decision to have the bus drivers detained under Ciskei’s Security Law R252 had been taken by the Ciskei Cabinet.
In early July 28 of the drivers were acquitted. Two of the accused failed to appear and one was found not guilty in the course of the trial. At a later date, fifty-five of the drivers were found guilty, while sixteen were found not guilty. Those convicted were each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment conditionally suspended for four years. Pleading in mitigation of sentence the prosecutor, asked the court to take into consideration that the strike was caused by a lack of understanding between employer and employee. He said that as a result of the case the drivers had been out of work for eight months and each suffered a financial loss of R1 500. In August fifty-four of the convicted drivers lodged an appeal against their conviction.

PEP Textiles

On 31 January 1 500 workers at PEP Textile Industries in Butterworth, Transkei, struck over wages. The workers were reported to be dissatisfied because promised pay increases had not materialised for some months. Some of the workers claimed that a government determination on their rates had been ignored by their employers. The factory was shut down and all workers paid off on Friday 2 February. About half the workers were re-employed on 5 February at basic rates of pay irrespective of the rates they had been paid before the strike. The basic rate for females was R8 per week and for males R10,12 a week.

O'Okiep

On 5 March white miners at the O'Okiep mine in the Northern Cape went on strike in protest against the employment of coloured artisans on the mine. A strike ballot had been held on 22 February with 83,7 % of the 223 (out of 270) members of the Mine Workers' Union (MWU) voting in favour of the strike. The decision was ratified by the MWU's executive on 25 February. Miners were paid R20 a day from the strike fund. Mr Peter Philip, general manager of the mine, stated that the vacant posts created by striking miners were being filled by coloured miners and that production was being continued at the scheduled rate. He stated that the striking miners had been dismissed and would be considered individually on merit if they wanted their jobs back. He commented that the company would not accede to the Strikes MWU's demands because they were contrary to the company's labour policy which was to eliminate discrimination on the basis of colour, religion and sex.

On 14 March the MWU put proposals to the company in a move to end the strike. A day later local union leaders met with management. Management rejected a request that certain privileges which they had lost when they went on strike be reinstated. Mr Philip stated management was contemplating asking miners to vacate their houses.

On 16 March the strike started crumbling with miners reapplying for their jobs against the wishes of the union. By 19 March about 10 % of workers had not reapplied, and Mr Philip stated some would not get their jobs back as key positions had been filled.
After the strike action was taken by management against the union. It terminated the closed shop agreement the union had with the company and stopped collecting union dues and paying them over to the union in a lump sum.

Mr Arrie Paulus, secretary of the MWU, announced he would apply to the Minister of Labour for the dues to be collected. By the first week in June management had agreed to this.

White Mine Workers

Meetings of all branches of the MWU were held on 6 March in line with a MWU executive meeting of 28 February to discuss the O'Okiep issue and the Wiehahn Commission.

On 7 March 6 500 white miners—all members of the 16 800-strong MWU—went on strike at approximately 70 mines throughout the country. The Chamber of Mines stated they assumed it had to do with the Wiehahn Commission. Mr Paulus in a statement said the miners were holding a one-day 'stay-away' in sympathy with the O'Okiep miners. He later enlarged on this statement, saying it was over the principle of job reservation and denied it was over the Wiehahn Commission.

Throughout the Chamber took a hard line on the strike. On 8 March after a meeting of the Gold Producers' Committee it stated that the union had gone on strike illegally without resorting to the procedures laid down in the Industrial Conciliation Act. As a result, in terms of the agreement between the MWU and the Chamber, they had terminated their employment by their own actions and had been signed off the books by the mines concerned. They had also forfeited accumulated benefits under their old contracts for the duration of the strike and would have to apply for re-employment under new contracts when they returned. They would also have to leave company houses within seven days.

In the Assembly the Minister of Mines, Mr Botha, stated he would not interfere but hoped the Wiehahn Commission report was not the object of the strike. Mr C. de Jager, president of the MWU, requested the Minister to become involved.

The Chamber reported the absentee rate was between 60 % and 80 %.

On 9 March it was reported that the strike was beginning to crumble with the Chamber stating that 4 631 miners were back at work.

However, there were pockets of strong resistance-100 % were still 289 out on the Rustenburg Platinum mines.

The MWU's executive took a decision, after an eleven-hour meeting, to extend the strike to all mines and to continue until workers could Strikes return without loss of benefits. It decided as well to act against any members who returned to work before the conflict had been settled. The decision came after efforts by the union for talks with the Chamber and Minister of Labour had failed. The Gold Producers' Committee decided to bypass the union and communicate directly with the miners to explain the facts of the situation.
The MWU’s call for an all-out strike on 10 March was not successful. On 11 March the Chamber stated that the industry would take legal action to protect miners who continued to work or returned to work, and this was seen by the Chamber as the turning point in the strike.

On 12 March the mines reported that a steady stream of men were reapplying for re-engagement and that 757 men had returned by 8 pm. During the day Mr Paulus addressed meetings of 2 000 workers at Klerksdorp, 2 500 to 3 000 at Westonaria, 1 000 at Carletonville and 1 600 at Rustenburg, where he claimed motions were adopted that members would stand together.

A renewed request by the MWU for an interview with the Prime Minister was refused and the union was referred back to the Minister of Mines. He appealed to the Chamber and union to normalise the situation as quickly as possible.

On 13 March an appeal by Mr De Jager to Mr Von Wielligh, president of the Chamber, for discussions was turned down, Mr Von Wielligh stating the Chamber would adhere to its stand not to meet the union until the strikers had been re-engaged. Later in the day the MWU’s executive voted by 17 votes to 2 to end the strike. Mr Paulus stated the decision was taken in the light of repeated calls to the union by Mr Botha. The Chamber in commenting stated the MWU called off the strike as it was ending anyway.

On 15 March the Chamber reinstated most benefits. It refused to give away on the issue of loss of bonuses, direct earnings or leave entitlements. No agreement was reached at a meeting on 23 March on this issue.

At an executive meeting on 28 March Mr Paulus announced that the MWU would declare a dispute against the Chamber over the reinstatement of benefits and would apply for a conciliation board. It also decided to pay RIO a day to all miners who stayed out from Wednesday 7 March to Tuesday 13 March and nothing to those who returned to work before then.

The conciliation board failed to settle the dispute. No further developments occurred, and the miners continued to work without the reinstatement of their bonuses, direct earnings for the period of the strike, or leave entitlements.

Rainbow Chicken, Worcester

On 2 March about 1 000 workers at Rainbow Chicken in Worcester went on strike as their bonuses had been reduced because they had missed a day's work on an earlier occasion. Mr Fortuin, CRC mem-

ber for Breede River, stated that the workers had not gone to work on that occasion as machinery was out of order. The workers claimed they had been told by management to go home. On the day the strike Strikes began management agreed to take back some of the workers and pay their bonuses in full. However, about 150 workers refused to return as a coloured foreman, Mr Olivier, had been dismissed. By 8 March all the workers had returned to work, management having agreed to re-employ Mr Olivier and to pay the workers in full for the days they had been on strike.

When the strike began ten striking workers and Mr J. Theron, secretary of the Food and Canning Workers’ Union, were detained for questioning. The ten
workers were later released. Mr Theron was held and on 7 and 8 March appeared in the Worcester Magistrate's court on charges under section 2(6)(a)(i) and (iii) of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956. Mr Theron had allegedly addressed the workers after being told not to go to the farm. In terms of the section mentioned any person who, after the prohibition of a gathering, convenes it, encourages, promotes or by means of threats causes people to attend it, presides at it, addresses it or attends it is guilty of an offence. Mr Theron was granted bail of R750 and in August was acquitted of the charge under the Riotous Assemblies Act as well as one of trespass.

A further strike broke out at Rainbow Chicken at the end of April. The dispute was settled on 7 May. No information was given as to whether the workers who had been dismissed and replaced two days after the strike began had been reinstated.

Bophuthatswana bus drivers

On 14 and 15 March 200 bus drivers from the Batswana Hare company in Bophuthatswana went on strike, claiming that ten of their colleagues were fired from work for no sound reason. They also complained of low wages—take home pay being R42 a week—and of having to drive unroadworthy buses. Four officials were suspended pending an investigation into the complaints. The investigating commission appointed comprised Mr A.E. Paget, the bus company’s deputy general manager, and a Bophuthatswana government labour officer.

It was reported that the dispute had been settled after a meeting between the drivers and the commission. In May Mr Kotzenberg, PRO of the company, refused to say whether the four officials had been reinstated or not.

A further strike at the company occurred in November with 140 workers being paid off.

SAR

On 9 April about 130 African container workers at the SAR City Deep Depot stopped working after a dispute between a driver and a white inspector. The dispute led to the driver being treated in hospital.

The men refused to work, saying they wanted the incident discussed first. They returned to work after three and a half hours on being assured that a full investigation would follow.

Nels Dairy

More than 200 workers went on strike at Nels Dairy, Victory Park in Johannesburg, on 27 March. Reports gave various reasons for the strike. One stated that the men went on strike in sympathy with colleagues who had been fired or paid off. Other reports stated that the men were dissatisfied with amounts deducted from their wages. Mr Nel, a company executive, stated that the ten men's contracts had expired but that the company was giving them a chance to renew them. The workers also claimed that management had repeatedly refused to appoint a works committee requested by the workers and had then appointed five workers to a liaison committee. The workers objected as they wanted to appoint their own committee.
Management brought in a busload of workers from another dairy to fill the vacancies. More than 60 police were called in and broke up the strike. No arrests were made. Workers returned to work at 10 am.

In a sequel to the strike on 10 May the dairy was restrained by the Rand Supreme Court from sacking 24 African employees. The order followed an urgent application which claimed that a director had threatened to sack all employees who tried to establish a works committee to deal with their grievances. A worker, in an affidavit, stated that employees were unhappy with conditions such as illegal deductions from their wages for having dirty trucks, for arriving late for work, and as compensation for money stolen from drivers. He and six other workers had submitted a petition to management in 1978 calling for a works committee. Three of the men were later fired. Mr Nel rejected a further petition with 150 signatures asking for a works committee and proposed that a liaison committee be established instead. In January Mr Nel had threatened to dismiss all employees who called for a works committee. Since then eighteen had been sacked.

On 15 June the Rand Supreme Court ruled that 24 of the employees were entitled to apply for an interdict against wrongful dismissal for participating in a works committee. Nels Dairy held that the Rand Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to make the interdict and that their employees' only recourse was to lay charges under the Black Labour Relations Regulations Act. Counsel for the employees held that the fact that they had recourse to criminal prosecution did not preclude the employees from seeking the interdict. Mr Acting Justice Goldstone rejected the dairy's argument and dismissed its objection with costs.

In August a former employee brought a civil action against the company claiming that his dismissal by the company constituted victimisation and was thus 'null and void'.

Abattoirs

On 2 April about 1 000 white workers went on strike at five Transvaal abattoirs after a dispute broke out between the SA Abattoir Corporation and a sub-contractor, Slaughtering Services Co-operative Ltd, over the Corporation's intention to cancel the Co-operative's contract for control over the functioning of the abattoirs at Springs and Benoni respectively.

Mr A. Zaayman, chairman of the Co-operative which had administered the workers for 31 years, stated that they did not want to work under the Corporation as they feared they would eventually be replaced by African workers. The Co-operative is controlled by 500 members who are also employees of the Co-operative for which 300 white and 200 African non-members were also working.

Strikes

The Corporation brought in 125 men from its other abattoirs to undertake the work of the striking staff in an effort to keep up production. On 3 April the SA Federation of Meat Retailers and the Witwatersrand Master Butchers' Association, concerned with the effect of the strike on production, sent telegrams to the Minister of Agriculture asking him to intervene.
On the fourth day of the strike Mr Fanie Van Rensburg, chairman of the Corporation, announced that it would not renew any of the five contracts with the Co-operative. He stated, however, that the Corporation was willing to re-employ Co-operative men but warned that it was employing more and more replacements and that the longer the stoppage continued, the fewer former slaughtermen it would employ.

Throughout the strike contrary reports on the level of production were received. On 5 April Mr Kruger stated that production was as near normal as possible but other reports stated that slaughtering was down 50%.

The strike was called off after the parties met in Pretoria on the night of 5 April. It was decided that the Co-operative would be responsible for all slaughtering at the Johannesburg, Pretoria and Krugersdorp abattoirs, while the Corporation would undertake the job at Springs and Benoni.

Elandsrand Gold Mine

On 9 April 4 400 of the 4 500 African workers at the Elandsrand gold mine refused to go underground after rioting the previous evening, the date of the official opening of the mine. The two-hour period of rioting took place in the mine's model hostel village causing damage of hundreds of thousands of rands. About 500 to 700 men took part in the riot. Extensive damage was caused. Police were called in from Fochville, Carletonville and Potchefstroom to help control the riot.

Miners who carried loot up the hillside around the hostels were driven back by police with dogs and teargas, and a helicopter.

On 9 April the 4 400 striking miners congregated in the hostel and on a sportsfield. A helicopter circled the area for hours requesting, through a loudspeaker, that the workers should elect representatives to put their grievances to management. There was no response to this appeal. Miners were given a limited time to return to work after which they would be dismissed. About 800 Mosotho refused and were signed off and taken away in buses which had been kept ready all day. It was later reported that 1 000 men had been dismissed in all.

A mine spokesman said the workers had given no reason for their actions nor had they listed any grievances. Reporters were not allowed to interview any striking workers. Other mine employees said the men's main grievances were pay and not enough meat at meals. A senior police officer stated it appeared that disturbances were due to confusion over a bonus agreement. An Anglo American spokesman said that the cause of the 'disturbance' was unknown.

The opening of the mine went ahead as scheduled. Mr Oppenheimer, commenting, said the 'disappointing' aspect about the riots and strike was the lack of communication between workers and management. He said that although the mine lost part of a 293 day's production, the eventual effect would be slight. There would be a full investigation into the matter.
It was later reported that seven miners who had been arrested during the riots and who were being held at Potchefstroom would be charged on counts of public violence.

Fattis and Monis

On 25 April 78 workers in the milling section at Fattis and Monis factory in Bellville South (Cape) went on strike because, they claimed, ten workers had been unfairly dismissed. Department of Labour officials were called in but the workers refused to return to work until they were given reasons for the dismissal of their colleagues. It was thought that the workers were dismissed because they had signed a document giving the Food and Canning Workers' Union the right to negotiate on their behalf. The striking workers in turn were also dismissed.

The struggle between the union and management underlying the strike dated back to the previous year when management had refused to negotiate with the union on a draft agreement which called, inter alia, for a minimum wage of R40 a week and a 40 hour week. The union had then requested the Minister of Labour to appoint a conciliation board to settle the dispute in terms of Section 35 of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Mr Theron, secretary of the union claimed that the union represented more than half of the 250 workers at the factory. Mr Moni said that only 45 of the factory's 122 coloured workers and none of the 128 Africans had signed a power of attorney document in connection with the draft agreement. Management decided, therefore, in conjunction with the Department of Labour, that a dispute could not have occurred because of insufficient representation. Thus they decided to ignore the union's demands.

In May the FCWU withdrew its application for the conciliation board as most of the workers who signed the petition requesting its appointment had since been dismissed. Mr Theron, explaining, stated that as a conciliation board could only negotiate for better wages and work conditions it would only be to the benefit of those at present employed. The dismissed workers saw no point in continuing with the conciliation board until they got their jobs back.

The factory announced on 26 April that most of the African workers were on contract and had broken their contracts by going on strike. This meant that the company could not immediately re-employ them. A spokesman for the Department of Labour stated that by striking the men had quit and thus as there were no employees there could be no dispute.

On 11 May +_ 500 students of the University of the Western Cape, Bellville Teachers Training College, Bellville College for Advanced Technical Education and Hewat Teacher Training College pledged at a meeting to support the workers and boycott Fattis and Monis products.

By the end of June the following organisations had joined the boycott: the 2 100-member Western Cape Traders' Association and the Western Province African Chamber of Commerce, the Labour Party, the 14 000-strong Union of Teachers' Associations, affiliates of SACOS, the Commercial and Allied Workers' Union, UCT's student representative council, seventeen other student bodies on campus and students of
several high schools. Local bakeries, eg the Silverton Bakery, came out in support and suspended all purchases of flour from Fattis and Monis.

In August the boycott moved to the Transvaal where an Action Group held a series of meetings to rally support. Amongst the organisations which committed themselves were Inkatha, the Committee of Ten, the Labour Party, the National Union of Distributive Workers, the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers and the Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Trade Employees' Union, all TUCSA affiliates.

Three unions affiliated to the Consultative Committee-the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, the SA Chemical Workers' Union and the Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Association-also joined the campaign as well as Wits University's Projects Committee.

In August the general secretary of the SACC, Bishop Tutu, stated the SACC would try to negotiate in the dispute before supporting the boycott.

Various attempts to negotiate were undertaken by outside parties. Talks between the firm, the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Western Province African Chamber of Commerce and the Western Cape Traders' Association broke down in June after what the administrative manager of Fattis and Monis, Mr A. Terblanche, called 'unreasonable demands'. Mr Dawood Khan of the Western Cape Traders' Association said after talks with the firm that it offered to re-employ the 88 workers but only by absorbing them into other concerns. He stated that the workers should have been given their jobs back and those workers who tried to break the strike should be farmed out elsewhere or dismissed.

By 11 August it was reported that 24 of the workers had resumed work.

In an open letter to the firm in August, the Food and Canning Workers' Union called on Fattis and Monis to meet it in an attempt to settle the dispute. The letter was in response to a memorandum on the dispute prepared by the United Macaroni Factories Ltd, in which it described the union as 'unco-operative and uncompromising in its demands'.

A number of the dismissed workers were arrested and prosecuted for being in the area illegally as their contracts had ended.

Eventually after renewed negotiations the firm agreed to reinstate all 56 remaining workers in their previous jobs at previous rates of pay.

S.M. Goldstein

In July 131 workers of S.M. Goldstein construction company employed at a mine site near Thabazimbi were dismissed after allegedly striking over a pay demand. A spokesman for the workers stated, however, that the whole staff of 131 workers gathered at the site office to ask for a pay rise after management had agreed they could do so. They were then accused of striking and forced to move their belongings from the compound and were taken to the firm's Johannesburg compound.
A company official informed them they would all be re-employed elsewhere. However, only nineteen workers were selected for reemployment and the rest were taken to Johannesburg station to return to Natal and QwaQwa where they had been recruited. Twenty-five of Strikes the men who were stranded approached the Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union for help. The company claimed that the men had refused to work until pay negotiations had taken place and had opted to be paid off after refusing to meet the company's conditions for negotiations. Finally management agreed to re-employ the remaining workers."

Tony Rabine
About 70 African women employed by Tony Rabine (Pty) Ltd, a packaging firm at the City Deep Market, were dismissed in June after demanding a pay rise to meet higher transport costs. Most women were receiving between R11 and R12 a week. Mr Rabine stated his firm was not covered by any wage determination. Industrial Aid Society officials who intervened on the women's behalf held it was covered by the wage determination for unskilled labour which set a minimum of R17.20.

Framatex Mill
Between 800 and 1 000 Africans employed at Framatex Mill at New Germany near Pinetown downed tools and walked out on 29 June as a wage claim for a 25% increase made earlier in the week had been ignored by management. Management refused to talk to the press. The workers returned to work on 2 July after company officials threatened to dismiss them. A spokesman for the workers stated that three workers were dismissed for being the ringleaders, but this was denied by a factory spokesman."

Rainbow Chicken
A strike of 400 workers broke out at Rainbow Chicken headquarters in Hammarsdale in August. It was reported that the workers downed tools after management refused to reinstate a woman who was fired two months previously. About 40 riot squad police were called in and fired seven canisters of teargas to disperse the strikers. Fifty-five people were arrested and were to be charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.14

Sea Harvest
Also in August nearly 400 workers at Sea Harvest fish processing factory in Saldanha Bay went on strike after two of their colleagues had been sacked because they had come to work without overalls. The following day both women were reinstated and management was reported as having 'apologised to the workforce'.5

Balmoral Mine
Three hundred African miners went on strike at the Balmoral Mine in Germiston on 14 September after their demands for an increase in wages from R2.65 to R5 a day were rejected by management. The miners claimed that three of their spokesmen had been victimised and told to leave. Police were called in but the miners refused to return to
work after being addressed by an official from the Department of Cooperation and Development. The miners were given a choice of returning to work or being fired. Some of the migrants cancelled their Strike contracts and others agreed to go back to work. This was the first strike in half a century in the Boshoff group of mines (which are not affiliated to the Chamber). Du Preez Transport

In July 39 workers of Du Preez Transport company in Vereeniging were fined R60 or 60 days in the Vereeniging Magistrates’ Court for striking for higher wages. The men went on strike after management refused their demands for a wage increase of R10 per week, offering R4 instead.. Doreen’s Transport Cartage

Four truck-loads of policemen were called in when approximately 30 African workers from Doreen’s Transport Cartage Contractors went on strike in August after management refused an increase of R10 a week in wages. Workers claimed they were paid R20.36 a week for a work day from 7 am to 5 pm. The workers were not members of any trade union and therefore could not be represented in negotiations with management. Workers stated they would not return to work until their demands were met. Ford, General Tyre, Adamas Paper Mill

In November about 700 workers at Ford’s Struandale plant in Port Elizabeth went on strike over the dismissal of Mr Thozamile Botha, a trainee draughtsman and leader of the Port Elizabeth Civic Association. The strike ended when Mr Botha was reinstated. After meeting with the unregistered United Auto Workers’ Union, recognised by Ford, the company agreed to pay the workers for the time they were on strike. A further work stoppage was staged by workers less than two weeks later over working hours, but ended after negotiations had been held between the union and firm. In a backlash white workers presented management with complaints over the integration of facilities, African advancement and the according of strike pay to the workers. They called for extra pay or leave for the time they worked during the strike, paid leave and bonuses for white workers who had been retrenched and the re-instatement of a white foreman due to be retrenched at the end of November. African workers boycotted the canteen in response to the white workers' objections on the integration of facilities. A further strike was staged by 700 workers after the company stated that everyone who left his post during hours or refused to work overtime would be considered to have terminated his service. The workers were all paid off as a result and the firm later started to recruit for the vacant posts. At a mass meeting workers decided not to return unless they were reinstated en bloc and certain demands were met. They formed a Ford workers’ organisation affiliated to Pebco and elected a committee of
seven to further their cause. In a series of mass meetings in early December Ford workers reaffirmed their decision not to return to work unless all were unconditionally reinstated. This followed negotiations between Ford and the United Auto, Rubber and Allied Workers' Union during which the company stood by its ruling that workers should apply individually for re-employment and would lose their service bonuses accumulated before the strike. By 10 December Ford had employed 293 workers to fill the 700 vacancies. Of these 178 were former employees. Twenty of the former Ford workers were detained by the special branch under the General Laws Amendment Act.

The strike spread to General Tyre where 625 workers were fired after a three day wildcat strike over wages and other grievances, and to the Adams Paper Mill where 450 workers walked off their jobs. Some 150 of these were dismissed. Both companies re-recruited workers. General Tyre announced that all workers would receive 18 months' bonus pay in December. By 11 December 230 of the 250 vacant posts at Adams Paper Mill had been filled, mainly by former workers.

Other strikes

Strikes over pay were also held during the year by 300 workers at the Vanderbijlpark Town Council premises, 150 Durban African Fishermen, 170 workers at Mitco Tools in Natal, workers at Corobrik in Edenvale, 100 lorry drivers at SAR's Kaserne depot, 200 workers at DTB Cartage Company in Durban, 120 workers at Royal Dairy, Salt River in the Cape, 700 stevedores in the Cape, 700 workers at Sea Harvest (a second strike) and from 200-1 000 workers at Sasol II, amongst others.

References


THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

General
Political Status
By the end of 1979 the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda had been granted independence in terms of SA legislation. None of these territories had won international recognition, sole recognition being afforded by the governments of SA, the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Ciskei, Gazankulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Kwazulu were 'selfgoverning territories' in that they had duly constituted legislative assemblies which legislated for these territories in an increased number of areas of government specified in Schedule 1 of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act (see below). KaNgwane (the Swazi homeland) continued to move towards self-government since the establishment of a legislative assembly in October 1977, and the South Ndebele's political development remained at the level of a territorial authority until October when a Legislative Assembly for the territory was instituted.

SA Legislation Affecting the Homelands
Proclamation R150 of 1979
Amendment of Schedule 1 of the Black States Constitution Act, 24/1971
Schedule 1 of the original Act as amended listed the areas in which the homeland governments, established in terms of the Act, had jurisdiction. Proclamation R150 of 1979 extended the powers of the legislative assemblies in the homelands to cover the following fields:

(i) African education other than university education where such university or university college has been established by an Act of Parliament;

(ii) the control of business and trading undertakings, professions, trades and occupations; the issuing of licences other than licences for the purpose of trading in arms and ammunition and explosives;

(iii) the prohibition, for the purpose of maintaining public safety, peace, order or good government, of any organisation of which Africans are or are allowed to become members; the prohibition of the membership of such an organisation; the furtherance, in any manner, of the objects of such an organisation; the prohibition or restriction of any African who is an office-bearer in such an organisation; the restriction of any African to a particular

Homelands: Legislation

place or area; the prohibition of the contents of any speech, utterance, writing or statement of any African; and the removal of any tribe, portion of a tribe, African community or African from any place within the area of a legislative assembly to any other place in that area. Homeland governments may ban, restrict or move any of the above provided that any action taken under this Act does not affect the exercise of the State President's powers under Section 5(1)(b) of the Black Administration Act of 1927;

(iv) the planning, establishment, maintaining and administration of townships provided that the Minister has given prior approval;

(v) the establishment, control and management of library services;

(vi) the reservation, control and management of places or goods as places or goods of public resort, recreation, historical or scientific interest;

(vii) the establishment, control, organisation and administration of a police force subject to the conditions determined by the Minister of Police;

(viii) the establishment of new districts and the modification of the boundaries of existing districts provided that the Minister has given his prior approval;

(ix) the control of sport and recreation;

(x) the registration of citizens and the issue of documents contemplated in the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, 67/1952. Legislative assemblies are not empowered to repeal any Act of Parliament in terms of this section.
Nor does the provision detract from the power or authority, granted to any person by law, to compile and maintain a population register or to issue, under any law, any document to an African not in possession of a document contemplated in the above Act.

The proclamation was issued in terms of the enabling provisions of the first Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 12 of 1978, dealt with in last year's Survey pp 320-1.

Prime Minister's Tour of the Homelands

During August Mr P.W. Botha undertook a tour of the homelands, holding talks with the executives of the various areas. Accompanied by Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, (the new name of the old Department of Plural Relations and Development which had replaced the Department of Bantu Administration and Development), Mr Botha visited the Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, Lebowa, Venda, South Ndebele, QwaQwa and KaNgwane.

During the Prime Minister's tour various appeals were addressed to him. In the Ciskei, Mr Botha was asked to reconsider the whole philosophy behind consolidation. The Ciskeian Chief Minister, Mr Lennox Sebe, appealed to Mr Botha to remove the anomalies of King William's Town and Frankfort by including them in the Ciskei. Mr Sebe also told the Prime Minister that the Ciskei would only be content once it had gained access to a harbour and suggested that East London should be shared with the territory.

Summing up Mr Botha's visit, Mr Sebe was fulsome in his praise of the SA Prime Minister. He said that Mr Botha had introduced 'a totally new approach to the black states' (sic), and that more than had been expected had been achieved. One such achievement was Dr Koornhof's announcement that the SA Government would slow down the development of the resettlement camp at Glenmore and his undertaking to link future resettlement in the homeland with the provision of employment.'

In Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu, Mr Botha said that his government would 'change the policy whenever necessary in the interests of SA'. Mr Botha pledged his government to work for good neighbourliness and in this way to work for co-operation between the races. Mr Botha told Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, that he considered the meaningful consolidation of the homeland a high priority because it had a cardinal role to play in the building of a fatherland of which its people could be proud.'

During his visits to Venda and Lebowa, Mr Botha was told by Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister, that his visits to the homelands and particularly Lebowa had filled his people with hope and high expectations.4 Commenting on his tour after he had visited Venda, Mr Botha said that although he could not comment fully because he had not completed his tour he was impressed with the spirit of co-operation which had been manifested towards him. He said he believed that "a potential exists for greater prosperity and increasing living standards".5

Mr Botha concluded his tour with visits to South Ndebele, KaNgwane and QwaQwa. As during his earlier visits he was well received and told that the future of SA lay in greater consultation and less prescription.6
The difficulties and problems facing the particular homelands were also stressed as was their need for more land.' Concluding his tour with a visit to KaNgwane, Mr Botha suggested that improved relations between black and white in SA would come about through the proposed constellation of states. Mr E.J. Mabuza, chief executive councillor of the homeland, rejected the concept of a constellation of independent states and said that SA's survival lay in a commitment to a common fatherland.8

While most of the homeland leaders rejected Mr Botha's vision of the future by rejecting independence, his visit improved relations between the SA Government and various heads of the homelands. All the chief ministers of the homelands said after his tour that they believed that better relations were now possible since Mr Botha appeared to be willing to listen and act at least on some of the problems facing their areas. They also welcomed the apparent openness of the Prime Minister to discussions on the problems facing their territories, saying that this was an improvement on the past situation. While most homeland leaders adopted a 'wait and see' attitude following the tour, Mr Botha's commitment to call them together after he had completed the tour and the actual tour itself was, at the least, a successful public relations exercise on the part of the Government.

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Homelands:
PM's Tour

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Homeland Consolidation: Central Consolidation Commission
Area and Consolidation
Suggestions that the Government would consider consolidation of the homelands involving more land than that set aside in terms of the 1936 Land Act were made by the Prime Minister during the no-confidence debate in January. Prefacing his announcement that the Government was going to establish a commission of enquiry into consolidation, Mr Botha said: 'The Land Act is a step in the right direction. But we should review our progress so far and establish what is of importance to carry out the principle of proper consolidation in a spirit of consultation between academic leaders, Government leaders, economic leaders and black leaders.'9

In April, during the debate on his vote, the Prime Minister announced the names of those persons and organisations which would be represented on the Central Consolidation Committee. The committee is made up of the Chairman and members of the Commission for Plural Affairs, Mr P.T.C. du Plessis, Mr P. Cronje, Mr J.M. Henning, Dr W.D. Kotze, Dr G. de V. Morrison and Mr V.A. Volker (all National Party MP's), Dr J.J.S. Weideman, Economic Adviser to the Commission for Plural Affairs, Dr S.S. Brand, Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister, Dr F.H. Le Roux, Chairman of the Agricultural Committee of the Commission for Plural Affairs, representatives of the following Government institutions: Mr P. Snyman (Dept of Foreign Affairs), Mr S.A. Visagie (Dept of Finance), Mr L.N.J. Engelbrecht (Dept of Mines), Mr W.F. Visagie (Dept of Environmental Planning and Energy), Messrs J.J. van Wyk and H.S. Pienaar
(Dept of Plural Relations and Development), General M.A. de M. Malan (Dept of Defence), Mr F.J. van Eden (Bureau for Economic Research: Co-operation and Development), Mr P. Pretorius (Chairman of the Prime Minister's Planning Advisory Council), a representative of Organised Agriculture (Mr J. Wilkens), representatives of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the SA Federated Chamber of Industries, Assocom and the Chamber of Mines. Twelve academics, Prof C. Boshoff (Pretoria), Prof A.C. de Crespigny (Cape Town—the sole academic from an English language university), Prof H.J.O. Jeppe (Stellenbosch), Prof J.A. Lombard (Pretoria), Dr L.P. McCrystal, Prof D. Smith (OFS), Prof E. Potgieter (Potchefstroom), Prof P.R. Botha (Pretoria) and Prof C. Hanekom (Stellenbosch) were also appointed members of the committee.

Reacting to the announcement of the plan to investigate further consolidation of the homelands, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, rejected 'such promises with all the contempt they deserve since they are part of the Bantustan policy'. Inkatha's representative on the Witwatersrand, Mr Gibson Thula, said that KwaZulu would 'welcome additional land, although this would make no difference to our rejection of independence', a sentiment echoed by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, in August.

Attacking the committee because no Africans were represented on it, Mr Ray Swart, PFP spokesman on homeland affairs, said: 'The very people who are concerned more than any other group with the question of consolidation are totally unrepresented on this commission and this is to be deplored'. Continuing, Mr Swart said that this absence would affect the commission's effectiveness and the credibility of its report among Africans. Despite the shortcomings which were pointed out, the new initiative was widely welcomed.

In June, Mr H. van der Walt, MP for Schweizer-Reneke, was appointed chairman of the committee. Following his appointment he said that the highest priority facing the country was the greatest possible meaningful consolidation of the homelands,'3 a sentiment echoed by Prof F. Tomlinson, who headed the 1954 Tomlinson Commission.'4 At the committee's first meeting, Mr P.W. Botha made it clear that the Government was prepared to go farther than the settlement envisaged under the 1936 legislation. He said that it would be foolish to simply adhere to these terms. Each generation had to provide the solutions to its own problems. The committee established six specialist sub-committees which were to report by the end of October. The subcommittees dealt with consolidation matters affecting economy and finance; security and defence; agriculture; mining; constitution, history and ethnology; planning and infrastructure.'

In September parts of the Commission's report were reputedly leaked to the press. According to these reports, which Government sources refused to confirm or deny, Bophuthatswana was to be consolidated into a single block on the southern and south-eastern border of Botswana. Such consolidation would involve the incorporation of some 900 000 hectares into Bophuthatswana.16 In return Bophuthatswana would surrender its claim to approximately 700 000 hectares mostly in the ThabaNchu and Taung areas. The reports also indicated that the
Commission had recommended the incorporation of part of East Griqualand into the Transkei to consolidate it into a single block.

The Commission also reportedly recommended that two 'joint venture' areas, East London and Richards Bay, be established. East London would become a joint SA-Transkeian-Ciskeian venture, while Richards Bay was scheduled to become a joint SA-Swaziland-KwaZulu venture. QwaQwa was apparently to be increased in size before incorporation into Lesotho, a proposal favoured by QwaQwa's Chief Minister, Mr Kenneth Mopeli.

To lessen the cost of these massive consolidation proposals, the commission reportedly recommended that white farmers in the areas to be transferred to the homelands be encouraged to remain on their farms. The commission allegedly argued in favour of this change in Government policy for two reasons. First, the cost to the SA tax payer would be minimised and, secondly, the presence of white farmers in the homelands would make the territories more economically viable and provide employment opportunities. White landowners in these areas would not have to surrender their SA citizenship and the value of their land would be guaranteed by the SA Government.

Both the Prime Minister of the Transkei, Chief George Matanzima, and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana rejected the proposals as they were reported. President Mangope said that Bophuthatswana would reject the proposals because they involved massive resettlement plans of thousands of its citizens, and a source close to the Bophuthatswana administration said that while Bophuthatswana welcomed more land, the territory's demand for more 'white' towns would not end with the inclusion of Mafeking.

Commenting on the proposals, Chief George Matanzima said the Transkei would not relinquish any of its land in return for part of East Griqualand. He said that the SA commission appeared to be 'mixing up consolidation with restoration. That land is our right, and we are not prepared to accept any exchange of land'. Chief Matanzima was reacting to reports that in return for receiving parts of East Griqualand, the Transkei would give up its rights to land in the Maluti region. This land would then be incorporated into QwaQwa, prior to that territory's planned incorporation with Lesotho. The reports were dismissed as 'pure speculation' by Mr Bill Sutton and Mr Peter Miller, NRP, MP and MPC for Mooi River. The Mooi River constituency includes part of East Griqualand.

In October the committee presented an interim report to the Cabinet. It was referred back to the committee for further study. No reasons were given for the decision. The committee's final report was expected to be presented to the Cabinet by 31 March 1980.
Four regional committees, representing local interests, were appointed to consider and make representations to the central committee concerning their respective areas. Two representatives, nominated by the governments of homelands situated in the regions, were to serve on the respective committees. The Chief Minister of Ciskei nominated two white secretaries to Ciskeian government departments to represent his administration. All the other homeland representatives were Africans. The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that the proposals would be published for further comment and evidence after they had received Cabinet approval.

Uncertainty over the future of the Border region
The release of the results of a study on the viability of the Ciskei, which recommend the inclusion in the Ciskei's borders of the East London-Berlin complex, renewed speculation on the future of the Border region. The announcement last year that a commission to investigate the viability of independence for the Ciskei and the commencement of the commission's activities this year (see section on Ciskei for further details) gave fuel to the expectations prevalent among whites in the area that the Ciskei would opt for independence during 1980 and to increased white uncertainty over the region's future.

Despite assurances from the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P. Koornhof, and the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Mr P. Janson, that whites in the Border region did not need to fear incorporation into the Ciskei as this was not and would never be Government policy, uncertainty about the area's future continued to grow.

The deputy mayor of East London, Mr D. Card, said that the city was dying, if not already dead, because of the uncertainty about its future. Whites in the area were reportedly not reassured by Government promises that it would remain an area of white ownership and occupation, pointing to the failure of the Government to live up to its promises to the white residents of Port St Johns in the Transkei and regarding economic investment in the Border area.

Citizenship
Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Co-operation and Development said 1 437 Africans had regained SA citizenship in terms of the provisions of the Black States Citizenship Amendment Act, 13/1978. All of the applicants had been citizens of the Transkei. The Minister had said earlier that it was not possible to say exactly how many applications were still being considered but indicated that the total ran to several hundreds?

I In February the then Minister of Health, Dr S. Van der Merwe, apparently contradicted the statement of the former Minister of Plural Relations and of Information, Dr C.P. Mulder, that in the future there would be no black South Africans. He said 'I cannot envisage that the day will ever come when we have no black South Africans' and that no black South African would ever be forced to give up his SA citizenship. Clarifying his statement the next day, Dr van der Merwe said that he was expressing his personal opinion of the way I think things
are moving’. However, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP, said that as things stood at present ‘millions of South Africans have been stripped of their citizenship and many more live under that threat.’26 Calls for clarification of the issue through legislation were made by a number of Africans. Mr T.W. Kambule, a leading Soweto educationist, said a definite stand was needed from the authorities in order to clarify the position and Mr Letsatsi Radebe called for legislation to ensure that Africans would not be forced to surrender their SA citizenship. (See also Urban Africans.)

Earlier in the year the Inkatha movement called on Africans in 'independent' homelands not to take out citizenship of these areas. Pamphlets distributed in Soweto called on Africans to refrain from applying for Transkeian or Bophuthatswana citizenship since 'No black can be forced to take out citizenship of the Transkei or Bophuthatswana ... Every parent can protect the SA citizenship of his or her child by refusing to register the children as citizens of Transkei or Bophuthatswana.'27 The pamphlet, which assured Africans of Chief Buthelezi's support, an assurance which was supported by statements later in the year that KwaZulu would favourably consider applications for citizenship from people who were at present citizens of independent or about to be independent areas,2 was subsequently banned. The ban was subsequently lifted.

**Acquisition of Land**

The Minister supplied information about the extent of quota land (ie land bought in terms of the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act) acquired by the SA Development Trust as at 31 December 1978 and the area of land which still remained to be acquired in each province.29 R358m had been spent on the acquisition of this land to that date.30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands:</th>
<th>Land Acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>Cape Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hectare! 31 December 1978</td>
<td>2 515 345 1118 689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still to be Acquired</td>
<td>274 235 352 382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4 104 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1977 and 1978 the following areas of land were purchased in each province:3'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands:</th>
<th>Hectares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resettlement Transvaal</td>
<td>53 758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>27 091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As at 31 December 1978 the amount of land added to the homelands as compensation for the removals of black spots in each province and the amount of land still to be acquired was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Added during 1978</th>
<th>To be Acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>54 559</td>
<td>1 814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>40 578</td>
<td>13 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>17393</td>
<td>26879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>5 176</td>
<td>1 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>117706</td>
<td>43360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amounts allocated for the purchase of land for the purpose of consolidation in respect of the financial years 1974-5, 1975-6, 1976-7, 1977-8 and 1978-9 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Allocated</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974-5</td>
<td>26,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-6</td>
<td>59,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-7</td>
<td>53,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-8</td>
<td>47,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-9</td>
<td>40,4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the period 1 April 1977 to 31 March 1978 the numbers of families and persons involved in resettlement in the homelands were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natal to KwaZulu</td>
<td>3045</td>
<td>21857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal to KaNgwane</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal to Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>6 641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province to Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>3 927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province to Ciskei</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>5 819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei to Ciskei</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>3108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5919</td>
<td>41709</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expenditure in regard to transport, temporary housing, compensation and initial development costs amounted to R5.5m.
HOMELAND AFFAIRS
BOPHUTHATSWANA
Internal Affairs
Legislation

A number of Acts were passed by the National Assembly of Bophuthatswana during its sitting. While some were simply a matter of placing South African legislation still in operation in the area on the statute book, other legislation was innovative and still other Acts amended existing legislation. Among the legislation enacted were the following:

Republic of Bophuthatswana Constitution Further Amendment Act No 21
The territory's constitution, which came into force at the end of 1977, was amended. The constitution provided for a bill of rights defending the liberty of the individual (see 1977 Survey p 329).

In terms of the amended constitution an individual may now be lawfully detained "in the interests of national security or public safety" (Section 12(g)). The relevance of this amendment became apparent after the passage of the Internal Security Act, No 22, which was enacted later in the year (see below).

Other provisions of the Act are: the President may appoint an acting president when he is unable to perform his duties (Section 26). Ministers of State are empowered to appoint an acting president if the President is unable to do so. The acting president's term of appointment is not to exceed three months. The President is empowered (Section 35(1)) to appoint a maximum of twelve ministers to administer the departments of state as he believes necessary. A maximum of one-third of such ministers are permitted to be members of the National Assembly in terms of Section 39(1)(c).

Section 39(1)(c), which provides for the appointment of three non-Bophuthatswana citizens as members of the National Assembly by the President because of special knowledge, qualifications or experience, is itself amended. The number has been increased to six. Unrehabilitated insolvent are disqualified as members of the National Assembly (Section 42(a)) and Section 74
provides that a Public Service Commission will be appointed by the President in either a full-time or a part-time capacity consisting of a chairman together with a maximum of four other members. Finally Section 66(2) of the original constitution which provided for Presidential powers of appointment in respect of an attorney-general is amended. These powers are now given to the Minister of Law and Order.

Internal Security Act No 22
The Act is largely a consolidation measure in that it has drawn together much of the legislation already passed by the National Assembly, e.g. the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act, or SA legislation still in operation in the territory since independence. The Act repeals the relevant SA Acts or sections of Acts connected with security.

Many of the provisions widely regarded as objectionable are retained in this Act but attempts have been made to provide protection measures as well. It was because of these provisions that a further amendment of the territory's constitution was required (see above Section 12 (g)). Prof J. van der Vyfer of the Faculty of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand described the Act as being in many ways an improvement on existing SA legislation.

Chapter I: Internal Security
Definitions in the Act are broad. In terms of Section 1 a 'doctrine hostile to the state' is defined in the same manner as in SA's Internal Security Act of 1976 except for a new passage adding that it is a doctrine:

which in any way aims at alteration, reversal, erosion or destruction of the existing order or the protection of fundamental human rights as laid down in the Constitution, otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of the said Constitution.

Legal strikes or lockouts, i.e. those which have come about in accordance with the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, are not regarded in terms of the definition as an unlawful act or omission or as the promotion of disturbance or disorder.

The Act empowers the Minister to declare an organisation unlawful if he is satisfied that it is engaged in activities calculated to further the ends of a doctrine hostile to the state, that its activities endanger or are designed to endanger national security or public safety; any organisation controlled in any way by any organisation described above, and any organisation established to carry on in any way the activities of an unlawful organisation. The provisions of this section will not apply to employers' organisations or registered trade unions.

All the property of an unlawful organisation is forfeit to the State, and it will be liquidated. In addition to the Minister being empowered to declare certain organisations unlawful, he may impose certain restrictions on office-bearers, officers, members and active supporters of such organisations.

The Minister may prohibit the distribution of publications which in his opinion disseminate doctrines hostile to the State, which are published by unlawful organisations, which spread the views of such organisations, which convey
information which endangers national security, public safety or the State's territorial integrity or which is a continuation of or a substitution for a previously prohibited publication.

Lists of persons connected with unlawful organisations will be kept by an officer designated by the Minister. A person listed will have access to the Supreme Court for review. The Act contains provisions for bannings similar to SA legislation.

The Minister is (unlike in SA security legislation), at the request of such a person, required to furnish that person with the reasons for his actions provided that in the Minister's opinion, such reasons or parts of reasons can be disclosed without detriment to public policy.

Unlike similar SA legislation the Act makes provision for a Review Committee, consisting of a judge of the Supreme Court and two other persons, who need not be Bophuthatswana citizens, to review the restriction of persons. The Committee is to review such restrictions within two months of the person being restricted and thereafter at least every six months. Evidence, both written and oral, may be presented to the Committee. After its investigation, the Committee will make recommendations to the President, who will either give effect or not to the Committee's recommendations. In the case of the latter the President will present to the National Assembly a report containing the Committee's recommendation, the name of the prohibited person and his refusal to act on the Committee's recommendation. The Committee's investigation will be closed to the public-only those giving evidence, oral or written, will be allowed to be present at it.

Chapter I: Terrorism

The definitions of 'terrorist', and the aims of terrorism contained in the Act are drawn directly from SA's Terrorism Act except that the Act also adds to the definition a person who "uses the territory of the Republic as a base from which or as a route along which to commit any of the acts mentioned in paragraph (a) read with subsection (2) against another country".

Likewise persons who harbour or assist those they know or suspect to be terrorists in terms of the Act will be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties provided for by the law against Treason.

Chapter III: Preventive Detention

Detainees are protected to a greater extent than in SA legislation. Within 14 days a report giving the reasons for the arrest and detention of the person will be submitted to the Attorney-General who is empowered, after consultation with the Minister, to either order the detainee's release or his continued detention for a period of 90 days from the date of his arrest.

Should it be deemed necessary for reasons of national security to detain a person for a period longer than 90 days the Attorney-General, after consultation with the
Minister, may submit to a judge in chambers such an application supported by a report giving reasons. The detainee will be informed of such an application and may within seven days submit written representation why his further detention is unwarranted to the judge in chambers. Thereafter the judge may request further representations either in written or oral form or permit the detainee legal representation. The judge may then order the detainee's release or admit the Attorney-General's application. The judge's decision is not subject to appeal.

To ensure the detainee's continued well-being he will be visited at least fortnightly by a magistrate and at least monthly by a magistrate accompanied by a medical practitioner who, after every visit, will submit reports on the detainee's physical and mental condition. The detainee may also be visited by a clergyman of a religious denomination of which the former is a bona fide member once a week provided that the latter is authorised to do so by the Minister.

Witnesses or persons likely to be witnesses for the State may be detained if there is a danger that a prospective witness may be tampered with, intimidated, abscond or if the detention is in the interests of justice.

Unless the Attorney-General orders otherwise, the witness will be detained until the criminal proceedings are completed provided that such criminal proceedings commence within 180 days. If not the witness will be released. Within fourteen days of the witness's arrest the Attorney-General will submit to a judge in chambers the reasons for the witness's arrest and detention. Should the Attorney-General not provide in the judge's opinion a prima facie case in support of the continued detention of the witness, the judge shall order his release.

Chapter IV: Emergency Situations
The provisions of this chapter are drawn from the Public Safety Act, No 3 of 1956 (RSA).

Chapter V: Riotous Assemblies
Section 30 defines a gathering as "a meeting, gathering or assembly at which more than twenty persons are present at any one time and wherein those concerned voluntarily, and not as a result of circumstances beyond their control, participate".

Meetings of more than 20 persons are unlawful unless their holding has been authorised in writing by the magistrate of the district and it is held in accordance with conditions laid down by the magistrate. The magistrate will inform the applicant of the result of his application within 24 hours. A magistrate may only refuse an application or make conditions pertinent to the application if he is convinced that it is necessary in terms of national security and public safety to do so, or if he is convinced that the prevention of unrest or crime or the promotion of health, morals and the rights of others require such a refusal or the stipulation of such conditions.

Chapter VI: Discharge of Duties, Public Violence and Related Matters
People are prohibited from: intimidating others in relation to their right to be legally employed, partaking in a society's or association's activities, trespassing for the purpose of influencing workmen, verbally or in writing denouncing
persons who have absented themselves or refused to work for any employer, breaching their contracts if they are employed in vital areas of employment, removing, keeping or storing explosives, inciting others to public violence, speaking or publishing in a manner which can be reasonably expected to have such a consequence and attempting to induce others to commit an offence.

Bophuthatswana: Legislation

Chapter VII: Supplementary Provisions
An exception to the Acts repealed is the Unlawful Organizations Act, No 34 of 1960 (RSA) in terms of which both the ANC and the PAC are outlawed.

Other Legislation of Interest
Bophuthatswana Aliens and Travellers Control Act No 22
The Act restricts, regulates and controls the entry into, departure from and transit through the territory. It also provides for the registration of aliens and the removal of undesirables, establishes the powers and duties of passport control officers and controls the residence, permanent or temporary, of aliens in Bophuthatswana. The measure simply replaces existing South African legislation.

Bantu Administration Amendment Act No 38
The Act empowers the President to appoint an heir to a deceased estate where no such heir exists in terms of either common law or traditional law or custom. The amendment is retroactive to 6 December 1977 and amends the Bantu Administration Act 1927.

Bophuthatswana National Education Act No 2
The Act was the result of the interim recommendations of the Lekhele Commission (see last year's Survey p 276). The intention of the Act is to provide for the establishment, maintenance and development of a comprehensive system of educational services in schools, colleges and other educational institutions, appropriate to the needs and aspirations of the people of Bophuthatswana without regard to race, colour, class or creed.
Provision is made for the introduction by regulation of compulsory education for persons in a particular age group resident in a specific area. However, school fees, school funds and other monies are still payable.

Other legislation passed by the National Assembly during the year included:
Bophuthatswana Flag Amendment Act No 21
Bophuthatswana Traditional Authorities Amendment Act No 15
Bophuthatswana Associated Health Practices Registration Act No 45
Criminal Procedure Amendment Act
Divorce Act No 3
The appointment last year of Chief Tshireletso Gasebonwe as chief of the Bakwena tribe sparked a dispute over his legitimacy. Opponents of Chief Gasebonwe, who was appointed by President Mangope, re- Bophuthasented the appointment stating their preference for the new chief's tswana cousin, Chief Motsatsi Mosome, who has acted as regent for the tribe for 32 years. Opponents of Chief Gasebonwe stressed that he was not legitimately entitled to succeed to the post and said he was appointed because he was a supporter of President Mangope.

The dispute erupted into violence during which approximately 90 opponents of Chief Gasebonwe were arrested by Bophuthatswana police.

In April Brig H.F.P. Riekert, a seconded SA army officer who had been an advisor to the Bophuthatswana Government since 1977, was sworn in as Minister of Defence. Brig Riekert refused to take out Bophuthatswana citizenship, saying that this was not necessary. Brig Riekert's appointment brings the number of white ministers in the Bophuthatswana cabinet to three out of a total of twelve.

Non-Tswana Residents
The dispute between President Mangope's administration and non-Tswana residents of Bophuthatswana continued in 1979. Ndebele residents of the territory, particularly those living in the Winterveld 'squatter' camp, were continually harassed during the year. Police raids on their homes were stepped up and numerous threats to expel them-unless they took out Bophuthatswana citizenship-were made by President Mangope.

In March President Mangope told a meeting of Ndebele at Majaneng near Hammanskraal that his government demanded loyalty from the Ndebele. A further threat was posed to non-Tswana residents of Winterveld when President Mangope threatened to expropriate the land owned by absentee landlords who rented land to squatters.

The Minister of Education, Mr Sitlogelo, made it plain that government subsidies for schools for the Ndebele, suspended since 1976, would only be re-introduced if the tribesmen were prepared to support the policies of the territory's administration.6 Non-Tswana citizens also experienced difficulties when applying for endorsements to permit them to look for work. People from Maboloka, Winterveld, Klipgat and Hoekfontein, all areas with a high number of non-Tswana citizens, were reportedly turned away from the Odi Magistrates' Court, GaRankuwa, because, according to Mr Hector Tamanti, officer in charge at the offices, "the office no longer catered for squatters". Commenting on this action Mr G. Nkau, secretary for Internal Affairs, said that if squatters applied for Bophuthatswana citizenship they would be granted work-seekers' permits. However, the chief magistrate of Odi, Mr P.W. van Niekerk, questioned how
squatters could prove they had been legally resident in Bophuthatswana for the
required period and accused the Bophuthatswana government of deceiving the
squatters by giving them the impression that the acquisition of Bophuthatswana
citizenship would help them.

Other Internal Matters

The continual threats of expulsion if non-Tswana residents failed to apply for Bophuthatswana citizenship appeared to be having some effect. In January it was reported that 3 000 non-Tswana residents of Bophutha-
the Majaneng area had applied for Bophuthatswana citizenship as a tswana and
result of these threats.’ In May it was reported that more than 17000 South Africa people had applied for Bophuthatswana citizenship. This number included a
number of squatters according to Mr M.A. Kgomongwe, Minister of the Interior,
who had earlier described the squatters as “superfluous and undesirable”.

Foreign Relations

Relations With SA

The Bophuthatswana Border Extension Act 1978, came into force on 29 June
1979.10 The Act, passed by the SA Parliament, provides for the transfer of certain
areas of land to Bophuthatswana (see last year's Survey p 278 for details).

Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Labour, on behalf of the
Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that negotiations on the future consolidation of
Bophuthatswana were continuing between the two governments. He added that
the Commission for Plural Relations was also giving attention to the matter.”

The Bophuthatswana administration continued to press for the incorporation of
Mafeking into the territory. Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister
of Foreign Affairs said President Mangope had requested the incorporation on
three occasions, the latest being on 16 February 1979. The SA Government had
undertaken to consider the representations.2 The importance with which the issue
was viewed by the Bophuthatswana authorities was revealed by Mr David
Mathoagae, chief spokesman for the Bophuthatswana Department of Information.

Mr Mathoagae said that Bophuthatswana had been requesting the incorporation of
Mafeking and other SA towns bordering on the
territory since 1973 and would continue to do so.

The possibility that Bophuthatswana would be consolidated into one block of
territory including Mafeking was raised following the announcement of the
enlarged Commission on Plural Relations (see general section on Homelands).

Commenting on the possibility, Prof C.

Boshoff, a member of the Commission's subcommittee on consolidation, said that
a high degree of consensus on the consolidation of Bophuthatswana into a single
unit had been reached at a meeting of the subcommittee in Pretoria.’3 The SA
ambassador, Mr G. Wessels, had
said earlier that consolidation was very urgent.4

A number of border disputes occurred during the year. Speaking in the Senate,
Senator Swanepoel (NRP) said that there had been an increase in stock theft since
Bophuthatswana gained independence in 1977 and this had led to violations of the Bophuthatswana border by armed white SA farmers. Senator Swa nepoel said one of the reasons for the increased tension along the border was that the exact location of the border was uncertain.

Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that his department had received complaints from farmers in the neighbourhood of Bophuthatswana's borders relating to the treatment they had received at the hands of the Bophuthatswana police, damage done to boundary fences and veld fires. In all such in-
stances the Minister said that enquiries had been satisfactorily dealt with and that consultations between the two governments were continuing. Reacting to the allegations, Bophuthatswana's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr T. Molatlhawa, said that SA "whites will have to accept Bophuthatswana's independence as a reality and must not regard Bophuthatswana Police as Police Boys". He said he was aware that some SA farmers were employing people to steal stock in Bophuthatswana and drive it to SA for sale there and appealed "to our neighbouring whites not to attribute this evil practice to one section of the population only".

Farmers also said that they were reluctant to charge stock thieves and trespassers because they feared that their farms might be burnt down or their families attacked in retaliation. According to local residents of the Swartruggens area more than twenty farms had been offered for sale in recent months.

In July a new SA ambassador to Bophuthatswana was announced. Dr Willie Vosloo, who until the cabinet reshuffle in June was Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, succeeded Mr G. Wessels, who retired during the year. Close co-operation between the SA and Bophuthatswana police and army continued during 1979. This was amply illustrated by combined action against a group of guerillas apparently attempting to enter SA via Bophuthatswana (see Chapter on Security).

Relations with Other Countries

Bophuthatswana has yet to win recognition from any internationally-recognised independent state other than SA. Both the Transkei and Venda, which was granted its independence on September 13, recognise the territory's independence (and are themselves recognised as independent by Bophuthatswana) but neither of these areas has won international acceptability.

Opening the second session of the First National Assembly in February, President Mangope said that Bophuthatswana had satisfied all criteria necessary for international recognition and described the failure of the international community to extend such recognition as a "gross injustice".

There were suggestions during the year that conservative opposition parties in West Germany would recognise the independent territories of Bophuthatswana and the Transkei. However, according to press reports, until such time as the West German Christian Union formed the government in West Germany such a change
in policy was extremely unlikely° and even should a change of government take place, a change of the West German policy of non-recognition was doubtful. Similar constraints operate on the Muzorewa government in Zimbabwe. Bishop Muzorewa was reportedly keen to meet with President Mangope but decided to leave such a meeting for “a more opportune moment” following increasing international interest in the attitude of the Muzorewa government.” During the course of the year, the State President of the Transkei, Chief K.D. Matanzima, paid an official visit to Bophuthatswana.

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GAZANKULU
Gazankulu
Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi, chief minister of Gazankulu, re-iterated his opposition to independence for Gazankulu while the territory remained economically dependent on SA. In February he attended a meeting of the Black Alliance, the organisation formed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Coloured Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party to oppose apartheid, as an observer. Prof Ntsanwisi said he had nothing against the Alliance and refused to confirm or deny speculation that he would join the organisation.

Opening the second session of the third Gazankulu Legislative Assembly, Prof Ntsanwisi said that blacks were prepared to negotiate a political settlement in SA which provided for no domination by any group of another. He was replying to Mr Willem Cruywagen, Minister of National Education, who, officially opening the legislative assembly's session, appealed to black and white to stand together against the threat posed by a nationalised economy, and a totalitarian and atheistic state.22

Prof Ntsanwisi returned to the theme of consensus politics following his meeting, along with the seven other leaders of the homeland governments, with the Ministers of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, and of Foreign Relations, Mr R.F. Botha.3 Warning that SA faced difficult times which made it of the utmost importance to discuss issues together, Prof Ntsanwisi said that the country's destiny lay with all the people working together.

Addressing the inaugural conference of the new Study Group on Internal Relations, Prof Ntsanwisi said that blacks saw apartheid as both morally indefensible and depraved. Outlining black political aspirations, he said that nothing less than full participation in the highest level of government would satisfy blacks.

The dispute between the governing bodies of Lebowa and Gazankulu continued in 1979. The dispute which arose over the question of the boundaries between the two homelands24 was broadened by alleged harassment of Lebowa citizens resident in Gazankulu.

Lebowa citizens in Gazankulu were reportedly being forced to take out Gazankulu citizenship by local tribal authorities and were subject to police raids on their places of dwelling.2 The chief, who was allegedly inspiring the harassment, refused to comment on the reports.
Earlier in the year Prof Ntsanwisi attacked advocates of disinvestment in SA. Addressing the SA-Britain Trade Association in June, the Chief Minister said that advocates of disinvestment were victims of muddled morality since it was the African who would suffer as a result of this action. He appealed for greater investment in SA to assist blacks attain economic justice which, he said, was as important as political rights.26

QWAQWA
Demands for more land and emerging differences in the Dikwankwetla Party characterised the year under review in QwaQwa. Outlining the areas to be covered in his talks with Dr Piet Koornhof, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of the homeland, said in January that the addition of more land to QwaQwa was an urgent priority. Rejecting any notion of independence for the territory, Mr Mopeli said that he would also propose that an eighth department, a department of Economic Affairs, Tourism and Information, be added to his cabinet during his talks with Dr Koornhof. Officially opening the fifth session of the third QwaQwa Legislative Assembly, Mr Punt Janson, Minister of Education and Training, promised that more land would be given to the territory but warned that it was not realistic to expect that this could happen overnight.27 Mr Janson said that land in the Harrismith area and 10 000 hectares in Thaba Nchu had been earmarked for inclusion in the territory.

The announcement that the Government was to purchase land in Thaba Nchu angered white farmers in the area. At a meeting of farmers, Mr P. Henning accused the Government of setting totally unacceptable conditions of sale, refusing to inform the farmers of the value of their farms and said that farmers were being "thrown to the vultures and treated like the scum of the earth". A proposal that a memorandum outlining their complaints be drawn up and submitted to Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Minister of Development, was accepted.9 The urgent need for more land in QwaQwa was outlined by the Commissioner General, Mr J.S. Pansegrouw. According to Mr Pansegrouw QwaQwa's land area is 58 000 hectares, of which 20 000 hectares cannot be lived on because it is so mountainous. The remaining area, some 38 000 hectares, provides a home for approximately one-sixth of the 1.7 m South Sotho.30 The population density is approximately 400 people per square km.

The Chief Minister, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, dismissed two members of his cabinet during the year. Both men were prominent members of the Dikwankwetla Party and had held the key posts of the Interior and Education. It was believed in party circles that they had been given these posts because of the key roles they had played in the party's landslide 1975 election victory. The dismissal of Mr Caswell Koekoe, Minister of the Interior before his demotion to Minister of Works in January, was received quietly in the homeland. Mr Koekoe alleged that he had been dismissed because he had refused to issue a trading licence to a white friend of Mr Mopeli.31 At the time of his dismissal Mr Koekoe said he would raise the issue at the Dikwankwetla Party Congress to be
held in Welkom later in the year. Commenting on Mr Koekoe's dismissal, Mr Mop'eli said he was simply exercising his prerogative as Chief Minister and that he had told delegates to the party congress that he would disregard whatever decision was taken on the matter.2

Mr James Ngake, QwaQwa Minister of Education, was dismissed in July. In a statement after his dismissal Mr Ngake said that his dismissal was a result of his criticism of QwaQwa's urban representatives, white interference in QwaQwa's internal politics and his involvement in the Black Alliance.3
An election is scheduled in QwaQwa for March next year and speculation immediately arose concerning Mr Mopeli's reasons for dismissing the two men.4
It was suggested that Mr Mopeli, by sacking

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them, sought to destroy their power-base should they attempt to replace him.
At the end of September the Dikwankwetla Party held a special party conference at Kagiso, Krugersdorp. The conference, attended by about 120 delegates from around SA, was called at the instigation of Mr Koekoe and Mr Ngake. The two former ministers had earlier been stripped of their party posts and Mr Koekoe had been expelled by an executive committee meeting of the party in August. The expulsion was later supported by a court order.
The special conference retaliated by expelling Mr Mopeli, two cabinet ministers and ten other party members who supported Mr Mopeli. Mr Koekoe's membership was reinstated and he was elected the leader of the party and Mr Ngake was re-elected national chairman. Commenting on the decisions of the special conference, Mr Mopeli said the conference was unconstitutional because as far as he knew no executive member of the party had been present. Mr Mopeli also questioned how many of the party's ten regions were represented at the special conference and said that, if necessary, he would obtain a court order to restrain Mr Koekoe's actions.5
In October Mr Koekoe announced that his wing of the Dikwankwetla Party would form an election alliance with other opposition parties to contest next year's elections.6
Relations between the Transkei and QwaQwa, which had been strained for some time because of alleged harassment by Transkeian authorities of Sotho speakers resident in the area, soured during the year. The Sotho opposed their inclusion in the Transkei at the time of independence and, according to Mr W.R. Malefane, leader of the Maluti-Herschel Sotho, made no secret of their "desire to belong to QwaQwa". Mr Malefane, who was detained by the Transkei security police, fled to QwaQwa on his release and said that he would continue to work for the inclusion of Sotho living in the Transkei into QwaQwa.7
On a number of occasions during the year the Chief Minister, Mr Mopeli, attacked the "falseness, double standards and weak-kneed foreign policy" of the Western world. Opening the annual congress of the Dikwankwetla Party, Mr Mopeli said that Western diplomats were following in the footsteps of the Soviet
In an address to a meeting of Rotarians in Bloemfontein, Mr Mopeli said that the Western world had already lost the struggle for world domination and illustrated this by pointing to the ‘escapades’ of the five Western powers in their dealings with Rhodesia and SAA9. He appealed for the Western world to invest in SA and the homelands saying that by doing this Western countries would be countering the ideological weapons of the Soviet bloc.

KANGWANE

Officially opening the second session of the territory's legislative assembly, Dr Willie Vosloo, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, warned against the unplanned settlement of people who migrated to the region. The influx of people to the reserve had created administrative problems and unless administrators utilised the 319 highest degree of skill, administrative collapse would result. In its turn this would create still greater inadequacy in the services available to the area's residents.

Lebowa

Dr Vosloo also announced that a national plan for the development of KaNgwane was being drafted. He expected that the announcement of this plan would attract entrepreneurs and encourage the establishment of smaller industries which were needed to promote productivity and create a national income.

LEBOWA

At various times during the year Lebowa's Chief Minister, Dr Cedric Phatudi, rejected the idea that Lebowa would accept independence. Commenting on the possibility that he would join the SA Black Alliance, Dr Phatudi attacked the Transkei and Bophuthatswana for making their citizens foreigners in the land of their birth by accepting independence and said there was only one homeland for Africans and that was SA. He returned to the theme in March when, following reports that Lebowa had substantial deposits of precious minerals and metals, Dr Phatudi rejected any notion of independence for Lebowa.

Dr Phatudi also attacked the SA Government for giving substantial funds to those territories which opted for independence while denying investment to others. Describing the decision to accept independence as an act of "divorcing from one's country" which was not worth celebrating, Dr Phatudi said the so-called independent homelands could not be classed as independent in the true sense of the word because they were unable to provide sufficient employment for their citizens. He pointed out that since the independence of Bophuthatswana and the Transkei, citizens of these territories still had to seek work in SA as they had in the past and questioned what, in fact, had changed.

Commenting on the resettlement powers granted to the governing authorities of the homelands in terms of Proclamation R150 of 1979, Dr Phatudi said they were welcome but that before utilising them his government would give the people to be moved 'positive reasons' for the move.

A dispute arose in the territory over the decision to name the new capital Phatudi. Announcing the new name, the Secretary of the Interior Mr J. De Bruin, said that the decision had been a unanimous one taken at cabinet level. Commenting on the
new name, Mr Maredi Tshweu, an opposition member of the legislative assembly, said that the choice of the new name was arrogant and "a stark example of personality enhancement".46

A motion was adopted in the legislative assembly in April calling on the SA Government to repeal the 1936 Land Act. The Chief Minister said that the Government should repeal the Land Act to allow for "a fair and new political dispensation for all South Africans irrespective of colour, creed or political philosophy or tenets".41

The boundary dispute between Lebowa and Gazankulu continued in 1979. The report of the Uys Commission of Enquiry, which was appointed in 1976 to investigate the dispute 4 and which was pre-

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sented to the Lebowa cabinet last year, was rejected by a number of legislative assembly members as biased. Members said that Mr J. Uys had been closely involved in drawing the original boundaries between the territories and asked "How can a magistrate preside over his own case?"49

The alleged harassment of Lebowa citizens in Gazankulu led Dr Phatudi to make several protests to the SA Government. He said that the harassment had begun after Lebowa citizens resident in Gazankulu had refused either to take out Gazankulu citizenship or leave the area. However, he said that beyond protesting to the SA Government, which had ignored all his protests, his government was unable to take any further action.

Allegations of fraudulent behaviour of officials in the Lebowa Department of Finance were made by an assistant accountant in the department while on trial for fraud. Mr Mahangu's allegations resulted in the legislative assembly requesting the State President to appoint a judicial commission of enquiry to investigate the allegations.

SOUTH NDEBELE

The creation of a homeland for the Ndebele-speaking South Ndebele met with opposition among the Ndebele themselves. The Government's proposal separated the South Ndebele from the Sotho-speaking North Ndebele. The chairman of the Northern Transvaal Amandebele Organisation, Mr W.L. Molomo, announced in May that a memorandum, drawn up by ten Northern and Southern Ndebele, had been submitted to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof. The memorandum called for the creation of one area for all Ndebele.50

Mr Malomo said that Northern Ndebele chiefs had indicated for some time that they would secede from Lebowa in favour of a common territory with the Southern Ndebele. The language and cultural differences would create no problems, he said, as once a common area had been established for all Ndebele, the different territorial authorities would band together to make the unification of the two language groups a success.

Earlier in the year Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Deputy Minister of Development, said that during 1978 more than 9 000 families had settled in the area reserved for the occupation of the South Ndebele. He revealed plans to increase the territory's
present size (77,000 hectares) by the addition of more land in the future." Dr Hartzenberg said that the Government had expected that the Ndebele would be integrated into the surrounding reserves but that the South Ndebele had rejected integration in favour of recognition as a separate ethnic group. The territory continued to develop politically during the year. In terms of Proclamation R205 of 1979 a legislative assembly and an executive council for the area was established with effect from 1 October. The Assembly consists of 46 nominated members made up of the four chiefs of the homeland and forty-two nominated members of the four tribal authorities. The assembly has a life of five years from its first ordi-

nary session. The Executive Council consists of the Chief Executive Councillor and five other members. The Chief Executive Councillor is elected by the assembly by secret ballot and he appoints the other five council members. Proclamation R206 of 1979 establishes six government departments for the area. They are the Departments of Authority Affairs and Finance, Education and Culture, Community Affairs, Works, Agriculture and Justice. Each department will be headed by a member of the Executive Council. Proclamation R204 of 1979 assigns the powers, functions and duties of the authorities in the homeland to the Ndebele Territorial Authority. The Ndebele Territorial Authority is now responsible for the establishment, maintenance and management of educational institutions; the provision of sanitation, satisfactory water supplies and the prevention of soil erosion; the control of stock diseases, the improvement of farming and agriculture; afforestation; and the provision, maintenance and management of health-care facilities.

Secessionist moves
The attempts of the Northern Ndebele to secede from Lebowa and join the newly created homeland for the Southern Ndebele continued in 1979. A reply to the memorandum submitted by ten northern and southern Ndebele on the proposed merger was awaited.2 Calls for the return of nine farms taken from the Northern Ndebele in the Nebo district were made in the legislative assembly. Mr Andries Mahlangu called on the Lebowa government to recover the farms from the SA Government."

The Selaka tribe, some 1,000 of whom indicated their desire last year to become part of Bophuthatswana4 continued their attempts to secede from Lebowa during 1979. The tribe allegedly oppose their chief, Chief Z.K. Selaka, who is a minister in the Lebowa government and supports Dr Phatudi. Following Dr Phatudi’s statement last year that the majority of the tribe wanted to remain in Lebowa, confusion arose over who wished to leave and who to remain. In order to clarify this issue tribal leaders wrote to the District Magistrate to request him to call a meeting to discuss the issue.

KWAZULU
During 1979 there were numerous developments in KwaZulu politics. The Inkatha movement suffered a significant electoral set-back in the KwaMakuta Town Council elections. Residents had complained earlier that Inkatha executive members in KwaMakuta were behaving in a dictatorial manner. They said that
local Inkatha officials had nominated candidates for all six wards and that they were being threatened with eviction if they did not vote for the Inkatha nominees. The final results saw four independent candidates winning seats. Inkatha officials immediately applied to have the results invalidated in two wards, alleging that the electoral victories were based on the votes of hostel migrants who were not entitled to vote.

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322 There were rumblings of discontent amongst teachers during the year. The recent inclusion of Inkatha as part of the syllabus in KwaZulu schools (see chapter on African education) and the insistence that all KwaZulu teachers belong to Inkatha angered teachers. Reports indicated that teachers were secretly meeting and drawing up plans to form a new political party to contest Inkatha's dominant position in KwaZulu politics.

In July Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, confounded some of his critics by announcing that Inkatha membership was now open to all blacks. Inkatha had been criticised in the past because its membership had been limited to Zulus and was referred to by some as the 'Zulu Broederbond'. By opening membership to all blacks, Chief Buthelezi defied the warning given to him by ex-Minister of Justice, Mr James Kruger, and, should there be a significant display of interest in membership on the part of non-Zulus, the decision would broaden his potential power base in SA politics.

Chief Buthelezi also justified Inkatha's decision to serve on the regional committees established by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof. Commenting on the organisation's decision to participate provided the regional committees were not used "to cosmeticise and whitewash apartheid", Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha members would serve on the committees to "prevent sellouts from misleading the people".

The organisation's newspaper, The Nation, stopped publication on the Witwatersrand during the year. (See chapter on Control of the Media.)

The dispute between Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, which began last year when Chief Buthelezi accused Bishop Tutu of "running away" when violence erupted at the funeral of Mr Robert Sobukwe, was fanned into life again following the publication of allegations in The Nation that the SACC was in danger of losing its overseas sponsorship because of inefficiency and maladministration.

Bishop Tutu said that although he had a high regard for Chief Buthelezi's integrity and qualities of leadership, he claimed "the right to disagree with him" and said that the SACC was looking into the legal options open to it to establish if the paper could be taken to the Press Council because the report was "a wild story, scurrilous reporting"
without truth".9 (See Chapter on Black Political Activity.)
The continuing power struggle between the Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Buthelezi also erupted again during the year. The rift first arose in 1975 and was papered over when King Goodwill publicly affirmed his faith in Chief Buthelezi's leadership of the Zulus in the KwaZulu legislative assembly. The current rift between the two apparently arose as a result of the on-going power struggle between the KwaZulu cabinet and King Goodwill. Earlier this year the KwaZulu government decided that all invitations to the king must first be scrutinised by the cabinet and any visits which the king might wish to make outside the Nongoma tribal authority must first be cleared with the cabinet.

Chief Buthelezi explained the decision, saying that it should be interpreted as an attempt to protect the king's dignity and ensure his safety rather than as an effort to muzzle him. However, other observers said that it represented an attempt to distance the king from politics in any form.

Dissatisfaction with the king's activities was revealed in the KwaZulu legislative assembly following Chief Buthelezi's allegations that the king had advocated requesting Frelimo assistance because talking to whites was a waste of time, and that the king had referred to Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government as the "lackeys of whites".1 Chief Buthelezi had alleged earlier that a member of the royal entourage, Mr Mazamo Zulu, had threatened to shoot him.61

In a week-long debate legislative assembly members, outlining the background to the present dispute, made allegations of torture in the Nongoma district and that the king and close relatives had conspired with a white employee of Iscor to form a political party, the Inala Party. According to Chief Buthelezi the aim of the party was to give the king greater political power so that he would have the right to appoint the chief minister.

During the debates the king refused to attend the assembly despite repeated invitations requesting his presence. After he had failed to attend a meeting of the assembly to answer the allegations against him for the third time, a delegation was sent to his palace at Nongoma. On its arrival the king snubbed it, receiving the delegation in silence; a spokesman for the king later told the delegation to return at a later date when the king felt better.

When the delegation reported back to the legislative assembly, the assembly's members, obviously angry, called for the reduction of the king's salary to R8 000 pa, a cut of more than R13 000, and an official inquiry into the allegations relating to his unconstitutional conduct. The salary cut was to be effective until such time as the king rejoined the assembly and answered the allegations satisfactorily.

In July Chief Buthelezi announced that a special session of the legislative assembly would be called to discuss the question of the king's misconduct. Outlining the allegations against the king, Chief Buthelezi said that these included mistreatment of members of the Usuthu tribe, the king's alleged participation in political activities, his reported advocacy of violent means to overthrow the political status quo, and assaults on various individuals.
The king denied the allegations and refused to ask that the assembly drop the investigation which would have implied an admission of his guilt. While an assembly member, Dr Baldwin Ngubane, was proposing a motion that the enquiry be abandoned, in line with Chief Buthelezi's earlier commitment to prevent the king's deposition, the king ran out of the assembly, creating an uproar.62

The king's flight from the assembly ended the crisis. The assembly unanimously passed a resolution ending the enquiry and restoring the king's full salary. Chief Buthelezi later announced that the royal family had spoken to the king and that the whole matter had been settled amicably" but when questioned on future relations between the king and the assembly would only say "At this stage I don't know".6

The KwaZulu legislative assembly adopted two anthems, 'Nkosi Sikeleli-Afrika' and its Sotho equivalent 'Morena Boloka Sechaba Saheso', as the national anthems of KwaZulu.

Two attempts to secede from KwaZulu were abandoned during the year. Chief Eliphas Molefe, chief of the Batloka Sotho tribe who

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KwaZulu had said earlier that he would rather be ruled by the QwaQwa government, announced his support for the KwaZulu government in March.' He told supporters at a tribal meeting that he believed tribal matters would run smoothly under the KwaZulu government and that the tribe was now represented in the local regional authority.

The attempt to win independence for the amaHlubi 'king' Langalibalele II proved short-lived. The self-styled king declared last year that the amaHlubi did not wish to be part of KwaZulu and would prefer to be incorporated into KaNgwane because of their closer relationship with the Swazi people. However in July this year he announced that the tribe would remain part of KwaZulu and that he would swear allegiance to the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini.6

A number of attacks were made on SA Government policy as it related to KwaZulu during the year. The by now almost annual motion calling for the removal of all SA security police from KwaZulu was introduced by Chief M. Nyawo and adopted by the assembly. In the past Chief Buthelezi has alleged on a number of occasions that the SA security police and agents of the Bureau of State Security were plotting against him.

In May the Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that Mr P.H. Torlage was to retire in August due to ill-health. The announcement brought with it expectations of improved relations between the KwaZulu administration and the SA Government. Mr Torlage, who was appointed Commissioner-General in 1970, clashed with Chief Buthelezi on a number of occasions and was publicly attacked equally often in the legislative assembly. Mr Torlage's successor, Mr P.N. Hansmeyer, was appointed by Dr Koornhof in June. Mr Hansmeyer expressed
optimism about future relations between SA and KwaZulu. He assumed office on 1 August.

In an address to the Pinetown-New Germany Chamber of Industries, Dr Lawrence McCrystal, chairman of the KwaZulu Development Corporation, attacked the Government's policy of dealing directly with KwaZulu. Emphasizing that he was criticising the system and not the competence of officials, Dr McCrystal said that the devolution of power to the Natal Provincial Administration so as to enable it to negotiate directly with KwaZulu would appear to be the only solution. Dr McCrystal said this devolution was necessary because "the fortunes of Natal and KwaZulu are too closely interrelated for future relations to be left on the present basis whereby people in Pretoria determine the outcome for Natal of the various developments which will take place within KwaZulu".61 Dr McCrystal said that his suggestion was not out of line with the current line of Government thinking.

A number of residents in the northern area of Natal who have traditionally crossed and re-crossed the Mozambique border were injured and some killed while crossing the border during the year. Landmines, apparently laid by Frelimo troops to stop people moving backward and forwards across the border, killed six people and injured at least seven" in March. According to local residents of the area, which is near Swaziland and alongside the Ndumo game reserve, they had been entering and leaving Mozambique illegally for decades in order to visit family and friends on both sides of the border.

Chief Buthelezi rejected the concept of independence for KwaZulu again during the year. In August he told interviewers that he would "under no circumstances opt for independence because KwaZulu is part of SA as a whole".9 During a meeting with the Depart- Ciskei ment of Co-operation and Development's Commission of Inquiry into ways of consolidating KwaZulu into a single block, Chief Buthelezi said that KwaZulu rejected further consolidation if it was based on the assumption that the territory would opt for independence. He said he would reject more land given on this assumption despite the dire need of land in KwaZulu and overcrowding in the territory.

The possibility of an alliance between Inkatha and black trade unions was raised by Chief Buthelezi. Speaking in Durban to the Natal branch of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, he said that blacks had formidable buying power and that "any action on the part of workers which mobilises consumer power to any meaningful degree will strike terror into chambers of industry and commerce and into employer associations". Describing the separation of trade union interests and political interests as "no more than a divide and rule tactic", Chief Buthelezi appealed for "a joint effort to mobilise the people" in the struggle for liberation against oppression.0

CISKEI

Political in-fighting in Chief Lenox Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party continued during 1979. The dismissal with immediate effect of Mr W.F. Ximiya from his post as Minister of Agriculture and his replacement by the Rev W.M. Xaba, former chief whip of the party, was the fifth such dismissal since 1975. Chief Sebe, announcing the cabinet reshuffle, said it was "in the interests of the
Ciskei and its people"." However, political observers interpreted the cabinet reshuffle as the latest in a series of moves by Chief Sebe to secure control of the party, pointing out that the Chief Minister had dismissed ministers, such as Chief Burns Ncamashe and Mr L.F. Siyo, when he felt that they were becoming a threat to his leadership. In yet another development designed to consolidate his hold on the party, Chief Sebe appointed Mr B.D. Myataza chief whip of CNIP. Mr Myataza had been tipped to return to the cabinet since the revolt, led by Mr Siyo, in the party in 1977 but was cold-shouldered by the party leadership until this year. Mr Myataza had held the portfolios of Justice and Interior before his unexplained dismissal in May 1976. In a further development three CNIP executive members were expelled and ousted from their positions following accusations of disloyalty at the party's sixth annual congress.

Divisions arose in opposition ranks during the year as well. The first signs of these divisions came when Mr L.F. Siyo, leader of the National Labour Party of SA, fled the Ciskei and went into voluntary exile in the Transkei. In April there were reports that Chief Burns Ncamashe's Ciskei National Unionist Party, a splinter group from CNIP, was considering rejoining Chief Sebe's party. These reports were given some foundation by the presence of CNIP observers at a meeting of the Ciskei National Unionist Party to discuss the matter and the attack delivered on Chief J.T. Mabandla, leader of the Ciskei National Party, by Chief Ncamashe at the meeting.

In August it was reported that talks between Ciskeian exiles who fled to the Transkei last year fearing detention (see last year's Survey p 287) and the Ciskei authorities had taken place. As a result of these talks Mr L.F. Siyo and others who fled the Ciskei last year withdrew defamation charges against the territory's Minister of Justice, Chief Z. Njokweni. Charges of incitement which Chief Njokweni had laid against the men were, in their turn, dropped and the exiled men were allowed to return to the area without hindrance. Later in the month, following talks between other exiles and the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (see below), a general amnesty for all who fled the territory last year was announced. Announcing the amnesty, a spokesman for the CCIS said "as long as they do not contravene the law of the country they are to be treated like any other Ciskeian". Mr Siyo was one of the first to take advantage of the amnesty announcement. However, it was not expected that all the exiles would return as some of them were employed in the Transkei. In November it was reported that Mr Siyo had been detained again.

The dispute over the succession to the Rarabe paramountcy appeared to have been settled during the year. The dispute arose out of the appointment of Chief Maqoma as Acting Paramount Chief in 1976 despite a ruling by Chief Xalizwe Sigcau, 'king' of the Xhosa, that Chiefteness Nolizwe should act as regent until her son, Maxhhaba, came of age. After a meeting of Chiefs in January, Chief Lenox Sebe announced Chiefteness Nolizwe would become acting paramount chief.
The dispute had split the Rarabe along party political lines. Commenting on the reversal of the earlier decision, Chief J.T. Mabandla, leader of the opposition in the Ciskei, said "it was one of those rare occasions where we have had cause to support the Ciskei government."

Chief Sebe continued to attempt to provide a focus of Ciskei nationalism at Ntabakandoda, the site of the re-buried remains of Chief Jongumsobomvu. In January he announced that a wreathlaying ceremony involving all chiefs in the Ciskei was to be held during the year and that a special song was to be composed for the occasion.

However, Chief Sebe's aims received a setback earlier in the month when Chief Ndaba Njokweni indicated before his death that he was not to be buried at Ntabakandodo but elsewhere. Chief Sebe had earlier expressed his wish that all Ciskeian chiefs should be buried at Heroes Acre at Ntabakandodo.

The problems facing the Ciskei as a result of the massive resettlement of people in the homeland in past years were highlighted during the year. Speaking in the SA Assembly Mr Hendrik Coetzer, MP for Kingwilliamstown, said that inside and around the Ciskei there was unemployment and hunger "as nowhere else in SA". These problems were further illustrated by the floods which devastated the Eastern Cape and Border regions in July and August. The destruction of squatters' houses by the floods led to a protest by about 300 people calling for the resignation of the Minister of Interior, Chief L. Maqoma, and the department's secretary, Mr J. Marais, for failing to provide housing and allegedly returning R1 million which had been allocated to the Ciskei authorities for housing to the SA Government.

Proclamation R252, in terms of which the Ciskeian authorities have 327 powers of detention without trial, continued in operation in the territory during the year. A report in March gave the number of people detained at the time as at least 75 and possibly as many as 80 according to Ciskei the Secretary for Justice, Mr B.J. du Randt. Approximately 10 of the detainees were detained for political reasons, the remaining 65 were detained for taking part in a bus strike in January. Reports that the Ciskei had established its own security police force, the Central Ciskei Intelligence Service, were confirmed by Chief Sebe in May. Chief Sebe said that the CCIS had replaced the Bureau of State Security, and operated under the umbrella of his department "but does not follow normal departmental procedures in reporting to myself and the cabinet". Political observers cited the formation of the CCIS as yet another example of Chief Sebe's determination to retain political control in the Ciskei.

Speculation that the Ciskei would opt for independence some time in 1980 was rife following the announcement of the Quail Commission's terms of reference and the publication of the questions it posed to the SA Government. The questions dealt largely with citizenship and nationality and the problem of consolidation. The Commission began its enquiry in May and would submit its report by 3 February 1980. According to Chief Sebe the extension of the deadline was necessary because of the need for surveys to assess the attitude of Ciskeians to the
question of the territory's independence and the necessity for major research both in SA and overseas on the question.
The chairman of the commission, Prof G. Quail, said in an interview that the majority of Ciskeians interviewed by his commission who lived outside the Ciskei, ie in the so-called 'white' areas of SA, rejected the idea of independence for the territory." Prof Quail said that most of those interviewed "would like to be part of a federation of states or to belong to one main SA".
Opposition to independence for the Ciskei also came from the chief ministers of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and of Gazankulu, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi. Both rejected independence on the grounds that it would be a tragedy and that it would provide no solution for the problems facing SA.14 Earlier in the year a study conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Economic Research recommended that the Ciskei should only opt for independence if East London and the Border area was included within its boundaries. According to Mrs N. Charton, of the Department of Political Studies, Rhodes University, only through the consolidation of the area in this manner would it stand a chance of economic viability.
The announcement that Alice was to become the new capital of the Ciskei was made in June. The announcement that the capital would move from Zwelitsha, King Williams Town's African location, and still further away from the politically influential area of Mdantsane, could result in a shift in the political power-base in the territory. Chief Sebe has been encountering opposition in Mdantsane for some time and the latest move tends to de-emphasise Mdantsane in favour of areas in which Chief Sebe's support is particularly strong.
Constitutionally the Ciskei continued its development during the year. An eighth government department, the Department of Finance

Venda:
Legislation VENDA
On 13 September Venda became the third African homeland to be granted independence by the SA Government. Present at the ceremony were three Zimbabwe-Rhodesian observers, the first representatives of a foreign country to attend homeland independence celebrations, and representatives of the Ciskei, Gazankulu, and Bophuthatswana. Representatives of the Transkei were not present (Chief Kaiser Matanzima, president of Transkei, said that he had not received an invitation)85 nor were representatives of KwaZulu, KaNgwane and Lebowa. The chief executives of the latter territories had decided earlier in the year not to attend the celebrations because they all opposed SA policy in this regard.
Venda is the smallest of the territories to be granted independence to date. Its total land area, comprising one block of land, is 639 000 hectares. It is situated in the Northern Transvaal near the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian border. The territory was granted independence after seventeen years of constitutional development in terms of apartheid policy. Two elections have been held in the territory. In the
first the present Chief Minister, Chief Patrick Mphephu, won only five of the eighteen elected seats. However, he won power with the support of the 41 nominated traditional leaders who formed part of the legislative assembly of sixty. The second election was held last year while Proclamation R275 of 1977, which allows for preventive detention, was still in force. The opposition Venda Independence Party won 31 of the 42 elected seats (see last year's Survey p297-8). Chief Mphephu, however, won the election for chief minister again, having detained twelve opposition members and nominated a sufficient number of his supporters to seats in the assembly to obtain a majority, provided the traditional chiefs supported him.

Status of Venda Act No 107
The Act provides for the creation of an independent Vendan state in accordance with the expressed desire of the Venda government.
Both the government and opposition parties in Venda have called for the devolution of independence to Venda.
The Act provides for the Venda Legislative Assembly to be the sole body empowered to make laws, including a constitution for Venda.
Until existing laws are repealed, they will continue in existence.
Existing international agreements and treaties binding on SA will be binding on Venda after it gains its independence. The Venda government may denounce any such agreement, thereby freeing itself of any obligations under such agreements and treaties. Any agreement in existence between the SA and Venda governments will, after independence, become international agreements, treaties etc.

The Act deprives those people who it defines as citizens of Venda of their SA citizenship. People who are citizens of Venda are "(a) every person who was a citizen of Venda in terms of any law at the commencement of this Act; (b) every person born in or outside Venda, either before or after the commencement of this Act, of parents one or both of whom were citizens of Venda at the time of his birth, who is not a citizen of a territory within the Republic of SA or a territory that previously formed part of the Republic of SA and is not a citizen of Venda in terms of paragraph (a); (c) every person who has been lawfully domiciled in Venda for a period of at least five years, irrespective of whether or not such period includes any period prior to the commencement of this Act, and, on application in the prescribed manner, has been granted citizenship of Venda by the competent authority in Venda; (d) every SA citizen who is not a citizen of a territory within the Republic of SA, is not a citizen of Venda in terms of paragraph (a), (b) or (c) and speaks a language used by members of any tribe which forms part of the population of Venda, including any dialect of any such language; (e) every SA citizen who is not a citizen of a territory within the Republic of SA and is not a citizen of Venda in terms of paragraph (a), (b), (c) or (d) and who is
related to any member of the population contemplated in paragraph (d) or has identified himself with any part of such population or is culturally or otherwise associated with any member or part of such population."
The Act provides for the establishment of a board by the governments of SA and Venda. The board's purpose will be to investigate and make final pronouncements on any doubtful cases which might arise. Finally the Act provides that Venda citizens, resident in the Republic at the commencement of this Act, will not forfeit any of their existing rights, privileges or benefits, other than their SA citizenship, simply by virtue of this Act.

Parliamentary Debate
Both the PFP and NRP took the unusual step of opposing the first reading of the Bill. Introducing the second reading the Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr Hartzenberg, emphasised that, in contrast with other Black States in the Republic, "an exceptionally high percentage, namely 68%, of its de jure population are living within its boundaries and, in addition to that, the government of Venda had requested that independence be granted to the territory". Defending the Vendans' loss of SA citizenship by drawing parallels with the Filipinos' loss of US citizenship when the Philippines became independent in 1946 and the similar experience of Indonesians, Dr Hartzenberg said that the majority of Vendans supported independence. He said that none of the political parties contesting the 1978 election had opposed the grant of independence to Venda at the time of the election and accused the PFP of being unwilling to accept the will of the majority in Venda.

Mr Ray Swart (PFP) moved an amendment declining to pass the second reading of the Bill because it:
"(1) provides for the further, unnecessary and inadvisable fragmentation of the Republic of SA;
(2) eliminates the right of the Venda people to their equitable share in the natural and economic resources of the country;
(3) will have the effect of depriving some SA citizens belonging to the Venda group of their SA citizenship without their consent;
(4) is not based on full and proper consultation with all the people concerned; and
(5) fails to provide for effective participation of people of Venda origin living permanently outside the proposed State of Venda in the political institutions of the Republic". Mr Swart said that the concept of independence for the homelands was based on an offer by the Government of either no rights or very limited rights restricted to a very small portion of SA. In these circumstances he could understand why some Vendans, and perhaps the majority, have "in a way been attracted by the offer of something instead of nothing and have accepted the so-called independence which is given to them in terms of this Bill".

Mr W.M. Sutton (NRP) moved an amendment declining to pass the second reading of the bill because
"it fails to provide an adequate alternative to independence and takes no steps to structure a confederal relationship between independent Venda and the Republic of SA". Supporting his amendment Mr Sutton said that the failure to provide for a structured relationship between an independent Venda and SA could have serious effects. He pointed out that despite Lesotho's membership of the Customs Union and the Rand monetary area, that country was one of SA's most virulent critics in the OAU and the UN.

He asked Government members to explain the "steps they are going to take to see that the State of Venda, the third in the system they are setting up, does not drift off into another orbit which may well be one which is going to be a cross which we in SA will have to bear".

The Bill was supported by Mr John Wiley (SAP) who said that despite his party's reservations for strategic and economic reasons regarding the surrender of control by the SA Government of areas of SA territory, he believed that once an area had been promised independence and had requested it, it would be wrong to refuse to grant such independence.

The citizenship issue was hotly debated. Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) denounced the provision depriving Vendans of their SA citizenship "the third throw in the Government's numbers game" by which the Government decreases the population of SA by deducting the number of de jure citizens of the independent homelands. Mrs Suzman also castigated the Government because children born to Vendan citizens after the commencement of the Act would lose any right to which their parents were entitled. Replying to these attacks, Mr A.E. Nothnagel, NP, denied that the legislation affected "opportunities relating to employment, work and such requirements as may arise with regard to housing. Nor will it affect the rights of people in the future".

During the Committee stage Mr Ray Swart (PFP) proposed an amendment to Clause 6 of the Bill which provided that Vendan citizenship would be limited to:

"(a) every person who at the commencement of this Act is a citizen of Venda: Venda in terms of the Black States Citizenship Act 1970 (Act No Legislation 26 of 1970) and is domiciled or permanently resident in Venda;
(b) every SA citizen not mentioned in paragraph (a) who voluntarily acquires citizenship of Venda, with effect from the date of such acquisition."87

The amendment was rejected by the Minister and defeated on a division. The Bill was passed by both the Assembly and the Senate without amendment.

Other SA Legislation Connected with Venda's Independence

Financial Arrangements with Venda Act No 105

The Act's purpose is to provide for the payment of certain amounts to Venda in respect of the current financial year and, thereafter, the transfer of certain property to Venda, the reduction of the loan debt of the Post Office and the Railways and Harbours Administration to the Treasury.
In respect of the current financial year (1979/80), monies payable to Venda are those in respect of Section 6(2)(c) of the Black States Constitution Act 1971, Section 6(2)(d) of the same Act, any other amounts provided for in the State Revenue Fund Vote for 1979-80, such amounts as may be appropriated by Parliament in additional estimates for the purpose, and such amounts as may be authorised by the Minister of Finance for that purpose. Any provincial expenditure destined for Venda will also be paid in the current financial year. After 31 March 1980 the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, may undertake to pay to Venda, subject to conditions in respect of such financial years:
(i) amounts which, in the opinion of the Minister of Finance, equal the amounts paid to the Republic of SA by Venda citizens in terms of the Black Taxation Act 1969;
(ii) an amount equal to the amounts determined by the Minister of Finance in the 1979-80 financial year by an Act of Parliament and the amounts provided by the Transvaal Provincial Administration in 1979-80 as well as an amount determined by the Minister of Finance to be necessary for the Venda government to carry out the services for which Venda is responsible. These sums will have deducted from them an amount equal to the total additional revenue accruing to Venda during 1980-81 financial year which, prior to the introduction of this Act accrued to the State Revenue Fund, the Post Office Fund or any other fund or account established by law; and
(iii) any further amounts appropriated by Parliament for Venda.
All State property, including that of the Post Office, the Railways and Harbours Administration and the Transvaal Provincial Administration which is used in connection with services for which Venda be-
be headed by the nine members of the executive council, are established in terms of the constitution.
They are Departments of Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs, Justice, Economic Affairs, Urban Affairs and Land Tenure, Education, Health and Welfare, Agriculture and Forestry, and Transport, Works and Communication. In addition there are various public bodies which perform executive functions. Among them are the Bureau for National Security which is responsible to a National Security Council appointed by the President, and the National Force of which the President is the titular commander.

The Constitution establishes a National Assembly comprising forty-two directly elected members, forty-two chiefs and traditional leaders (25 chiefs and 17 headmen) and a further three members appointed by the President by virtue of their "special knowledge and experience". The National Assembly is the supreme legislative body in the territory. It elects the President by secret ballot after every election in terms of which it is constituted. Should the President decline to assent to a bill, he may refer it back to the Assembly with recommendations. The Assembly may amend the bill or should it decline to accept the President's redomendations, may pass the bill again. Provided such a bill is passed with a two-thirds majority, it becomes law with or without the President's consent.

The Judiciary, established in terms of the Constitution, comprises a Chief Justice and an indeterminate number of other judges of the Supreme Court, who are appointed by the President and various lower courts. The Supreme Court has responsibility for the administration of justice in the territory. Appeals arising out of decisions of the Supreme Court are made to the Appellate division of the SA Supreme Court.

Only persons who have acted as advocates in the Supreme Court or a superior court of the Republic may be appointed judges and the Chief Justice must already be a judge of the SA Supreme Court or a superior court.

SA Government Proclamations and Notices Affecting Venda
Proclamation R53, Government Gazette 2774 30/3/79

Proclamation 12 of 1973 (the Venda Constitution Proclamation) was amended so as to provide for the expulsion of a member of the legislative assembly who is not a chief should that member fail to be present at sittings on at least four days of every week when the assembly is in session. Members will not be expelled should they have obtained prior leave to be absent from the assembly or should they be able to satisfy the assembly of their bona fide reasons for absence. In the case of the latter such reasons must be presented to the speaker before the expiry of the following week, if the assembly is in session, for such absence. Should the assembly not be in session such reasons must be submitted to the speaker within seven days of the commencement of the next session of the assembly.

Proclamation R93, Government Gazette 2793 18/5/79
Provision is made for the establishment of a High Court for Venda as from 1 July 1979. The court has the same jurisdiction as that exercised by any provincial division of the SA Supreme Court, a Commissioner's Appeal Court, and a Divorce Court which had jurisdiction in the area. Appeals from the decisions of this High Court shall be heard by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of SA.

Mr Justice G.P. van Rhyn, formerly of the Northern Cape division of the Supreme Court, was appointed Chief Justice of Venda from the beginning of July.

Government Notice R1528, Government Gazette 2831 13/7/79

Sets out the rules regulating the conduct of the proceedings of the High Court of Venda. The rules were set out by the Chief Justice of Venda.

Agreements between SA and Venda Proclamations R210, GN R2014 12 September, GG 6652 12 September

On August 13 a number of agreements were concluded between SA and Venda. These included, inter alia, a non-aggression pact, agreements with regard to economic relations and development, and co-operation in the fields of civil aviation, telecommunications, international bridges and forestry technology.

Agreements governing the control of persons moving across common borders were also signed as was an agreement in terms of which Venda undertook to assume responsibility for assistance granted to industrialists in the homeland.

In terms of the agreement on citizenship a citizenship board was established consisting of six members, three representing Venda and three SA. The board's function is to investigate and decide, by majority vote, cases referred to it where a person's citizenship is doubtful. The board's decision is binding on both SA and Venda. Whatever legislation is required to be passed by the Venda National Assembly and the SA Parliament to give effect to the agreement will be passed. Amendments, mutually agreed upon by both parties, to the agreement will be given effect by means of diplomatic notes, while the agreement may be terminated by either party after having given the other signatory six months' written notice through diplomatic channels.

In an agreement dealing with the registration of voters and the conduct of elections, the SA Government agreed to exercise, on behalf of Venda, all the powers and functions relevant to the participation of Vendas resident in SA in Venda's political life. In addition the Department of Co-operation and Development will continue to keep its records relating to registered voters in Venda. In return the Venda administration undertook to re-imburse the SA Government in respect of reasonable costs incurred as a result of its activities on behalf of Venda and to refrain from any action which hampers the participation of SA citizens resident in Venda, in the political life of SA.
All the agreements between the two parties including the extradition treaty which provides for the extradition of persons accused of committing an offence under the law of the requesting party, came into effect on 13 September.

Attitude towards independence
Despite claims by both the SA and Venda governments that Vendans supported the granting of independence to the territory, doubts as to the accuracy of these claims soon emerged. During a visit to Venda in June, Paul Bell, a Rand Daily Mail reporter, found that none of the people questioned opposed independence for the territory.
However he observed also that none of those questioned could give reasons for their support of an independent Venda.
Bell noted that information officers of the Veoda government had been sent into the territory to tell local inhabitants that independence was coming. "Political awareness in Venda", he said "smacks of information without explanation. The people have been told by their traditional leaders, the chiefs, what is to be. They will merely follow. And they are willing to do so."92

Vendans living in the urban areas were by and large opposed to independence for the territory.93 Reports that they resented being forced to become citizens of a territory with which they did not identify and that these urban dwellers, like their Bophuthatswana and Transkeian counterparts, saw their future as being inextricably linked with the urban areas, were common.94

The extent to which those resident in the homeland supported independence was also questionable. Reports that, as one teacher described it, "we are being forced to participate in these activities much against our will"9 and that the majority of people present at the independence celebrations thought of it as a "kind of two-week feast" where they received more and better food than usual9 raised questions as to the degree of support for independence and its consequences in the homeland.

Other internal matters
Despite threats following the detention last year of twelve members of the Venda Independence People's Party97 who were members of the legislative assembly, the leader of the party, Mr Baldwin Mudau, announced that his party would return to the assembly when it re-opened in March.
They were not to remain in the assembly for long. Proposals by Chief Mphephu to freeze opposition members' salaries for the period Venda: in which they had been absent from the assembly led to another walk out by opposition members. Mr Mudau said his party would no longer Affairs sit in the assembly after Chief Mphephu's party had voted in favour of suspending the opposition's salaries. Following pressure from supporters, Mr Mudau returned with his party to the Assembly. Soon after the return of the opposition, Chief Mphephu called for a change to the constitution allowing for the suspension and
expulsion of members from the assembly who stayed away from it without showing good cause.9"
Chief Mphephu was declared Paramount Chief of Venda in September. There was no precedent for such a rank in the territory. Traditionally Venda chiefs have been independent, co-operative equals. The assumption of a superior status by Chief Mphephu was reportedly resented by other Venda chiefs and was seen as yet another manifestation of the Chief Minister's will to power.99 Opponents of Chief Mphephu pointed to the losses he suffered in the 1973 and 1978 popular elections and the manner in which he held onto power after these to illustrate this.

Foreign Relations
It appears unlikely that Venda will gain formal recognition from any internationally-recognised independent state other than SA. The presence of a team of five Zimbabwe-Rhodesian observers, led by the Minister of Manpower and Social Affairs, Mr D.M. Mutusa, however, suggested that Zimbabwe-Rhodesia might afford recognition to the fledgling state. Mr Mutusa suggested this himself when he told interviewers that he thought "we would recognise any government which would recognise us".100 However a spokesman for the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian Foreign Affairs Department denied that the delegation's presence at the celebrations indicated approval of the SA Government's homelands policy.

The presence, he said, should be seen as "not approval but a show of friendship to a neighbouring country".101 Yet another explanation was offered by a southern African observer who pointed out that Venda was very close to the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian border with only a strip of land controlled by the SA military separating the two territories. This would tend to encourage Zimbabwe-Rhodesian officials to establish good relations with the Mphephu administration even if these did not extend to outright recognition.

President Khama of Botswana called on the leaders of SA homelands to "reject pseudo-independence granted to them by the SA Government" and describing the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda as "states within states", appealed to black leaders in SA to forget tribalism and work together.

The UN Special Committee against apartheid described Venda's independence as "another crime against the African people of SA and a serious challenge to the international community". Issuing the statement, the chairman of the committee, Mr Akporode Clark of Nigeria,

336 said "the proclamation of the so-called independence of Venda-in order to create another dependency in an enclave of SA and deprive 450 000 Africans of their inalienable rights-is a crime which must be Transkei: denounced by the international community".102

Legislation
TRANSKEI
Internal Matters
Legislation passed during the 1979 Legislative Assembly session included the following Acts:
Gambling Act 1979 which provided for the licensing of casinos, machines used in
gambling, sports pools and lotteries. The Act lays down the fees payable for such
licences as well as actions which comprise offences under the Act. It came into
effect on 1 September.
The Transkei Marriage Act (see last year's Survey p 280) came into operation on
2 July by proclamation in the Transkei Government Gazette of 1 June.
Social Pensions Act 1978
The Act provides for the consolidation and amendment of the laws relating to
social pensions and allowances for aged, blind and disabled persons and war
veterans. In terms of the Act persons who are aged, blind or disabled or are war
veterans, resident in the Transkei at the time of application for a social pension,
citizens of Transkei or those who have been legally permanently resident in
Transkei for five years before applying for a pension, are entitled to a pension. If
a person who is a pensioner is compulsorily detained and maintained at public
expense in a leper institution, mental hospital, prison or other state institution, that
person forfeits his/her pension.
in terms of the Prisons Amendment Act No 13 of 1978 the territor y established its
own Prisons Department. Prior to this Act the Transkeian prison service had been
constituted in terms of SA legislation, the Transkei Prison Act No 6 of 1974. As
with the case of all preindependence legislation, the above Act continued in force
until it was amended or repealed. As in existing South African legislation it is an
offence in terms of the amendment Act to photograph or sketch any prison, part of
a prison, prisoner or prisoners or the burial or cremation service of a prisoner or
prisoners. The publication of such
photographs or sketches is also illegal.
The Abuse of Dependence-Producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres
Amendment Act came into force during the year. The amendment provides for
minimum and maximum sentences for persons convicted of dealing in (minimum
5 years, maximum 15 years for first offence) and being in possession of
(minimum 2 years, maximum 10 years
for first offence) dependence-producing substances.
The amendment draws a distinction between dagga and other dependence-
producing drugs. In the case of a person convicted of dealing in or being in
possession of dagga no minimum penalties are stipulated and provision is made
for the imposition of a fine or
imprisonment or both.

Other Internal Matters

Allegations of corruption were levelled at government officials after the Minister
of Finance, Mr T.T. Letlaka's disclosures had led to concern over
misappropriation of public funds and unauthorised ex-
Transkei penditure.
Speaking in the assembly Mr Letlaka said that the Transkei could not expect to be
able to raise loans to save the country's ailing economy unless outside sources
were satisfied that there was no corruption in the country. The member of Mount
Ayliff, Mr K. Nota, said that he had evidence that government ministers were
misusing their positions in order to enrich themselves.10“ One of the ways in
which this was being done was that instead of state property being sold through public auction certain government ministers, as well as high state officials, were acquiring state property at specially reduced prices and reselling it to the public at highly inflated prices.

A parliamentary select committee was appointed to investigate the allegations. Reports that the Transkei was bankrupt were strongly denied by both the Minister of Finance and the Secretary for Finance, Mr Maqubela.104 A special session of the legislative assembly to consider the report of the Auditor-General which the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, had promised would take place from 28-30 August, was postponed in August until 19 September.

The Auditor-General's report was released to the public in August. It showed that the state debt had risen by R24,5m to R39,5m, the revenue fund had a R1,4m deficit and that unauthorised expenditure totalled R4,7m.

The Special Session considered the reports of both the Auditor-General and the special committee established to investigate the allegations. The special committee's report revealed that unauthorised expenditure in the 1977/78 financial year totalled R4 781 961. The total was made up by unauthorised expenditure of R91 208 in the Department of Agriculture, R4 058 619 in the Department of Education, R51 474 in the Department of Health and Welfare, R522 806 in the Department of Police and R57 853 in the Department of Transport. Officials of the education department blamed 'administrative difficulties' which arose because the departmental secretary was new and he and his assistant were overworked for the large scale over-expenditure by the department. However the Auditor-General's report blamed the over-expenditure on the "complete disregard of financial regulations, Treasury instructions and ignorance of the important functions of the Auditor-General by accounting officers" for what it described as "this staggering state of affairs".0"

Later in September it was reported that the Transkei was bankrupt. Die Vaderland, quoting unimpeachable sources (onberispelike bronne), said that the SA Government had to give the Transkei an additional R73m over and above the R113,5m grant which the territory had received in the 1979-80 financial year. The report said that the money was necessary so that the area's state officials could be paid their November salaries.106 SA treasury and Reserve Bank officials were also sent to the territory in order to restore financial discipline. The special session of the territory's legislative assembly passed a motion of censure of the five government departments involved in the unauthorised expenditure. In a cabinet reshuffle late in September the terri-

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tory's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, removed the Minister of Finance Mr T.T. Letlaka, from his portfolio following criticism of his handling of the portfolio due to the revelations.

The death of the first President of the Transkei, Chief Botha Sigcau, led, as expected,107 to the election of the former Prime Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, to the office. Earlier in the year Chief Matanzima's brother, Chief
George Matanzima, was elected leader of the Transkei National Independence Party, thereby ensuring his later successful election as the territory's second Prime Minister since independence. Neither were opposed in their bids for election. Chief George Matanzima immediately announced a minor cabinet reshuffle. Observers said that the reshuffle was not unexpected and could be interpreted as a move designed to entrench Pondo support for his government. Two Pondos and a former opposition member from Lusikisiki were promoted to the new cabinet. Opening the fifth session of the Transkei's parliament the President, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, committed the Transkei to continue working for the liberation of SA from white domination. Expectations of conflict between the Matanzima brothers were soon expressed. Chief Kaiser Matanzima's expression of the intention still to rule the territory when he became State President in January, was expected to clash with his younger brother's wish to move away from the image of being Chief Kaiser's puppet. Observers said that the early cabinet reshuffle bore marks of the State President's influence while TNIP sources in Umtata doubted the new Prime Minister's ability to win an open conflict with his brother at that stage. Party sources said that one of Chief George's major goals was to build his own cabinet of younger, more politicised ministers who were loyal to him rather than to his brother. Nevertheless a major cabinet reshuffle was not expected within the immediate future. However, the new Prime Minister did introduce a new style in his administration. Far more criticism than was permitted by his elder brother was allowed during the parliamentary session, and he realistically cut spending to balance the territory's budget. Summing up the session which was noted for what was not said, rather than what was said, observers said it represented a success for Chief George Matanzima. He was able to successfully blunt the opposition's attack during the no-confidence debate by preventing discussion of two scandals which rocked the Transkei, the extent of cheating in the Junior and Senior Certificate examinations last year and the firing of the Transkei Development Corporation head, Mr James Skinner, and the assault on the territory's roving ambassador, Mr Berkeley (see below). Opposition Politics The major events in opposition politics in the Transkei were the formation of a united opposition party, headed by the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela's brother, King Sabatha Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembu, and the continued harassment of opposition politicians and their supporters by the Transkei security police. The formation of the Democratic Progressive Party, a merging of the Transkei Democratic Progressive Party led by Mr Caledon Mda, the Democratic Party, led by Paramount Chief Sabatha Dalindyebo, and the New Democratic Party, led by Mr Knowledge Guzana, was announced in March. The new party held 18 seats in the assembly at the time of its formation. It pledged itself "to help fight for the overthrow of the exclusive white minority regimes in Southern Africa in alliance with other progressive forces so as to establish non-racial democratic governments based on the will of all the people of SA; to
develop political awareness and promote and project black pride and black solidarity; and to become a platform for the expression of black opinions and represent these internationally"."3
The new party has, according to political observers in the Transkei, the potential to become a force in Transkei politics. Observers say that should the new party successfully forge an alliance with the Eastern Pondos, the dominant position of INIP could be seriously threatened.
Growing dissatisfaction among the Eastern Pondos provided the Matanzima government with increasing cause for concern. The dissatisfaction stemmed from the dispute over who was to succeed the Paramount Chief, Chief Botha Sigcau. At the time of Chief Sigcau's appointment dissatisfaction was rife because he was appointed by the SA Government over the head of his brother, Chief Nelson Sigcau. A meeting on 16 February elected Chief Mpondombini Sigcau Paramount by a majority of 19 over his half-brother, Chief Zwelidumile. Chief Mpondombini is reportedly a supporter of the opposition.
The search for a successor continued following the decision by the Prime Minister to hold a series of meetings in the area to ascertain which of the two men had the greatest support. A second election was held in May at which Chief Mpondombini defeated his half-brother by 350 votes to 150. However the State President, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, refused to accept the voting saying that there were irregularities and referred the whole question back to the Quakeni Tribal Authority in terms of his powers under the Transkei's constitution.
Security police harassment of opposition politicians in the Transkei continued during the year. The detention of Mr Hector Ncokazi, leader of the Democratic Party, in January, the third time in 18 months, marked the commencement of a series of raids on and detentions of opponents of the Matanzima government. In April the former national organiser of the Democratic Party, Mr B.C. Pikashe, was detained and in June the Dikwankwetla Party, the ruling party in QwaQwa, was declared an illegal organisation in the Transkei.
Newspapers and journalists were also affected by the security clampdown. Mr Vuyani Mrwetyana, who has been detained himself, saw the second newspaper of which he was editor declared undesirable. Earlier in the year the newspaper had stopped publication after the firm which printed it, Thanda Press of King William's Town, declined to print any further copies. Mr Mrwetyana said that the firm had stopped printing his paper because the holding company, Perskor, objected to the paper's editorial policy.14 In July journalists in the Transkei issued a statement objecting to the habit of the security police of interrogating them after they had attended political rallies. Examples of such interrogation given by the journalists were that of Mr Sydney Moses in connection with Mr Ncokazi, Mr Velile Toryeni in connec-
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tion with a letter written by Mr B.M. Pikashe and Mr Victor Toryeni after he had attended a meeting of the Democratic Progressive Party.

The detention of Paramount Chief Sabatha Dalindyebo in July sparked off widespread protests in the territory. The detention of Chief Sabatha followed a series of clashes between him and various government ministers. The latest of these followed a call by Chief Sabatha to holders of Transkeian travel documents to return "this useless document" to the Transkei government." Chief Sabatha's detention on 27 July was accompanied by the cordoning off of all access to his village, which was carried out by members of the Transkei's army and security police.

The Chief's detention sparked off two other disputes. The head of the Transkei police, Brigadier Elliot Cwele, was forced to resign his position after he had reportedly refused to have anything to do with the detention. A dispute also arose between the head of the territory's security police and acting commissioner of police, Colonel Martin Ngceba, and the Transkei's Attorney-General. The latter insisted that the detained Chief appear in court to face the charges outlined against him by Colonel Ngceba, a demand resisted by the latter.

After an apparent compromise between the two on the venue for the court appearance, Chief Sabatha appeared in court and was remanded for trial. He was charged with offences under the Transkei Constitution Act, alleging that he had undermined the dignity of the Transkei State President, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and of contravening Section 3 of the Transkei Public Security Act, alleging that he disseminated views or doctrines subverting the parliament or constitutional independence of the Transkei. These charges were being investigated.

Detentions continued in the territory. The publicity secretary of the Democratic Progressive Party, Ms Florence Moncotywa, was detained during the demonstration against Chief Sabatha's detention and raids were carried out on the homes of Mr Hector Ncokazi, Mr S.A. Xobololo, a former executive member of the Democratic Party, and Mr Erza Mtshontshi, a former Transkei trainee diplomat. Police removed a tape recording of an address given by Chief Sabatha at a rally of the Democratic Progressive Party in July.

Following Chief Sabatha's detention the Transkei government suspended his chieftainship pending the outcome of the charges against him. He was replaced by his brother, a Transkei National Independence Party MP who was appointed acting tribal head of the Tembu.

In an attempt to prevent a recurrence of the massive demonstration of Tembu support for Chief Sabatha which occurred in Umtata following his detention," the Chief's trial was set down for Port St Johns in Eastern Pondoland. The seriousness of the perceived threat posed to the Matanzima government by Chief Sabatha's growing popularity was revealed by the choice of prosecuting attorney. Former Transvaal and Orange Free State Attorney-General, Dr Percy Yutar, who appeared for the State in the SA Treason and Rivonia Trials, was briefed by the Transkei government. Dr Yutar's appearance was also taken as an indication of the seriousness of the charges facing Chief Sabatha, the latter carrying the death penalty.
The defence team announced in September that it had subpoenaed the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, to give evidence in the trial and that they had agreed. The case had been set down for 19 September but because the defence team received details of the charges against Chief Sabatha too late for it to study them, the trial was postponed to November. The possibility that Mr Mandela would be allowed to give evidence in the trial appeared slim as the SA Prisons Department is only compelled to respond to subpoenas issued in SA, and reports indicated that the SA Government was reluctant to release Mr Mandela because its police had no authority in the Transkei. To coincide with the 19 September trial date, thousands of pamphlets calling for the release of Chief Sabatha were scattered in public places. The pamphlets also attacked the territory's 'independence', described the Transkei government as a 'puppet regime' of the SA Government and alleged that the head of the Transkei's security police, Colonel Martin Ngceba, took orders from Pretoria.

The security clampdown on political supporters of Chief Sabatha continued. Miss Stella Sigcau and Chief Mpondombini Sigcau, one of the claimants to the Paramount-Chieftancy of the Pondo (see above), were arrested and Chief Mpondombini and one of his brothers were charged with illegal possession of firearms which they had inherited from their father, Chief Botha Sigcau, the territory's first State President. Also among those arrested was Chief Jeremiah Moshe, leader of the Maluti-Herschel Sotho.

Late in September Chief George Matanzima took over the cabinet portfolios of Defence and Police. Prior to the cabinet reshuffle earlier in the year, the Matanzima brothers had shared the two portfolios between them but the election of Chief Kaiser Matanzima to State President had necessitated a cabinet reshuffle and Chief George Ndabankulu has been given the two key posts. Chief Ndabankulu, who has strong family ties with the Sigcau family which is now associated with Chief Sabatha's party, was given the portfolio of commerce, industry and tourism, which was a demotion. Political observers said that the cabinet reshuffle was, as in earlier times, for security reasons to guard against a coup d'etat against the Matanzima brothers. In the reshuffle Mr T.T. Letlaka was given the portfolio of Justice and Prisons, Mr D.S. Koyana those of Foreign Affairs and Information and Mr R.S. Madikizela those of Finance and Auditor-General.

In the week preceding the trial of Chief Sabatha the Transkei government banned 34 organisations. Mostly of SA origin, the banned organisations included the ANC, PAC, SWAPO, the UANC (the governing party in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia), the SACC, Inkatha and Azapo. Observers said that the bannings reflected the political uncertainty in the Transkei and an attempt by the Matanzima government to maintain its political control of the territory. Pamphlets calling for the release of Chief Sabatha continued to be distributed during the week before the set trial date and two of his sons were alleged to have been detained by Transkeian security police. The trial was postponed at the
request of the defence because Chief Sabatha had been hospitalised. It was set down for 14 March, next year.

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Transkei: Skinner Affair
The Skinner Affair
In February the Transkei cabinet fired the head of the territory's Development Corporation, Mr James Skinner. Mr Skinner was appointed to the post in August last year following allegations of mismanagement in the Corporation. Although the Corporation, which is involved in every aspect of the area's business and political life, budgeted for a profit last year it ended the year with a substantial loss, Mr Skinner's dismissal was reportedly forced through the Transkei cabinet by Chief Kaiser Matanzima and Mr Ramsay Madikizela, A4iiter of Transport and Industry, despite support for Mr Skinner from the majority of the cabinet.

A week after his dismissal, Mr Skinner was deported. Following his deportation Mr Skinner said that he believed that the SA Government was behind his dismissal, pointing to the fact that he was not permitted to enter SA after his arrival at Jan Smuts airport and the coincidence that he had arrived at Jan Smuts in time to make a connecting flight to London. He said that SA security police had attempted to discourage him from going to Swaziland and had encouraged him to go directly to England.

Outlining the reasons for Mr Skinner's dismissal, Mr Madikizela accused him of attempting to foment revolution in the territory and of conducting a witch hunt against white South Africans employed by the Transkei Development Corporation. Mr Skinner had earlier denied being anti-South African and had said he "was prepared to have SA employees in TDC provided they were capable, competent and, above all, loyal to the Transkei. Unfortunately there were many who did not live up to this." Mr Franco Maritz, the seconded SA chairman of the TDC, said he was grateful that Mr Skinner "had gone" and denied knowing anything about corruption in the TDC as Mr Skinner had alleged following his dismissal.124

Foreign Relations
Relations With South Africa
Evidence of improving relations between SA and the Transkei since the unilateral severance of diplomatic relations by the territory last year25 emerged during the year. Following discussion held in October last year on the future of 'squatters' from Crossroads, the Transkei's Minister of Justice, Mr Digby Koyana, said that the two governments had reached agreement on the citizenship of approximately 3 000 residents of Crossroads. Mr Koyana said that the Transkei was ready to accept those squatters who were citizens of the territory and observed that the SA Government appeared to have accepted that the Transkei defined who its citizens were.26 The Transkeian government would not, however, act as a dumping ground for "so-called squatters". The Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima,
warned the SA Government in March that the territory had not opted for independence to provide a solution for the Republic's urban black problem. Discussions on the land question continued during the year. The Transkei reiterated its claim to East Griqualand at meetings in February and August. Following the August meeting Chief George Matanzima announced that his government was to establish a land commission. The purpose of the commission was to take part in on-going dis-
cussions and it was being formed at the invitation of the SA Government.2 Leaders of both SA and the Transkei expressed interest in closer co-operation between the two territories. In reply to a question in the Assembly the SA Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, said that despite the severance of diplomatic relations last year, 359 seconded SA officials were working in the Transkei. Of these 230 were employed in thirteen major government departments. However, no SA public servants were seconded to the Transkei's army or police and the SA defence force no longer trained the Transkeian defence force. The announcement that the Transkei's State President, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, had expressed interest in participating in the SA constellation of states evoked considerable response in SA. Commenting on Chief Kaiser Matanzima's statement that the Transkei government should seriously consider taking part Die Burger, the National Party organ in the Cape Province, editorialised that economic and international realities had apparently forced the realisation on the territory that its future did not lie in separation from SA in these fields. Welcoming Chief Matanzima's positive response to the SA Prime Minister's proposal, the editorial said that greater co-operation between the two countries "will make the development of the Transkei's people possible."

In August the appointment of Dr Robert du Plooy, former SA ambassador to South America, to Umtata intensified speculation that a renewal of ties was imminent. Dr du Plooy replaced a relatively junior diplomat as head of the SA trade mission in Umtata. The SA Prime Minister's announcement that his Government was not irrevocably bound by the 1936 Land Act prompted speculation that a compromise between the two governments had been reached which would allow the Transkei to save face over the incorporation of East Griqualand, the ostensible reason for the severance of relations last year.

Relations with Other Countries

With the exception of SA, no member of the international community recognised the Transkei as an independent state. Commenting on the territory's failure to win international recognition of its independence Newell M. Stultz, a renowned US political scientist, said that opponents of recognition based their arguments on the opposition to the partition of SA, the dependence of the territory on SA, the emphasis on traditionalism in the territory's constitution and the citizenship issue. However, Stultz said that despite these objections the Transkei existed and was sinking deeper institutional roots as time passed. He did not perceive the territory as constituting an independent state. "Functionally, it has become equivalent to a black-run provincial government in a highly decentralised SA."

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The failure of the international community to recognise the Transkei drew attacks from the territory's spokesmen. Chief Kaiser Matanzima attacked both the UN and the OAU for failing to recognise Transkeian independence. Chief Matanzima, accusing the UN of double standards, said that it was not fulfilling its function in the world and should be dismantled. Chief Matanzima also attacked the British and American governments for not investing in the Transkei, saying that Britain and the US had "cold feet and danced to the tunes and dictates"

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Foreign Affairs: Berkley of the under-developed world". Calling for more foreign investment in the territory, Chief Matanzima said that if British and American business "got involved in the industrial development of the country, our economy could have been far ahead of that of all other Africa, states."129

The Berkeley Affair

In February the Transkei's London-based roving ambassador, Mr Humphrey Berkeley, was detained for questioning by the territory's security police. His detention occurred on the same day that Mr James Skinner, who was recruited by him, was deported. Following his detention Mr Berkeley was assaulted, allegedly by the security police, and driven to the territory's border with SA. Following Mr Berkeley's return to the Transkei in March, he received death threats warning him to leave the country. In May Mr Berkeley's employment contract with the Transkei was terminated because, according to Chief George Matanzima, he had "swindled the Transkei" and had not "delivered the goods as promised". 130

Following his dismissal Mr Berkeley said that he had left the Transkei government's service because the SA Government had bribed the Matanzima brothers not to allow the Nigerian government to establish a military base in the territory and give it financial aid.' Reports of Nigerian interest in the territory first appeared in March when it was reported that the Nigerian government was about to launch high level talks with the Transkei.'32 According to Mr Berkeley the Prime Minister at the time, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, had snubbed the Nigerian envoy who visited Umtata from February 4 to 8. The purpose of the envoy's visit had been to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive financial and military agreement between the two countries. However, Chief Matanzima left Umtata the day he was supposed to meet the Nigerian envoy for talks and only returned on 7 February. Following Chief Matanzima's rejection of the Nigerian offer, Mr Berkeley alleged that the SA Government gave R118m to the Transkei.

Mr Berkeley's claims were rejected by Chief George Matanzima who said Mr Berkeley had a habit of investing people he brought to the Transkei with a false importance. Chief Matanzima pointed out that his administration had in fact fired Mr Berkeley and it was not Mr Berkeley who had "left Transkei as he is trying to assert"
However, Mr Berkeley continued to operate the Transkei's London office. Commenting on this he described it as bizarre and added "it is difficult to say what is normal in these circumstances". In August Mr Berkeley repeated his accusations. According to Mr Berkeley the Nigerian government had decided to test the independence of the Transkei by making the offer of military and financial aid and would have sponsored the territory's admission to the OAU had the offer been accepted. Mr Berkeley accused the SA Government of being behind his dismissal because "they had been watching my activities with growing alarm".

In August the Transkei's Minister of Justice, Mr Digby Koyana, visited Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Earlier in the month Mr Koyana had announced that holders of Zimbabwe-Rhodesian passports would in future be permitted to enter the territory without having to apply for visas since Transkeians did not need visas for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia any longer. Mr Koyana, welcoming Zimbabwe-Rhodesia into "the club of Southern African states", said that freedom of movement existed between Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Swaziland. Commenting on the need for Lesotho passport holders to apply for visas before entering the Transkei, Mr Koyana said that this requirement would be done away with when the Lesotho government stopped its "unpalatable practice of impounding our passports when our people reach the common borders". Mr Koyana's reason for visiting Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, w t stated. However, an official of the Transkei's Department of Foreign Affairs said that a meeting between Mr Koyana's party and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and other representatives of his government was possible.

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proclamation " Post 15 May 47 Rand Daily Mail 12 April 46 See last year's
Survey p 290 11 Rand Daily Mail 16 March Ibid 15 May
'SA Digest 16 March 12 Rand Daily Mail 15 May 5' bid 16 March 14 See last
year's Survey p 295 "~ \
&.2) ,I/-,rv 13 February
56 See last year's Survey p 292
7 Natal Witness 4 January 18 Rand Daily Mail 21 July 19 Sunday Times 25
February Daily News 6 June 61 Ibid 30 May 62 Post 8 August 63 Star 7 August
Sunday Tribune 12 August 65 Natal Mercury 30 March 61 Sunday Times 8 July
11 Post 29 June 66 Star 5 March 6 Post 1 August 7 Star 2 Au-ust tDaily Dispatch
15 and 19 February 72 Indaba 20 April ,Daily Dispatch 24 April 14 thid 4 May
Ibid 18 August Indaba 24 August Daily Dispatch 6 January 76 See last year's
Survey p 288 '9 Post 25 July
69 Daily Dispatch 20 March 61 See last year's Survey p 289 62 Ciskei
Die Beeld l August 6- Rand Daily Mail 12 September 96 Hansard 18 col 8772-
8887 11 Hansard 19 col 9132-9133 69 Post 27 March 11 Benso/Rau: The
Independent Venda, 1979 96 See section on other internal political developments
for reasons for this constitutional amendment
1' Star 15 August 92 Rand Daily Mail 2 July
9 Argus 11 June Ibid 11 June, Rand Daily Mail 2 July and 12 September, Post 27
June 91. Voice Vol 3, No 25,24-30 June 16 Post 12 September 11 See last year's
Survey p 297-8

* Post 27 March

* See Proclamation R53 of 1979 above 0o Rand Daily Mail 13 September
Ibid
02 Post 13 September
.Il Ibid 30 March
1 Ibid29July
0 Argus 19 September

0 Die Vaderland 24 September "I See last year's Survey p 282 '0 Daily Dispatch
20 February 10 Rand Daily Mail 22 January
**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMELANDS**

**FINANCIAL MATTERS REGARDING THE HOMELANDS**

Expenditure in the homelands by the SA Government for the 1977-78 financial year was given in the report of the Auditor General for that year as follows:

Dept Co-op and Development

R

2 471 209 17 282 646 89 139 216 52 003 982 3 677 143 19 109 903

SA Development Trust

R

6 942 662

972 743 51 317 119 3 845 547 2 177 197

320 942

The amount under the Department of Co-operation and Development includes both the statutory grant to the homelands as well as other expenditure by the Department.

Sources of revenue in the non-independent homelands and expenditure by the homelands (excluding expenditure by the SA Railways and Postal Administrations) have been extracted from the reports of the Auditor General for the homelands and SA for the 1977-78 financial year as follows:

2

Balance at 1.4.77

R

310 6173 3 600 559

171 971 375 538 3 187 555 837 541

Grants from State Revenue Fund

R
40134800 15 779 500 84 980 500 47 937 600 3194300 17771 400
General Revenue
R
10 585 396 7073315 42 331 698
73 428 460 8 295 155 4 244 074
Total
(including balance)
R
53 826 369
26 453 374 127484169 121 741 598 14677010 22853015
Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda
Other Depts
R
43 059 143
758 794 3 634 116 2158151
211 292 676 532
Totals
R
52 310 275 19014183 150 852 176 58 007 680 6 065 632 20 107 007
Revenue
Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda
348

Expenditure
Homeland governments
R
53 795 579 26 797 665
128 662 210 75 085 326 12 523 115 23 133 585
SA Govt
R
12 175 475 3 234 683 108 520 478 10180080
2 871 332 2 335 607
Total
R
65 971 054 30 032 348 237 182 688 85 265 406 15 394 447
25 469 192

Estimates of expenditure from the State Revenue account 1979-80
The vote for Co-operation and Development provided for the following amounts
to be spent on the development of homelands towards self-determination:
Consolidation of land: Land administration Grant-in-aid to SA Dev Trust
Development towards self-determination: Planning and administration Grant in
aid to SA Dev Trust Construction of feeder roads to townships in African areas:
R
558 300
68 700 000
1 419 700 131 622 000
Contributions to homeland governments for 1979-80 were estimated as follows:

### Statutory Grant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 040 000</td>
<td>14 558 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 678 000</td>
<td>90 822 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 426 000</td>
<td>1 879 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 272 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Additional Grant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 531 800</td>
<td>9 907 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 067 900</td>
<td>58 302 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 249 100</td>
<td>2 332 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 783 400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Administration and Technical Assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 213 300</td>
<td>1 690 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>784 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 276 900</td>
<td>4 391 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>641 200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 523 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total estimated expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54 785 100</td>
<td>26 156 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 530 600</td>
<td>158 401 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 066 400</td>
<td>4 852 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 578 700</td>
<td>357 370 700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transkei and Bophuthatswana

Amounts payable to Transkei and Bophuthatswana, both independent states, were provided for in the Foreign Affairs Vote:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 000 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bophuthatswana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>113 500 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R112 000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei Gazankulu KaNgwane KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

349

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following figures regarding the amounts invested by foreign concerns in the industrial sector in each of the homelands in 1977-78:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Foreign concerns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KwaZulu 2 459 000 1 391 000
Ciskei 4 644 000 188300
Transkei

The revenue in Transkei’s budget for 1979-80 amounted to R253,5m and expenditure R253,38m giving a surplus of about R120 000. Revenue represented a decrease of R75m over the 1978-79 budget. Estimates was divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>R43m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works and Energy</td>
<td>R40m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Forestry</td>
<td>R30m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>R30m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior and Social Services</td>
<td>R37m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, Industry and Tourism</td>
<td>R23m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>R21m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>R3,8m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other</td>
<td>+ R6m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr D.P.S. Van Huyssteen of the Transkei Bank stated in the annual report of the Bank of Transkei that the continued refusal of the international community to recognise an independent Transkei was hampering the economic development of the country?

The luditov-Geneyal's report for the 1977-78 financial year published in August revealed that unauthorised expenditure for that year by the Transkei government exceeded R4,7m. (See chapter on Homeland Politics.) The report also showed that Transkei's state debt in 1977/78 had increased by R24,5m to R39,5m comprising R31m in long-term and R8,5m in short-term loans. Of the debt nearly 78,5% was external. In that year it ran up a deficit in revenue of R1,43m.

A memorandum on Transkei's financial state revealed a current budget deficit of R36,9m. This was attributed in part to R13,1m overspent by the University of Transkei, R9,07m spent on the abandoned Transkei port and Mngazana harbour project and an amount of R4,5m spent on a fleet of 95 trucks and 10 buses most of which were reported to have been lying idle since delivery in June.

The memorandum suggested that the Transkei government accept a R20m loan offered by the SA Government. The remaining shortfall of R16,9m should be met by effecting savings from the reduction of salaries for cabinet ministers, civil servants, members of parliament, chiefs

Lebowa

In March the Lebowa Minister of Finance, Mr S. Maimane, tabled a record budget of R95,7m for the current financial year in the Legislative Assembly."

The budget showed an increase of R23,3m over last year's R72,4m and included an R11m loan from Germany.
The allocation was as follows: Health and Welfare-R30 506 000; Education and Culture--R25 302 000; Works-R16 875 000; Agriculture and Forestry-R986 9000; Finance and Economic Affairs-R840 9000; Justice-R2 580 000; Careers-R1 120 000; Chief Minister- R1 037 000.

In May the Lebowa Legislative Assembly called on the State President to appoint a judicial commission of enquiry to investigate allegations made by a security policeman, Mr M. Duba of fraud in the homeland's Department of Finance.

KaNgwane

The chief executive councillor, Mr Mabuza, announced a R16,3m budget for 1979/80, an increase of over 41% on 1978/9. Approximately 35% was devoted to education.

AGRICULTURE

Corporation for Economic Development

The production achieved through the CED's own agricultural projects during 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Vegetables</th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Citrus</th>
<th>Sisal</th>
<th>Sugar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homeland Agriculture</td>
<td>11 141,69 tons</td>
<td>7 284,47 tons</td>
<td>2 002,914 tons</td>
<td>1 259 289 litres (milk)</td>
<td>45 000 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312 tons</td>
<td>7 727 tons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from its normal activities the CED concentrated on:
* the running of already established farms and estates purchased from white owners for inclusion in homelands, with the object of maintaining their productivity and training their citizens in modern agriculture and administrative techniques;
* developing tribal areas under subsistence farming into large and modern units. Employment, training and profits accrue to the tribal members and authorities;
* establishing local development points known as energy centres to serve family-run holdings in the neighbourhood with technical advice and skills, farming requisites, marketing of products, and loan capital on a co-operative basis. These centres assist local departments of agriculture in inculcating more modern know-how into the agricultural sectors of the homelands;
* assisting individual and small farmers and co-operatives with training and back-up technical and administrative advice; (Loan capital is available from their National Development Corpora. Homeland tions.)
* assisting outside investors to develop projects such as tea, sugar,
broiler hens and other undertakings on the agency system. Profits were shared with the owners of land involved where they were the governments of the homelands or tribal authorities.

During the year under review, agricultural companies were established in most of the homelands in which the National Development Corporation of the homeland and the CED had an equal share. Such companies have been established for QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

The CED was a major participant in the Tshivhase Tea Estate in Venda and ran Gillimberg (Pty) Ltd and Zebediela (Pty) Ltd in Lebowa on land owned by the SA Development Trust.

Apart from assisting small farmers and co-operatives in the homelands, the CED's agricultural division ran 26 large agricultural projects with a capital investment of R25m (plus another R11.6m brought in by outside partners in the various schemes) providing employment for 9400 Africans; as well as five dairies and three cattle marketing schemes.

The investment per job opportunity created on the CED's own projects was R1 883.

Transkei

The Transkei Agricultural Co-operative Union became a member of the International Alliance of Co-operatives. The Minister of Agriculture, Mr S. Ndsumo, stated that he was disappointed with the slow progress in developing Transkei's agricultural potential especially the fact that it had to import the bulk of its wheat and maize from SA.14 Speaking during the Appropriation vote he stated that the cutback in estimated expenditure would result in a drastic curtailment of further agricultural development projects during the year. The Qamata Development Corporation, a joint venture between Taiwanese agriculturalists and the Government to grow rice at Qamata, had failed because the Taiwanese had left the country."

In a White Paper tabled in the Transkei parliament it was proposed that a R16m dam and water supply system for the Lusikisiki area be constructed.6

Ciskei

In August the Ciskei homeland's Secretary of Agriculture, Mr G. Godden, made a plea to the Prime Minister and Minister of Co-operation and Development for more funds and water for Ciskei's two irrigation schemes: the Tyefu and Keiskammahoek schemes.7

Venda18

The Department of Agriculture estimated that the value of total crop production in Venda in 1978 was R7.4m. The potential net farming income was placed at R34.5m. The estimated present net import of staple foods cost Venda R3.7m per annum creating a severe leakage of purchasing power.
Venda's timber industry generated R328 000 in 1977/78. The 500 ha Sapekoe tea estate produced 240 000 kg of black tea and provided jobs for 650 women and 150 men. The Venda Development Corporation (VDC) planned to expand production by another 1 000 ha. Projected income from 1 500 ha of tea was R3m a year.

According to surveys the total stock which the natural grazing of Venda could carry without irreparably harming the land was 50 000 large stock units as opposed to the present 114 582, indicating the level of overgrazing.

Agricultural development
In 1979 there were 60 extension officers active in Venda. Up to 1978 24 planning committees had been formed to assist the Department in the allocation of residential plots, agricultural land, waterpoints and the demarcation of boundaries. Fifty-nine farmers' societies and extension committees had been established to assist with extension work. Twenty-five women's agricultural societies had also been formed to promote home industries, the cultivation of vegetables and related matters.

More than 3 000 farmers obtained improved seed from the Department in 1978. At the time of writing farmers marketed their fresh produce almost exclusively at 35 local markets. However, a total of 8772 market days in 1978 brought in only R125 112. The value of cattle sold at 32 stock auctions in 1977/78 amounted to R202 884.

Departmental Projects
The Department of Agriculture was engaged in the following projects: nine sisal projects, two irrigation schemes, and two citrus projects.

Corporation Projects
The VDC started supplying credit to the agricultural sector in 1977. Until then no credit was available to farmers. At present production credits to a maximum of R200 per farmer were available. The VDC was providing financial assistance to chicken and pig farming ventures while the CED was involved in a project on the Paswane Coffee estate.

Four tree plantations were in existence and the forestry industry provided employment for 617 persons in 1979, with the Pumalanga saw mill providing employment for 245 persons in 1978.

The table below details the position regarding agricultural production as at 1974:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland Agriculture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RRS - N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeland Agricultural</td>
<td>Lt* r4 r&quot;l C m 0o Cf1 OL-n 00</td>
<td>r14 1,0-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The annual report of the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation for 1977/78 stated that only 74,000 hectares of a potential 410,000 hectares were being used for crop production. If the potential was exploited farming income could increase by at least R57m. It stated further that according to the latest information available, in 1976/77 Tswana farmers marketed 24,000 cattle at an average price of R121.50 each. This represented a turnover of approximately 5% as against an ideal turnover of between 15% and 20%.

During 1977/78 the Corporation handled 6,464 tons of grain on behalf of Tswana farmers and co-operatives while credit worth R201,737 for capital goods such as fertilizer, seed, bags, etc as well as loans for the purchase of agricultural implements were granted. A loan of R262,000 was made to the Lesedi Secondary Co-operation to purchase products from farmers on behalf of the various control boards.

In the course of the year, all agricultural development projects in Bophuthatswana were transferred from the Corporation for Economic Development to the new Tswana Agricultural Company. Loans amounting to R1,265,359 and R1,013,864 were granted by the CED and BNDC respectively to the company. The total assets of the company at bookvalue were worth R2,02m.

The table below gives details of the projects in operation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dairy farm (Ga-Rankuwa)</th>
<th>Livestock Marketing (Transvaal)</th>
<th>Livestock Marketing (N Cape)</th>
<th>Klipvoordam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Feed Scheme (Taung)</td>
<td>Irrigation Project (Taung)</td>
<td>Farming Sisal</td>
<td>Milk Marketing (Ga-Rankuwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bophuthatswana
The following table gives the number and type of trade and business licences issued in the homelands for 1977-78:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transkei

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 19 businesses and 34 properties were offered for sale and 34 and 56 respectively sold to the SA Development Trust by whites in 1978.19

Mr T. Letlaka, Transkei Minister of Finance, announced that Transkei was to establish a commercial radio station, Capital Radio, at a cost of R4.2m which due to a variety of factors represented an increase of R2m over previous estimates.20

Transkei Airways placed an order for a Hawker Sidley HS 748 40seater aircraft as part of its expansion programme.

Plans were under way for the construction of a R12m casino and beach resort on 4 kilometres of coastline between the Mtamvuna and Mzamba rivers. The planned date for completion of the first phase was mid 1981. This phase would cost R7m
and included provision for 30 roulette and blackjack tables, 150 slot machines, a 180-room hotel, a swimming pool and other facilities. The Transkei Development Corporation held 51% of the land shareholding, 49% of the property and 25% of the operating company. The rest was owned by Holiday Inns.21

Ciskei

The following table gives a summary of loans (cumulative) approved by the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) to 31 March 1978 in the commercial sector (number of enterprises given in parentheses):22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Loan</th>
<th>General dealers</th>
<th>Hotel and bottle stores</th>
<th>Garages and filling stations</th>
<th>Bus and transport services</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>774 172</td>
<td>23 185</td>
<td>462 312</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(33) 585 889</td>
<td></td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1 027 251</td>
<td>49 526</td>
<td>465 259</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(34) 674 767</td>
<td></td>
<td>(53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1 054 570</td>
<td>49 526</td>
<td>465 259</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(34) 747 689</td>
<td></td>
<td>(54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subtotal 2 045 286 2 525 269 2 625 510

(227) (258) (264)

Housing loans 406 955 615 727 1 679 473

(91) (114) (575)

Total 2452241 3140996 4304983

(318) (372) (839)

Total hire purchase 98683 149487 283164

Chief Sebe announced that additions including a restaurant-cum-nightclub costing about R320 000 were to be made to the Mdantsane Hotel as there was an
overwhelming desire for more sophisticated amenities. During 1978 the hotel had
a turnover of more than Rm23
357
Homeland
Commerce

Homeland Commerce
The Ciskei Marketing Board was in the process of constructing a R3.5m mill at
Fort Jackson. The money derived from a loan raised overseas by the Ciskei
Government. H. Lewis and Company, a Johannesburg firm, held 25 O/o of the
shareholding.
An additional 5 000 shares in Nolizwe Wholesalers Ltd were offered to Ciskeians
in October. The price was R1 per share which would be sold in multiples of 100
only. Nolizwe Wholesalers was established on a tri-partnership basis between
Frasers Ltd, the CNDC and Ciskeians in May.
KwaZulu
Roberts Construction (KwaZulu) obtained a contract for the construction of a new
holiday inn at Ulundi at a contract price of R1.5m. The project would be managed
by the KwaZulu Development Corporation.
In August a R600 000 Ford sales and service agency was opened in Umlazi,
Durban at which KwaZulu's first African mechanics were to be trained. Fifty per
cent of the shares were owned by the KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC).
The KDC was prepared to sell half its shares to Zulu citizens.
Venda
The firm Frasers was to move into a R2m shopping complex nearing completion
in the Venda capital of Thohoyandou. The Venda Development Corporation
(VDC) had a 50 % shareholding in the company and intended selling up to half its
shares to Venda interests. About 4Q Vendas took up 10 % of the VDC's
shareholding within 10 days of the first issue. The contract with Frasers stated it
should withdraw from Venda after 10 years unless allowed to remain by the
homeland government. Frasers undertook to train Venda staff to take over the
operation after the first 10 years.
The table below details the position regarding businesses in operation in Venda
for 1977/78:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a)</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L r&quot;no</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>km</td>
<td>D L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>Ln</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>C&gt;Cl v r&quot;N ,, - r - r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bophuthatswana

The BNDC erected 19 business units for letting purposes in 1977/78. The total number of units under deeds of lease as at 31 March 1978 was 185. A business centre established at Temba cost almost Rlm

A number of tripartite agreements had been entered into between the BNDC and private enterprise. The table below gives details of the position to date:

RSA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Shares</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana Bakeries (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>250 000</td>
<td>250 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoecorp Shoe Stores Bophuthatswana (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanda Furnishers Bophuthatswana (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>50 000  50 000  50 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana Chain Stores Ltd</td>
<td>400 000  750 000  400 000  250 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro Cash and Carry Bophuthatswana (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>150 000  50 000  150 000  50 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Sun Hotels Bophuthatswana (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>400 000  400 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aidec (Bophuthatswana) (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>5000  5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>600 0000  835 0000  600 0000  101 00000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Construction of the R35m Sun City, a Southern Sun Hotel project, commenced this year. On completion it will comprise a hotel with 1 000
beds and other facilities.3
Lebowa
Ee6owa Oevelopment Corporation's 199 993 shares at R1 each in the Seshego Bakery were offered to African applicants.32
QwaQwa
A tripartite company Sasko QwaQwa Ltd, a bakery, offered 10 000 shares of R1 each to the QwaQwa public. The bakery was jointly launched by the baking company and the QwaQwa Development Corporation.3
Gazankulu
Under a new act passed during this year's session of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly white businessmen could establish partnerships with their black counterparts in the homelands.4
Tripartite Agreements
The following table gives details of existing tripartite agreements in the various homelands to date:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Agreement Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>seperate share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>bakery, 10 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>partnerships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dr J. Adendorff, managing director of the CED, stated that the Government had established 300 industries in the homelands in the past nine years. Of these 260 had been in conjunction with private enterprise and the total capital investment was R286m.

The number of privately occupied and run factories in CED growth points in the homelands rose by 49 during 1978 to a total of 211 established since 1970. CED's investment in infrastructure, buildings and loans in these growth points increased by R38,6m during 1978. African industrial employment rose by 2 156 to a total of 17 580 as at 31 March 1978. The table below gives details of the CED's industrial development activities from 1971-1978:

Results achieved to date and estimated contribution by the private sector (cumulative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated private Employment</th>
<th>Employment Completed Factories</th>
<th>investment non-African</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.3.76</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>53 879 000</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.77</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>56 100 000</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.78</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>97 185 800</td>
<td>980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corporation investment in industrial development (cumulative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infra-structure and loans</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Factories completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.3.76</td>
<td>7 197 000</td>
<td>35 790 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.77</td>
<td>11 972 000</td>
<td>60 403 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.78*</td>
<td>19 452 200</td>
<td>91 485 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Including 18 factories transferred from the Xhosa Development Corporation to the Corporation for Economic Development.

As at 31 March 1978 there was a total investment of R12 287 892 in Ciskeian industrial development. During 1978 the CNDC and CED assisted in the
establishment of four new projects representing a total investment of R1 300 500 and the creation of 176 new job opportunities. Additional finance of R3.33m was required for expansion programmes for eight different factories creating 375 new job opportunities. At the end of March 1978 1 490 Ciskeians were employed by agents in the Ciskei of whom 807 were employed in Dimbaza. The corresponding figures for the previous year were 1 179 and 563 respectively.

The following table gives the cumulative number of agency agreements signed to 31 March 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. agency agreements</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total investment</td>
<td>R4 214 070</td>
<td>R8 644 670</td>
<td>R13 650 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporations' contributions</td>
<td>R2 554 170</td>
<td>R5 060 770</td>
<td>R7 817 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent's contribution</td>
<td>R1 659 900</td>
<td>R3 583 900</td>
<td>R5 832 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected African employment</td>
<td>1 051</td>
<td>1 666</td>
<td>2 117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual expenditure on industrial establishment on the agency basis (cumulative) is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>R769 092</td>
<td>R1 917 784</td>
<td>R533 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings</td>
<td>R1 746 142</td>
<td>R1 746 142</td>
<td>R4 966 918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>R1 336 725</td>
<td>R3 271 803</td>
<td>R9 228 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>R2 302 053</td>
<td>R389 5041</td>
<td>R209 6598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Industry</td>
<td>RR</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*estimated contribution by agent)
(t cumulative to 31 March 1978)

The Ciskei government planned to construct industrial flats in a bid to group together small industrialists in the area.

KwaZulu

In January a R10m giant foundry owned by Vickers-Lennings was opened at Isithebe. It was announced that a foundry and factories belonging to the Apex Industries Group were to be transferred from Vereeniging to Isithebe. Total investment would amount to R30m.

Phase II in the industrial development of Isithebe commenced and was to lead to an increase in the industrial area from 100 ha to 450 ha.

At present there are 34 factories in Isithebe providing employment for 2 840 workers with a capacity for another 860 as economic conditions improve.

The SA Government approved an R18m plan to produce ethanol fuel from Cassava grown on the Makathini flats in KwaZulu. The CED stated it could produce 520 m litres a year at a pump price of 17 cents a litre initially dropping to 13 cents as more plants opened. Approximately 26 000 jobs for Zulus would be created. Mr C. Heunis, Minister of Economic Affairs, had approved the plan provided the CED did not look to the state for subsidies or assistance with the distribution of the fuel.

Production was anticipated to commence in 1984.

Transkei
The first R126m phase in the construction of Transkei’s multimillion harbour project commenced this year but was later abandoned. A survey for an alternative harbour at Mazeppa Bay was conducted after tests had shown that Transkei would have to spend R1m a year to remove silt from the harbour mouth.43

Venda
In 1977/78 a total of 58 establishments were in existence with a trading revenue of R2,1m, a total employment figure of 721 persons and fixed assets worth R779 000. The table below gives details regarding enterprises operating in terms of the agency system:44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>365</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bophuthatswana
By 31 March 1978 90 industries were functioning in Bophuthatswana of which nine were established during the year. The total industrial investment amounted to R110,3m of which R63m was from white sources, leading to the creation of 8508 job opportunities. Towards the end of 1978 all the industrial assets in Bophuthatswana were transferred from the Corporation for Economic Development to the BNDC increasing the Corporation's assets by R50,1m to R62,7m.45

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
In March a meeting was held between Dr Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, the chief ministers of the homelands, directors of development corporations and industrialists from 46 of SA’s leading companies to discuss the future growth of the homelands.46
Addressing the conference Chief Sebe of Ciskei stated that development corporations in the homelands should be responsible to the governments of those states, and that the corporations should be attached to one of the ministries in the homelands.41
At the meeting Dr Koornhof stated that the gap between the haves and have-nots must be bridged.
In his speech to selected industrialists in November the Prime Minister emphasised the importance of developing the homelands economically and the need to focus specifically on ways and means to achieve a more equitable regional distribution in such development.
This could be brought about, inter alia, by co-operation between the business sectors of a region, technical and financial co-operation, the promotion of investment, and co-ordination of wage and salary policies to avoid a brain drain from the peripheral areas. Priority should be given to employment creation and food production in these areas. In outlining the role private enterprise could play he stated that investment should take place on such a basis that industrialists would find their participation meaningful. Homeland governments should not expect business concerns to become involved on a purely altruistic basis or for patriotic reasons. Industrialists, on the other hand, should realise that their investment could help develop the stability of the political and social environment in which they operated.48

The Statistical Survey on the Black Benso, gave the following details regarding for 1975:
GDP -1 R000's
Africans non-Africans
Ciskei KwaZulu QwaQwa Lebowa Venda Gazankulu KaNgwane
29 333 157 212
5 286 79 873 19 032 17 695 9 703
6 460 23 765
673 26 175 2 106 3 202 665
states, 1978, published by the GDP in each homeland
Per capita (Africans)
R
64 60
64 60 58 55 49
Per capita
Total
R
78 69
72 79 64 64 52
Subtotal 318 134 63 046 60 71
Transkei 198 566 30 559 85 98
Bophuthatswana 120945 67343 108 167
Total 637 645 160 948 73 91
367
Homeland Development

The White Paper on the development plan for KwaZulu drawn up last year (see 1978 Survey) appeared this year. At a press conference on the Paper in April, Chief Buthelezi stated that KwaZulu required a capital injection of R2 000m over the next 12 years if it was to become economically stable and achieve a growth rate of 9%. Most of the money would have to come from SA. The White Paper stated that unless the SA Government gave the power and assistance to make
KwaZulu a separate administrative entity homeland administration would be seen as undesirable by the people sooner or later. It also stated that the acceptance of the plan did not mean that the KwaZulu government accepted the concept of an independent homeland but viewed it rather as the development of a region of SA. Major points of the White Paper were:

" the formation of a Department of Economic Affairs;
" the establishment of a planning, co-ordinating and advisory committee which would, amongst other things, satisfy the KwaZulu government that development proposals undertaken by the SA Government were in the best interests of the region;
" the establishment of an Institute of Intermediate Technology to assist all developing areas in SA should be investigated;
" a reform of land tenure, among other things, to enable land to be used as security to raise development loans;
" the establishment of a building society movement in KwaZulu;
" an investigation into communal farming systems, the establishment of agricultural credit facilities, the formation of agricultural co-operatives and a single channel marketing system for some products;
* the redirection of the savings of the people of KwaZulu from investments in SA into investments within the region to promote capital formation within KwaZulu;
" a drive by the KwaZulu government, with the assistance of the SA Government, to attract private investment;
* the provision of housing would be one of KwaZulu's highest priorities, with among other purposes the removal of hundreds of thousands of people to urban areas to make the agricultural areas more viable;
" the provision of as many building plots as possible for a massive service scheme where industrialists could erect their own employee houses within prescribed design limits.

The White Paper took issue with the SA Government on, inter alia, the migratory labour system.

Opening the second ordinary session of the Third KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, the Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that the SA Government would continue to assist KwaZulu by making funds available for development. He stated that there existed a backlog of an estimated 100,000 houses in the urban areas of KwaZulu; and an estimated R450m would be needed to eliminate it.

Dr Lawrence McCrystal, chairman of the KwaZulu Development Corporation, called for the Natal Provincial Administration to be given...
the power to negotiate directly with KwaZulu on economic matters5 (See chapter on Homelands-Politics.)

At an Urban Foundation workshop on rural development in KwaZulu in August it was stated, inter alia, that rural poverty and unemployment posed a threat of social disaster; and that the loyalty, goodwill and co-operation of the local population in KwaZulu and elsewhere had to be secured in countering insurgency. It was estimated that the resident African population in the homeland would rise from 3,28m in 1980 to about 6m at the turn of the century.5

Mr Chris Saunders, Natal Chairman of the Urban Foundation, spoke of the desperate need for a co-ordinated strategy for rural development but stressed that urban and rural problems were intertwined. Chief Buthelezi stated that the KwaZulu government could never hope to tackle rural development solely on its Legislative Assembly budget.2

Ciskei

A Government-supported survey on the economic structure of the border area undertaken by the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth commenced. It was suggested that once the survey was completed it should be used for a wide range of specific analyses of the regional economy, including the impact of new or expanded industrial activity, or the impact of a decline in economic activity.3

In a 400 page report the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University stated that the Ciskei was economically completely dependent on the white industrial area of East London. The report recommended that East London be included in the Ciskei if it were to be built into a viable region.

In April, Mr P.W. Botha, Prime Minister, gave assurances that East London would remain part of SA in spite of repeated requests by the Ciskeian government that it be incorporated into the Ciskei.14

The Ciskei government approached the East London Council with a view to both bodies submitting a joint plan to incorporate the Berlin industrial area into the homeland. It was also stated that the Van der Walt Commission was reassessing the Government's consolidation programme and that the issue would be investigated during the inquiry."

The Minister of Economic Affairs stated he was investigating methods to help the East London City Council repay the R6m loan for the development of Berlin.6

In May Chief Sebe announced that Dr Koornhof had agreed to hand over immediately all farms which had already been bought for inclusion in the homelands; hand over the entire Peddie South region within six months; send, within ten days, a team of planners and surveyors to start work on establishing a town at Frankfort; and review assembly salaries."

Venda

In 1976 Venda's GDP was R26m, R16,2m being generated in the market sector and the rest in the non-market sector. Of this, agriculture contributed R7,2m and community, social and personal services R10,5m. In the same year its GNI was R103,9m of which R74,4m (or 71,6 %) derived from income earned by migrant workers in the RSA. The income per head was R261 in 1976, and real growth per head 4,1 %
from 1960-1976. Income from commuters amounted to R4.5m or 4.3/o of the GNI in 1976. The GDP earned by inhabitants was R23.4m in 1976 or 22.5/o of the GNI, representing a rate of growth of 26.7 /o per annum since 1970. The gross fixed investment by the public sector increased from R1.6m in 1970 to R7.8m in 1975, or from 23.1 % to 36.9 % of the GDP. The value added to the GDP originating in the public sector increased from R2.4m in 1970 to R8.8m in 1975, or from 34 % of the GDP to 41.5 %.58

The cumulative capital investment by the Venda Development Corporation and the private sector from February 1976 to 31 March 1980 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>VDC</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture industry</td>
<td>2719000</td>
<td>2 674 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>60 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and services</td>
<td>5 942 300</td>
<td>929 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VDC administration, housing, etc</td>
<td>R 400 000</td>
<td>360 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>60 000</td>
<td>215 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3119000</td>
<td>3 034 700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A survey undertaken by RAU estimated that Venda would need about R95m a year for sustained growth after independence. It held that 80 % to 90 % of this investment would initially have to come from the capital market, SA Government and Venda's own resources. Of the R95m, R22m would have to be invested in production resources and about R73m in human and physical infrastructural resources. Total investment would need to amount to R1 998,6m over the next 21 years.

Between 145 000 and 150 000 employment opportunities would have to be created over the next 25 to 30 years if Venda aimed to employ all its citizens. It also recommended that the tourist trade be stimulated; a luxury hotel incorporating a casino to be built in the mountains, as well as an airport. It stated that proven deposits of coking coal existed in north-west and north-east Venda, but exploration was still in progress and there was no fixed date for production.59 An amount of R18.9m was allocated for the development of projects for the independence of Venda.6
The table below documents the household expenditure by Venda families for the years 1971, 1974 and 1978.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure item</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>R114.59</td>
<td>R207.31</td>
<td>R424.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>22.31</td>
<td>88.15</td>
<td>76.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>26.04</td>
<td>65.50</td>
<td>76.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and lighting</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>20.81</td>
<td>32.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>25.22</td>
<td>21.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical expenditure and personal care</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>11.63</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance and other premiums</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>14.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture and household utensils</td>
<td>9.95</td>
<td>35.14</td>
<td>69.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco and cigarettes</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap and detergents</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td>10.48</td>
<td>23.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry services</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>7.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>23.55</td>
<td>71.12</td>
<td>127.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>219.92</td>
<td>557.60</td>
<td>882.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further R29.35 was found to be remitted by average households to family or relatives bringing total household expenditure to R586.95 in 1974.

Transkei

A socio-economic development strategy for Transkei for 1980-2000 was published this year.

The survey gave the following details regarding the number of Transkei migrants in the various sectors of the SA economy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1977 1000's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government and railways</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, services</td>
<td>1,2m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is expected that the male labour force of 677,000 in 1978 could be expected to reach 1.2m by the end of the century (i.e. increase by 24,000 a year). It estimated further that the number of women over 15 would be 1.6m, of whom one-third could be supported on the land leaving 400,000 needing non-agricultural jobs.

It found that a complete restructuring of the economy was needed to create job opportunities for these numbers. It saw Transkei as a labour reserve lacking at present even a subsistence economy. The cornerstone of the restructuring of the economy was seen as the development of its agricultural potential, and industry. It stated that Transkei should attempt to meet its own needs in terms of materials rather than exporting labour to SA in order to finance imports.
Approximately 15% of the labour force would have to be employed in manufacturing in Transkei by the end of the century.

Other aspects needing attention were the development of any mineral resources, water power and tourism. However, even with a massive increase in agricultural output and a twentyfold increase in industrial employment Transkei would be employing 1.5m men and women out of a labour force of 1.9m at the end of the century at levels of earnings below those prevailing in the mining industry today. Thus about one-third of the male labour force would still need to look to SA for employment opportunities.

The table below gives a rough indication of what the employment structure envisaged might imply for the contribution of different sectors to the gross domestic product. This excludes the profits of foreign investors and interests on loans from abroad.

### Output and Employment, 1975 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homeland Development</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar and tea processing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry and sawmilling</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing: for domestic market</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for export markets</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment '000</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP a R-million</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productivity</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>-100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INCOME GENERATING SECTORS IN TRANSKEI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>98</th>
<th>360</th>
<th>270</th>
<th>430</th>
<th>825</th>
<th>520</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl agriculture, forestry and fishing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and water</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage and communications</td>
<td>8,1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3860</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFRASSTRUCTURE b 14 7 2025 275 185 1490
Commerce 20.2 8 2600 87.5 175 500
Banking 7.3 16 550
Community, social and personal services 30.7 62 860 87.5 175 500
General government 22.9 65 65 1000
SERVICES b 81 70 1 155 240 415 580
a Gross domestic product excluding the profits of foreign investors b Sub-totals rounded off.
and loans from abroad.
Productivity
R 250
7 500
670
3 000 1 250

374 Output and Employment, 1975 and 2000
1975 2000
Employ- Productivity Employ- Productivity GDP a ment
tivity GDP a ment tivity
R-million '000 R R-million '000 R

UNEMPLOYED 50
TOTAL INSIDE
TRANSKEI 193 437 416 945 1 475 640
Remittance of Immigrants 75 320
AREA DISPOSABLE INCOME 268 c 1 265
c Includes the profits of foreign investors and interest on loans from abroad. d
Migrant workers d 380 e 360 1 050 638 e 425 1 500
d Includes commuters.
e Earnings of migrants and commuters.
f Gross national income.
Transkei Development Corporation (TDC)
The chairman of the TDC, Mr Skinner, was deported from Transkei allegedly
because he was revealing large-scale corruption in the organisation. Official
reasons were that he was trying to incite hatred against the Afrikaners who were
prominent in the organisation as he had dismissed a number of them. Mr Skinner
started legal proceedings against the Transkei government for damages pursuant
to this summary dismissal63 and allegations concerning his character and
conduct. The man appointed to succeed him was Mr John Cater, a retired regional
controller of the Commonwealth Development Corporation."
MINING
Mining Corporation65
Own Undertakings
Prospecting
The Corporation's expenditure on prospecting in the various homelands amounted to R809 400 in 1978/79 and R866 300 in 1977/78 as opposed to R667 700 in 1976/77. Twelve leases for prospecting and/or mining of mineral resources were entered into in 1977/78. The decrease in 1978/79 resulted from there being no expenditure in Bophuthatswana.

Mining
The Corporation continued with the development of the Dilokong Chrome Mine in Lebowa and the Fumani Gold Mine in Gazankulu. Its travertine quarry at Taung in Bophuthatswana was handed over to the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation during January 1978.

Private Sector Undertakings
Expenditure by the private sector on prospecting amounted to R303 500 in 1977/78 and R2 327 000 in 1978/79 as opposed to R320 600 in 1976/77. (The figures in 1978/79 exclude expenditure in Bophuthatswana.) Details are given below:

PARTICULARS OF PROSPECTING BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR 1977/78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands</th>
<th>RSA</th>
<th>Ciskei Gazankulu</th>
<th>KwaZulu</th>
<th>Lebowa</th>
<th>Swazi (KaNgwane)</th>
<th>Venda</th>
<th>SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA</th>
<th>Damaraland</th>
<th>Owambo</th>
<th>Kaokoland</th>
<th>BOPHUTHATSWANA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of valid concessions</td>
<td>Total extent (hectares)</td>
<td>1 621 73 243 323 612 177 235 100 105 876</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
<td>56 526 7 667 275 951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure R</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 196 40 274 1 292 402 827 988</td>
<td>22 025 193 808</td>
<td>5 190</td>
<td>8 794 642 698</td>
<td></td>
<td>329</td>
<td>1 021 831 3 035 375 1137</td>
<td>548 914</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DETAILS OF PROSPECTING BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR 1978/79

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of valid concessions (hectares)</th>
<th>Total extent (hectares)</th>
<th>Ciskei</th>
<th>Gazankulu</th>
<th>KwaZulu</th>
<th>Lebowa</th>
<th>KaNgwane</th>
<th>Venda</th>
<th>QwaQwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Africans</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure R</td>
<td>1 625 7 269 379 918 5192</td>
<td>80 782 761 3 357 692 76</td>
<td>166 857 932 077 120 61 61</td>
<td>6389 77297 38 22754</td>
<td>120000 16 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table on page 376 details the position regarding mining activities undertaken by the private sector. The drop in the number of employees of 72,453 over the 1976/77 figure is due to the exclusion of Bophuthatswana employees.

### Number of Africans in employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>1976/77</th>
<th>1978/79</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### African earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
<th>1976/77</th>
<th>1978/79</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>32366</td>
<td>98036</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>141 682</td>
<td>67011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>294 519</td>
<td>1 046 831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>8080</td>
<td>130 702</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>1 246 830</td>
<td>4 497 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>625 68</td>
<td>771 627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>19 819</td>
<td>19 819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>11 883 000</td>
<td>4 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following figures regarding the value of mineral production, excluding platinum, in each of the homelands in 1978:

### Homeland Value of Mineral Production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelands</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>1976/77</th>
<th>1978/79</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>875 839</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>286 695</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>14 238 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KwaZulu 6627854
Lebowa 66017948
KwaNdebele 7280
Venda 963900

The findings of a survey on the mineral wealth of Lebowa, undertaken by consulting engineers Dames and Moore, stated that it was vast, particularly its chrome deposits. But its exploitation would be dependent on the provision of a suitable infrastructure and investment capital.

The estimated value of Bophuthatswana's total mineral production during 1976 was over R200m and could reach R245m by 1980. The mining sector contributed 52% of the GDP in 1977/78.

The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that twenty mines were operating in Lebowa in 1978.

EMPLOYMENT
Migrants and Commuters

The tables below showing the estimated number of migrants and commuters from the homelands for the dates given were produced in the Benso statistical survey mentioned earlier:
Employment opportunities
The following number of job opportunities were created respective development corporations in each homeland 1977-78:
- Mining Corporation Corporation for Economic Development Lebowa
- Development Corporation Venda Development Corporation Shangaan/Tsonga
- Development Corporation QwaQwa Development Corporation Ciskei National Development Corporation

by the during
84 4 258 324 353
379

Homeland Employment
The estimated cost to each corporation per employment opportunity created in each sector of employment was as follows:

Agriculture  Industry  Commerce  Transport  Business  Loans  Mining
Mining Corp
R 1 260
CED R 1 000 4 500 4 800 8 900 5 400
Shangaan Tsonga
R Lebowa QwaQwa Venda
R 1 500 3500 8000
9000 5000
4400 5900 6000 3500

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following information regarding the number of Africans in each homeland employed in undertakings established on an agency basis, and by development corporations for homelands:

Agency basis
(as at 30 June 1978)
1 738 4 086
40
2 057
703
1 008
100

Development Corporations
(as at 30 March 1978)
Transkei

The Minister of the Interior stated in Parliament that a total of 359 South Africans were at present seconded to work in Transkei at an annual cost to the Republic of R3.6m.7

Ciskei

Mr F. Meisenholl, general manager of the Ciskeian National Development Corporation, stated that the CNDC had invested R42m to

Ciskei KwaZulu QwaQwa Lebowa Gazankulu Venda KaNgwane Ndebele

Homeland Employment
date in the economic development of the territory, establishing more than 6 000 job opportunities in the process.

He stated that at least R30m a year would be needed to create enough industries to provide work for all in the Ciskei. Only 685 jobs were created by the CNDC in the 1977/78 financial year. During the parliamentary sessions we concern regarding the high level of unemployment in the Ciskei and the increasing crime rate. Approximately 7 000 Ciskeians commuted daily to SA while the total wage bill of the Ciskei was placed at R24 752 000 a year.

Take-home pay for workers in Dimbaza was R188 OW , (3p 3e d to WS% U "Yi' W anaX RA SOO 'in 1973. Nineteen factories were in existence employing 1 228 people."

The CNDC embarked on an intensive training course conducted by the University of the Witwatersrand-

Bophuthatswana

Four hundred and thirty SA officials were seconded to Bophuthatswana.14 It was revealed that labourers working at Babalegi Industries in Bophuthatswana were being paid R5 to R6 a week by at least 15 factories partially owned by the Bophuthatswana government. The firms involved included Springbok Clothes, Tiger Clothing Manufacturers and Superior Goods, National Tent and Sails, Glen Carol Industries, Pilot Furniture Manufacturers, and Vel Skin, Wellmax Metal Pressing Tools, H.J. Henochsberg Uniform Clothing, Carpet Industries, Joelnor Holdings, Academy Brushware and Martilonyarns. Bophuthatswana has no prescribed minimum wage rates at present." The industrialists concerned were later visited by the Chief Minister and the Minister of Internal Affairs and Labour Relations. The latter was also studying a report on the situation.78

The Bophuthatswana government was spending R22m a year on transport for 50 000 Tswana commuters.9 From July 1977 to June 1978 516 325 Tswana were employed in SA.0

A study by Professor J.J. Steenkamp of UNISA's Bureau of Market
Research stated that about 52% of Bophuthatswana's annual income was derived from SA. In 1977 R187m derived from wages and salaries, while of R275m worth of goods bought R121m was spent outside Bophuthatswana's borders.

Bophuthatswana's per capita income rose from R233 in 1974/75 to an estimated R300 in 1976/77, representing an increase in the area's purchasing power to a total figure of R286m per year.²

Venda

Salary increases for members of the Venda Legislative Assembly were approved at a special pre-independence session bringing the Chief Minister's salary to R18 864 from R12 576 per annum and ministers' salaries to R17 112 from R11 724.⁸³

Venda has four district labour bureaux with 26 tribal bureaux thereunder, which in 1977/78 placed 18 733 workers in employment in SA. Of this figure, 4 778 went to mines and quarries, 3 881 were employed in government services, 2 933 in factories and 2 169 in domestic service. Many workers bypass the bureaux, however, and find their own work. It has been estimated that a total of 62 300 people were migrants in 1978 in SA earning R99.7m. The figure for commuters was placed at 5 200 of whom 3 400 commuted to Louis Trichardt and the remaining 1 800 found employment in the adjacent rural areas.⁸⁴ The tables below give further information on the position of migrant workers from Venda:⁸⁵

Workers placed in Employment through Labour Bureaux in Venda, 1971/72-1977/78 Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Whole</th>
<th>Govern</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>Agricul</th>
<th>Mines</th>
<th>Quarries</th>
<th>Factories</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>1 640</td>
<td>1 268</td>
<td>2 950</td>
<td>1 307</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>1 819</td>
<td>3 521</td>
<td>1 392</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/73</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>4 598</td>
<td>1 289</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>1 874</td>
<td>1 059</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>4 354</td>
<td>1 767</td>
<td>1 187</td>
<td>1 651</td>
<td>2 651</td>
<td>1 365</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974/75</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>1 094</td>
<td>3 390</td>
<td>2 392</td>
<td>1 058</td>
<td>5 160</td>
<td>1 732</td>
<td>1 108</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>2 050</td>
<td>5 335</td>
<td>3 289</td>
<td>1 952</td>
<td>6 494</td>
<td>2 435</td>
<td>2 397</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>1 168</td>
<td>3 478</td>
<td>1 906</td>
<td>1 412</td>
<td>4 313</td>
<td>2 210</td>
<td>1 795</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4 778</td>
<td>2 933</td>
<td>1 302</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>3 881</td>
<td>2 169</td>
<td>2 128</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1 73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGE OF DE FACTO VENDA POPULATION (MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS), 1974 Migrant households Non-migrant households All households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Tod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1700</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>550</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>550</td>
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<tr>
<td>1978</td>
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<td>700</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>50</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>250</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2700</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>800</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>3400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

382 The Benso/Rau publication mentioned previously gave the following information on the position of commuters from Venda:

**Border Commuters between Venda and RSA, 1976-1978 Means of transport**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of destination</th>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bus</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Tod</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louis Trichardt</td>
<td>Mulima/Nthabala</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masia/New England</td>
<td></td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzanani District</td>
<td>Sinthumele/Kutama</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khalava</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>550</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siloarm</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>3400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 2363 2653 5016 3260 3394 6654 5623 6047 11670
Lebowa

It was revealed that a firm, Lebowa Kgomo Project, run by ERAB, was paying its labourers R1.50 per day, and its skilled workers R4.34 and R6.95. Chief Phatudi said he would order an immediate investigation into the allegations.

Salary increases for Lebowa members of parliament of between 33% and 45% were unanimously approved at a special sitting of the Legislative Assembly in Lebowa in August. The Chief Minister's salary increased from R1 273 to R1 572 a month, cabinet ministers' salaries from R977 to R1 426 and ordinary MPs from R315 to R420 per month.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND HOUSING

For details on housing see the section on housing in the chapter on Urban African Affairs.

The Ciskei cabinet accepted plans to spend R4m on the development of Alice as the capital of Ciskei. About 300 houses, including 50 luxury ones, were to be erected for civil servants. It was recommended to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, that the development of the capital be planned and directed by a committee which was to include one or more representatives from the Ciskei government, the Department of Co-operation and Development, the Ciskeian National Development Corporation and the municipality of Alice.

TRANSPORT

In order to ensure the direct involvement of homelands in their own national transport organisations provision was made for the National Development Corporations to take up a 50% shareholding in the transport companies. The following tables give details on the transport systems in the homelands for the dates indicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Number of bus depots</th>
<th>Value of fixed assets: R</th>
<th>Number of buses as at 31-3-1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10 575 000</td>
<td>484 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8 780 000 3313000 692 000</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>6 1 3</td>
<td>2 600 000</td>
<td>41 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Homeland Transport
African personnel strength
2 044 1 389
770 202 755
Total 31 25 960 000 1 332 5 160
1974/5 1975/6 1976/7 1977/8
Total number of passengers
Bophuthatswana 40 200 714 53 704 271 58 220 751 63 310 463
KwaZulu 261 054 448 318 443 20 369 854 67 444 195 40
Lebowa 10 212 372 10 736 358 17 921 831 22 593 356
QwaQwa 3 073 798 3 023 788 4 375 023 4 989 375
Total 795 923 32 293 087 37 117 503 072 135 312 734
Total kilometres
Bophuthatswana 20 100 357 28 153 964 30 831 595 32 582 526
KwaZulu 130 527 24 188 094 93 194 860 19 233 669 16
Lebowa 51 061 86 64 496 26 107 146 00 11 273 024
QwaQwa 1 536 899 1 957 624 2 555 188 2 943 978
Total 397 961 66 553 707 07 635 874 02 701 664 44
References
Daily Dispatch 21 August Post 4 December l Ibid 28 March "Ibid 7 May '2 Rand Daily Mail 17 May
3 CED annual report 1978 384 4 Rand Daily Mail 9 February
1 Ibid 23 March
" Ibid
Government Policy

A marked feature of the Government's policy this year was its concern to promote the creation of stable urban African communities. This concern no doubt resulted in part from the 1976 riots, and of an awareness of the possible social and political instability to which growing unemployment in urban areas could lead.

This feature of its policy is evidenced firstly in its acceptance in the main of the Riekert Commission's recommendations which were designed to accord a better deal to urban Africans. (The Commission's report was published in May this year. See last year's Survey for an account of the Commission's brief and composition. Also see index for various references to the Commission in this edition.)

The Riekert Commission's view was that the development of a stable urban African community was dependent on giving urban Africans preference over migrant workers in regard to existing facilities, and that unemployment in the urban areas was in part a result of the 'illegal' existence of rural Africans in urban areas. Consequently new measures were introduced, ie the increased fines for employers employing workers illegally in urban areas in order to tighten up influx control and prevent the continued inflow of rural workers into urban areas.

Secondly, the Government announced the establishment of six regional committees to advise the Cabinet Committee on Urban African Affairs, which
was appointed in 1978 to examine the position of Africans in the future constitutional dispensation in SA. The six committees were established for the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging, Pietermaritzburg/Durban; Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage; Bloemfontein/Orange Free State Goldfields; Western Cape; and rural areas. They were directed to deal with infrastructure and township development, local government powers, economic opportunities for Africans in African urban areas, education, transport, the political status of Africans within their own groups and in the constitutional dispensation of Southern Africa; sport and recreation; African people in white rural areas; mobility of workers, and mutual relations.

Representatives on the committees were drawn from the various race groups and included urban Africans as well as homeland leaders. The Government departed from its established practice of dealing only with Africans on government-approved bodies by inviting prominent African leaders, known for their outspoken opposition to official policy, to serve. Refusals to sit on the committees were received from Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the Post, Dr Motlana of the Committee of Ten, Bishop Tutu of the SACC and Mr Obed Kunene, editor of Ilanga. The general reasons given for their refusal were their wish to maintain their credibility as black leaders and that acceptance would imply acquiescence in the apartheid system. Resignations from their respective committees were later received from the Rev Sam Buti and Professor Nyem-African bezi as they were disillusioned with the endeavour. At the first meeting Affairs of the PWV committee in May, Dr Koornhof assured committee members that acceptance of service on the committee did not mean endorsement of the Government or its apartheid policy.

Thirdly, the Government's concern to promote the growth of stable urban African communities and acceptance of their permanence was symbolised by the Prime Minister's visit to Soweto in August—the first ever such visit by a SA Prime Minister. He was accompanied by seven cabinet ministers including Dr Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development.

In line with this policy the Government emphasised the need to develop and upgrade African townships, for private enterprise to inject capital into these areas and, in conjunction with this, the importance of according increased opportunities to African businessmen themselves. The Government also reversed its policy on the abolition of the Crossroads squatter camp and on the planning of Alexandra as a hostel township. It announced that certain Crossroads residents would be rehoused in a new township near Nyanga. The removal of families from Alexandra was halted and planning commenced for the urban renewal of the township. Both these concessions were won through pressure brought to bear on the Government by the communities concerned.

A great deal of attention was given to the political role which Africans should play in the country. The Government was prepared to make concessions at the
local level with Dr Koornhof stating during the Plural Relations and Development
Vote that community councils would develop to full autonomy. However, at the
wider level of national politics there was no change in the Government’s view that
the urban African’s political destiny was linked to that of the homelands.

Statements made by the Prime Minister at the Transvaal National Congress that
urban Africans might possibly be allowed to participate in discussions on his
proposed policy of the development of a constellation of states in Southern Africa
should thus be seen within the context of apartheid and not as heralding a
deviation from this policy.

Riekert Commission’s Recommendation on the Black Community Development
Act

The Commission recommended that a completely new Act, the Black Community
Development Act, be established for the ‘positive development’ of urban and rural
African communities in the white area. Relevant provisions of the Black (Urban
Areas) Consolidation Act 1945, the Black Affairs Administration Act 1971, and
the Community Councils Act 1977, should be included in the new Act, after
which these Acts should be repealed. It suggested the following framework for
the Act:

388 Chapter 1 Definitions and preamble
2 Development bodies and functions
3 Town planning and establishment Citizenship 4 Local government by
community councils
5 Finance
6 Development of trade and service industries
7 Development of the economic and social infrastructure
8 Housing
9 Rural community development 10 Supplementary provisions

Department of Co-operation and Development

In examining the role and functions of the department, the commission
recommended that the management of African residential areas should remain
under the jurisdiction of the department but that its other functions should be
transferred as far as possible and practicable to the departments and boards
dealing with these functions for other sections of the population or else it should
act as the agents of
those departments.

It recommended that the Public Service Commission should investigate the
department with the object of effecting the transfer of such
functions.

The department should1 attend to the constitutional development of homelands;
2 act as the reference department for homelands;
3 administer the proposed Black Community Development Act;
4 be equipped with staff having a knowledge of local government matters in
order to exercise control over the administration board and community councils
and give positive guidance in connection with local government matters to these
boards and councils. The Government did not consider it necessary to decide immediately on these recommendations as it had already directed the Public Service Commission to rationalise the public service.

Citizenship of SA

A circular issued by the Chief Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, Mr Frans du Randt, clarifying the position of Transkei and Bophuthatswana citizens living and working in prescribed urban areas, stated that if such citizens had urban residence and/or employment qualifications under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act before the dates of independence, they were entitled to retain those qualifications. Such qualifications would, however, have to be endorsed in their passports since they were no longer entitled to SA reference books. However, children born after independence to citizens of Transkei and Bophuthatswana were no longer eligible by birth for urban residential rights even if they were born in the white areas of SA.’

In February the Government extended by two years the period in which Xhosas of Transkei origin could replace SA reference books with Transkei travel documents. Only 57 people had applied during the first two-year period out of 1.6 m Transkeian Xhosas living in the Republic. Bophuthatswana citizens had until 6 December 1979 to exchange their reference books for travel documents.

The Inkatha movement issued 14 000 out of a planned 100 000 pamphlets in Soweto and sister townships on the Reef urging Africans not to ‘sell their birthright’ by taking out Transkei and Bophuthatswana citizenship.2 The pamphlet was banned on 8 February, a few days after it appeared.’ A second pamphlet was drawn up later in the month offering Africans advice on how to avoid being stripped of their SA citizenship.

In a speech to the SA Institute of Race Relations, Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash stated that as a result of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 every African was a citizen of one of the homelands, whether they actually took out homeland identity documents or not. Persons born before the date of independence could, however, renounce citizenship of the homeland and apply for citizenship of another homeland which would enable them to become SA citizens once again. This would not apply to children born after independence.’

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 1 437 Africans, all Transkeians, had regained their SA citizenship in terms of the Black States Amendment Act of 1978.1 He stated further that 1499 882 citizenship certificates had been issued to KwaZulu citizens as at 31 December 1978, leaving a remainder of 1 262 118 to be issued.6

See section on Venda in the chapter on Homeland Politics for an outline of the citizenship position of Vendas in urban areas concomitant on Venda attaining independence.

Arrests and prosecutions under the Pass Laws

The Report of the Commissioner of SA Police for the year ending June 1978 contained the following information regarding certain of the cases investigated under laws restricting the movement of Africans:
Cases reported
Curfew regulations
Foreign Africans entering certain areas Regulation and production of documents
Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act
1976-77
37 370 12 494 122 216 115 294
1977-78
22 706 14 968 117 700 124 583
The Minister gave the following figures for the number of African males and females arrested for offences relating to reference books and influx control in each of the main urban areas in the Republic in 1978:
Pretoria Johannesburg Soweto East Rand West Rand Durban Pietermaritzburg
East London
Male
43 291 49 273
679 20 500 14 261 2 297 47
1 680
Female
3 005 5 851
78
5 865 4 535
674
2
639
389
Pass Laws
390 Male Female
Port Elizabeth 913 181
Bloemfontein 2019 668
Pass Laws Cape Peninsula 11 823 4 525
The total number of arrests in 1978 for males and females for influx control offences was 224 910 and 47 977 respectively, as against 191338 and 32 970 in 1977.7
Mrs Suzman (PFP) stated the increase in 1978 was due to the 'anti. crime' blitz in Hillbrow/Yeoville and other areas (see Survey 1978) and rising unemployment in the homelands. This forced people, especially women, to enter the urban areas illegally from rural areas. (Women arrested for influx control offences increased from 22 955 in 1977 to 47 977 in 1978.)
The numbers arrested and convicted in Soweto on charges relating to influx control and identity documents during each of the first three months of 1979 were as follows:8
Arrested Convicted
January 111 81
February 112 64
March 51 24
The Minister stated that 26,830 people were tried, and 26,132 convicted, for pass law offences in the Commissioner's Court in Johannesburg in 1978, giving a daily average of 107 cases heard. The number of arrests in Johannesburg for the first three months in 1979 were as follows: 10
January 4581
February 4017
March 5 516
In 1978/79 the West Rand Administration Board collected R659903 from fines paid for offences relating to influx control and identity documents.11
The average daily number of people arrested for influx control offences in the Cape Peninsula in 1978 was 4412 and fines relating to these offences collected by the Cape Peninsula Administration Board amounted to R397 914.13

Administration of Pass Laws
A study undertaken by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, found that there were grave shortcomings in the system of prosecution for pass law offences. (See section on the Administration of Justice for further details.)
At the Black Sash's national conference its president, Mrs Joyce Harris, quoting Dr Michael Savage of the University of Cape Town, stated that the cost of production of reference books to the 10m Africans requiring them amounted to R100m. To this should be added R4m a year for new books and a further R20m for keeping the documents up to date. The pass laws resulted in approximately 5,8m pass law prosecutions from 1965/66-1974/75. Imprisonment costs per year were estimated at R18,7m, prosecutions R1,7m, and patrolling and policing R11,5m. The time lost by people arrested amounted to 12,3m productive man-hours, the equivalent of R7,7m.

The report of the Department of Plural Relations and Development for the year 1 April 1977 to 31 March 1978 stated that almost 15m Africans had their fingerprints on centralised official records at the Department's reference bureau. The records were used to compare existing fingerprints of Africans whose reference book numbers or previous passports were known; to classify fingerprints and check whether the fingerprints of the persons concerned were already on record; to identify Africans from fingerprints produced by search and supply evidence for court cases. During the year under review the bureau issued 872 650 reference books. This included 625 088 duplicates, 212 565 new books, 24 616 temporary identity documents for prisoners and 381 'identity documents'. The cost of administering the fingerprints section of the reference bureau amounted to R1 223 887 in 1977 and R1 312 588 in 1978.15
This year was characterised by an increase in the number of raids on pass law offenders throughout the Republic. In a written report the Black Sash stated that 'far from relaxing the pass laws and moving away from discrimination the
authorities are enforcing the restrictions on freedom of movement for black people more rigorously than before'. It stated that 1978 was noted for complaints from the public about the 'extreme arrogance, obstructiveness and authoritarianism' displayed by officials of the West Rand Administration Board and the Department of Co-operation and Development.16 In March Bishop Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, sent messages to the Prime Minister and Minister of Co-operation and Development appealing for a halt to the 'intensified pass raids' in the African townships. He said that the action of police and officials was provocative 'in the explosive situation of black unemployment'.7

Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act

In line with the Riekert Commission's recommendations regarding increased fines for employers who employed unregistered Africans, Section 10 bis of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act was amended by the Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act. This increased the fine payable by an employer who employed an African illegally to a maximum of R500 for a first conviction, and for second and subsequent convictions to a minimum of R500. The periods of imprisonment for default of payment remained the same at a maximum of 3 and minimum of 3 months respectively.

The official opposition opposed the second reading of the bill because, inter alia, 'it perpetuates and exacerbates the system of influx control by greatly increasing the penalties imposed on employers who employ unregistered Black persons in the urban areas'. Mrs Suzman (PFP) pointed out that employers would dismiss people in their employ as a result of the new fines. She stated that the opposition opposed influx control in principle and that certain steps would have to be taken pari passu with its abolition, viz: the building of houses to accommodate people already in and entering urban areas, and the provision of jobs. She stated that endorsing unemployed people out of urban areas would not solve the basic problem of unemployment which was both an urban and a rural problem.8

The Act was passed by the Senate on 20 June. Influx Control Implementation of the Regulations

In early July the chairman of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) stated that employers employing African workers who were not eligible for registration in WRAB's area of jurisdiction should dismiss them immediately to avoid prosecution. Employers should register workers who were eligible but unregistered as soon as possible.9

As a result of the increased fines the Black Sash reported that its Johannesburg and Cape Town offices were being flooded by workers who had been dismissed. Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Sash stated that the measure was part of the 'Government's policy of shipping all redundant people out of sight of the cities, although there is almost no subsistence base in the homelands'.0 She later warned that an unemployment crisis was looming on the Reef as illegal workers faced dismissal."

Many residents of the Crossroads squatter settlement in the Cape, to be housed in the new township for Crossroads residents, lost their jobs as a result of the
measure. Mr F.H. Botha, Chief Commissioner for the Cape, said many of them might lose their chances for houses as well, as Dr Koornhof had stated in April that only breadwinners earning a living for their families in some legitimate way would be accommodated even though they did not have residence rights under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and provided they were not contract workers.

Moratorium on 'illegal' workers
In view of these difficulties experienced by workers and employers and requests for a moratorium on prosecutions, the Government on 13 July announced that it would grant a moratorium on 'illegally' employed Africans, giving employers until 31 October to register those workers 'who on July 31 have been illegally employed by a particular employer for a year or more, and who have been illegally employed in a particular prescribed area for three years or more'. The amnesty applied only to SA-born citizens and to all SA citizens of a territory or part of a territory which formerly formed part of the RSA, but would not apply in the Western Province.

In issuing the statement Mr Kaath, Secretary of the Department of Co-operation and Development, stated 'that (his) department was aware that many workers were compelled to seek work in white areas in order to make a living. For this reason it had been decided to accommodate these black employees and their employers'.

In clarifying procedures for registration under the moratorium, Mr Stander, WRAB's labour officer, stated that the board would 'accept the word of the employer' that a person had been in his employ for at least a year. Where mass employees such as factory workers sought registration some proof, such as a wage book, would have to be provided. In the case of a worker seeking registration on the grounds of having worked in the same area for three years, details of previous employers would be required and the word of the worker would be accepted.

Registration would put the worker in the category of migrant workers with the right to work in urban areas for one year only. After returning to their homeland every year in terms of the law they could be re-registered. Africans with permanent residence rights on the Witwatersrand who had become citizens of Bophuthatswana or the Transkei would have to apply for identity documents from those countries to be legally registered workers. Such cases would be referred to the representatives of the two states in urban areas, who might issue identity documents on the spot. If their applications were refused or a dispute arose about their citizenship, they were to be issued with temporary identity certificates by black affairs commissioners.

Mr A.E. Steenhuisen, director of labour for WRAB, said he could foresee no difficulties for those workers wanting to return to their employers after the initial one year registration had lapsed. The cases of workers without homelands who had been working in Johannesburg and on the West Rand for long periods could be treated on merit. Africans registering in terms of the new deal would still be able to apply for permanent residence under section 10 if they qualified.

Mr Du Randt, Chief Commissioner on the Witwatersrand, stated that unregistered casual
workers and gardeners who had worked on the Witwatersrand for more than three years might also benefit from the moratorium.

Proof that the employee had accommodation was also required for purposes of registration. Domestic workers had to provide proof of legal accommodation on their employers' premises while workers living in the townships had to present a lodger's permit or proof of accommodation in board hostels or accommodation provided by employers.27

WRAB offices were overcrowded with employers and employees seeking registration. By 31 October 45 000 employees had been registered by WRAB and approximately 60 000 countrywide.

About 2 000 workers in the WRAB area who did not have all the necessary documents were given a special two-week extension to register after the 31 October deadline.28

Employers in the Western Cape were intensely dissatisfied at the exclusion of this area from the dispensation. Both Professor S.P. Cilliers of the Department of Sociology, and Professor J. Sadie of the Bureau for Economic Research, University of Stellenbosch, voiced their disquiet over this exclusion. They considered it would place Cape businessmen in a disadvantaged position.9

The Commission found that the reference book was a very unpopular document amongst Africans, but as it was to be phased out by the homelands and substituted by travel documents, it did not recommend any changes in this regard. It did find that provisions in the Act for making endorsements in passports and other documents of African citizens of independent African States and those of homelands in the Republic should be deleted from the Act; entry requirements for (c) should be in terms of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act 1972 and of the Aliens Act administered by the Department of the Interior and Immigration.

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Pass Laws

394 The Commission recommended that:

(a) fees payable on application for the issue of duplicate reference books should be in line with the direct and indirect costs attached Influx to the issuing of such books;

(b) provisions in connection with the making of endorsements in documents of

(c) African citizens of independent African States and

(d) of homelands in the Republic should be deleted from the Act;

(e) entry requirements for (c) should be in terms of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act 1972 and of the Aliens Act 1937;

(f) provision for endorsements in the documents of citizens referred to in (c) and (d) in connection with employment should be made in the proposed Employment and Training Act;

(g) the administration of the Act should be vested with the Department of the Interior.
The Government accepted recommendation (a). As far as recommendations (c), (d) and (e) were concerned, the white paper stated that effective border control was not applied in respect of the citizens of independent black states that were formerly part of the Republic because of the nature of the geographical borders. Those citizens were at present entering the country over a widespread area and therefore some form of control after entry was necessary. It was also difficult and impractical to distinguish between SA and non-SA black inhabitants and their status in terms of rights of residence. The Government did, however, agree with the Commission's recommendation that provisions relating to black citizens of independent African States should be made in terms of the relevant legislation of the Department of the Interior and Immigration. Recommendation (f) would be studied further by the relevant departments.

The Riekert Commission's recommendations on influx control

The Commission, in investigating the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (1945) which makes provision for the control of movement of workers into urban areas, found that such provision was an essential social security measure in order to avoid, inter alia, slum conditions, large-scale unemployment in urban areas, lower wages and the threat (in terms of jobs, etc) to the interests of permanent residents in African townships. However, it also found that the provision that no African other than those referred to in Section 10(1)(a), (b), (c) or (d) of the Act might remain for more than 72 hours in a prescribed area was discriminatory as there was no such restriction in respect of whites, coloured people and Asians. It also led to large-scale arrests which disturbed relations and harmed SA's image. The suspension of Section 10 qualifications was considered but it was found that this was a political issue falling outside the Commission's terms of reference.

The Commission recommended that:

(a) influx control should be linked to the availability of work and of approved housing;

(b) the provisions of Section 10(1)(a), (b), (c) and (d) of the Act should be included in an appropriate form, but without the 72-hour provision, in the proposed Black Community Development Act, with a view to regulating the stay of African persons in African residential Influx areas. Provisions for exemption should be made for bona fide visitors, guests in hotels, etc.

(c) Africans holding Section 10(1)(a) or (b) qualifications who marry or are already married should be allowed to have their families join them, provided approved housing is available, irrespective of the area of origin of their families, and insofar as the allocation of housing is concerned, no distinction should be made between Section 10(1)(a) or (b) persons on the grounds of the area of origin of their lawful wives and legitimate dependants;

(d) the cabinet committee investigating the position of urban Africans should be informed of the attitude of Africans to Section 10(1) qualifications;
(e) Section 10(1)(a), (b) and (c) qualifications should be transferable from one urban area to another subject to the approval of the labour bureau concerned and provided that approval may not be withheld if approved housing and work are available.

The White Paper accepted recommendations (c), (d) and (e).

The Government however, felt that the repeal of the 72-hour provision would place the burden of influx control entirely on control at the place of employment and the place of residence in African and other urban residential areas. This would require exceptionally strict application of control at the place of employment and the place of residence, which also had its drawbacks. The Government declined to commit itself to repealing the 72-hour provision at present but would consider its repeal if the other two mechanisms proved effective.

Recommendations on the unlawful employment of Africans

A fundamental viewpoint underlying the Riekert Commission's recommendations was that the conditions of urban Africans should be improved. The commission argued that in order to achieve this it was essential that this group should have prior rights to existing job opportunities, housing and facilities. The main effect of influx control would be to protect these facilities for urban Africans by regulating the admission of rural Africans into urban areas. The commission voiced concern, however, that this system was being undermined by employers employing Africans with no legal rights to be in the area.

In investigating the 'illegal' employment of African workers, it found inter alia that this phenomenon was large-scale, and both undermined the system of influx control and cultivated a 'contemptuous attitude' towards legal processes amongst offenders. It found that employers were not complying with the statutory requirements in connection with the employment of African workers and felt this could only be checked if there was 'a real shift of emphasis to the prosecution of employers'.

It recommended that:
(a) (i) penalties applicable to employers should be strictly enforced and made more effective by higher fines;

(ii) terms of imprisonment should be in proportion to the proposed increase in fines;

(iii) fines should be in proportion to the period during which the Influx worker was unlawfully employed;

(iv) employers should not, as a general practice, be given the opportunity to pay admissions of guilt for the offence in question;

(v) the employer should forfeit benefits accruing to him; and

(vi) employers should be held liable for the costs of repatriating African workers who were unlawfully in their employ;

(b) it recommended further that penalty provisions payable by the workers should be abolished.

The White Paper accepted recommendations a(i), (ii) and (vi). It had no objections in principle to recommendations a(iii), (iv) and (v) but doubted whether they could be put into practice or would be
worth the trouble and thus rejected them.
The Government found recommendation (b) unacceptable as it felt the employee, as he had entered the area unlawfully, was also culpable.
Recommendations on ‘work-choosiness’
Coupled with the commission's emphasis on a better deal for urban workers with permanent rights, was their finding that employers were prejudiced against African workers with Section 10(1)(a) or (b) qualifications. Preference was given by many employers to contract workers (Section 10(1)(d)) or those unlawfully in the area as it was felt they were less 'choosy' about the work they were prepared to do, more inclined to stick to one job and prepared to accept lower wages.
The commission found that this was not in the national interest and led to unemployment. It thus recommended that labour bureaux should exercise strict control over the admission of contract workers and in such a way as to provide a positive incentive for employers to use local labour; strict action (ie increased fines) should be taken against employers unlawfully employing workers and the labour bureaux system should be overhauled. These recommendations were accepted by the Government.
Recommendations dealing with the repatriation of persons
Various sections under the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act deal with the endorsing-out of Africans from urban areas. For various reasons, but usually because they were redundant, were dealt with in other Acts or Sections of this Act or were too drastic, the Commission recommended the repeal of those sections dealing with the endorsing-out of idle and undesirable persons (Section 29), the removal of redundant persons (Section 28), the methods of dealing with Africans whose presence in urban areas or proclaimed areas was detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order (Section 29 bis), and the failure of a person to observe any terms placed on his continued residence in the area (Section 38b).
The White Paper accepted, with certain provisos in some cases (ie re Section 29) these recommendations.
The Commission investigated Section 14 which allows for the repatriation of Africans in compliance with Sections 10, 11 and 12 of the Act. It recommended, inter alia, that unlawful occupation of accommodation and unlawful working in the prescribed area should also be grounds for repatriation. This was accepted by the white paper as were most of the other recommendations dealing with this section.
Aid Centres
The following table gives the running costs of aiding to administration board area for 1976/7:11
Administration Board area
Central Transvaal Highveld West Rand East Rand Western Transvaal Vaal Triangle Southern Orange Free State Central Orange Free State Drakensberg Port Natal Diamond Fields Cape Midlands Eastern Cape Peninsula
Number of aid centres
Aid Centres

centres accord-
R
164 037 10 745 77 351 212 533 41 300 42 958
20 582 4 364 18 346 82 050 8 647 47 675 15 964 3 000
Total 19 749 552

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave information relating to pass law offenders referred to during 1978:

Benoni Bloemfontein Boksburg
Brakpan Durban
East London Germiston Johannesburg Kimberley Klerksdorp Pietermaritzburg
Port Elizabeth Pretoria Randfontein Springs Vereeniging Welkom

Referred to Aid Centre
5 995 5 039 4716 3 821
10820
2 650
23 658 40 396
901
4 892 1 688 7115
40 546
8 925 6 226
14 988 10706

Not prosecuted
2119 1 174 1 450 1 869
10 141
1 009 9 272
18 934
313
3 458 1 530 6 170
23 980
117
2 455 5 331 5 955

the followaid centres

Assisted to
find
employment
5 211
276 420 390 619 207
2 804 5 166
162 197
He stated that in 1977 and 1978 respectively 148,495 and 154,621 males, and 28,487 and 38,461 females, arrested for pass law offences were referred to aid centres before prosecution. Those referred after Curfew conviction numbered 33,241 and 34,773 males and 9,483 and 9,746 females for those years respectively.

The Riekert Commission found that aid centres were of benefit to offenders against control measures and the economy, as workers were not withdrawn from their work for long periods. The centres were, however, a product of the present influx control system and the question as to what extent the arrest of a large number of offenders was necessary in the first instance would have to be looked into. The Commission also found that the administration of the system was inefficient, due to a number of different reasons.

It recommended that it should be temporarily retained to reduce the number of Africans who were referred to the courts and landed in prison. However, the system should eventually be phased out as offences declined due to the implementation of other recommendations.

Section 25 of the Black Labour Act 1964 should be amended to ensure that all persons charged with a contravention of the control measures first be referred to aid centres. Arrangements should be made whereby aid centre managers might summarily discharge accused persons who, under the present system, were detained pending the withdrawal of a criminal case against them or their discharge. Aid centres that were managed by administration boards should continue to be so managed.

Other recommendations dealt with the powers of aid centre managers, labour officers and appeals against their decisions. It recommended that the staff of aid centres should be especially selected and trained for the execution of their duties.

The Government accepted the recommendations with the exception of those relating to the delimitation of powers of aid centre managers and labour officers. Curfew laws
From July 1977 to July 1978 a total of 17 472 people were prosecuted under the curfew laws as opposed to 37 000 people the previous year. The figures for 1974/75 and 1975/76 were 66 334 and 58 022 respectively.” Mrs Suzman (PFP) stated that the measures were medieval and called for their repeal.

In October the Drakensberg Administration Board gave its approval to the abolition of curfew regulations within its area following recommendations by the Riekert Commission.19

In examining Section 31 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act which makes provision for curfew and night permits, the Riekert Commission found that in May 1977 the curfew system existed in 304 prescribed areas and was strictly applied in 49 of these. It recommended its repeal, stating it was discriminatory, caused unnecessary friction and was of little use in combating crime. This recommendation was accepted by the Government.40

Housing Amendment Act No 109
The Act abolished the Black Housing Board. Previously the Urban National Housing Commission considered applications from local African authorities for loans for white, coloured and Indian schemes. Applications from administration boards for African housing in urban areas went to the Black Housing Board. Now the Department of Community Development will handle these applications through the National Housing Commission after a need has been determined by the Department of Co-operation and Development. The Commission's membership was increased by two members designated by the Department of Co-operation and Development—one an African and the other representing administration boards.

The Minister announced in Parliament that as from April housing loans for Africans would be provided at the same interest rates and according to the same standards as those for other race groups. Previously housing loans for Africans were provided at an interest rate of 91 %, whereas now they would be provided at 1 0o for houseowners in the sub-economic group, ie for those earning less than R150 per month, at 31 % for those with an income of R151 to R250, and at 91 % for those earning over R250 per month.

99-year leases
Progress in the implementation of the 99-year leasehold system introduced in December 1978 was slow, due mainly to the fact that sites in most African townships still had to be surveyed and that the costs of such surveying and the provision of services were too high. By August only seven leases had been registered in Soweto and only Dube township and Orlando had been surveyed. The costs for a person wishing to build a house under the scheme were then as follows: from R50 to R250 for the surveying, R1 533 service fee, R300 for the right of leasehold, R6 administration fee, R1 for 99 years, as well as conveyancing fees. Once these had been paid the occupant could negotiate a mortgage of up to 80 % from a building society (more if collateral was supplied
by the employer). The estimated cost to build a 51/9 (standard) house would be R3 500 in basic costs plus the above additional charges, amounting to over R5 500.41

Speaking during his vote in parliament, Dr Koornhof stated that the regulations relating to the implementation of the scheme would be amended and simplified so that the scheme could be expedited and the costs involved in regard to the identification of the premises lowered.

In August this problem was overcome when amending regulations were introduced to simplify surveying processes. These were the outcome of a meeting held in July between the Minister of Co-operation and Development, the Association of Building Societies, the Institute of Land Surveyors, the Urban Foundation, some administration boards and officials of the Department. The effect of the regulations was to simplify the process of surveying to save time and cut costs.

399

Housing

400

Home Ownership

The previous regulations required that the plans used by administration boards be checked by the Department of Co-operation and Development, and that thereafter registered land surveyors fully survey each individual site after allocation. Under the new regulations private land surveyors instead of the Department could check plans. As a result of this the surveying profession accepted that full individual surveys were not always necessary. Since sites could now be surveyed in blocks, costs could be reduced to R15 each for a block of 75 sites.

The Urban Foundation offered R500 000 in interest-free budgeting finance towards the costs. Land surveyors stated that the new system would release 100 000 stands within a few months.42

An added problem in the implementation of the scheme arose from the application for leasehold rights by African women. African women married under customary union have no contractual capacity and no rights to own property, with the result that they were excluded from the scheme. The regulations themselves excluded women married in community of property from obtaining these rights. Thus only women married under anti-nuptial contracts could apply. However, it was reported that many building societies were reluctant to lend money to African women at all because of the difficulty in determining whether or not a woman had been married under customary union. To overcome the problem the Association of Building Societies submitted a memorandum to the Department of Co-operation and Development requesting that an amendment be introduced to allow qualified women leasehold and mortgage rights whatever their marital status.3

After the July meeting mentioned earlier, Dr Raath, Secretary for Co-operation and Development, stated that his department would introduce legislation to enable African women to obtain building society loans in their own right. It was further agreed that his department would extend the period during which a mortgagee
was permitted to dispose of any right of leasehold purchased by a person in terms of the relevant legislation.

A further point of concern on the issue of qualification for leasehold rights raised this year was that concerning the ambiguity concerning descendants of leasehold owners who were citizens of independent homelands and who were born after the independence of those homelands. (See 1978 Survey, p 321.) Dr Raath stated that legal opinion had been obtained to the effect that such people qualified to hold the right of leasehold.4

Mr Paul Hansmeyer, Liaison Officer for African housing for the Department of Co-operation and Development, listed the following ways in which employers could help their employees obtain a house under the 99 year leasehold: they could make an outright grant; give a loan on agreement that the money would be recoverable by monthly deductions (not exceeding 25%) from the person's earnings; build a house and donate it to an employee as a grant or advance; give an employee time off on full pay to build his own house; or arrange a guarantee or loan for an employee with a financial institution.

He stated that the Government offered the following tax deductions as incentives to employers to help in housing:

* funds used by mining and works sectors on the provision of housing were deductible from the taxable income in the first year after the housing was provided;

# an employer who was a manufacturer in an 'economic development area' might deduct 35% of the cost of providing housing to employees to a maximum of R3 000 per house from his taxable income in the first year of provision and 10% for the next 9 years; an employer could obtain a 25% reduction on the cost of a house up to a maximum of R3 000 per house in an assessment year if he satisfied the receiver of revenue that the house in question would be occupied by persons who were his employees.41

30-year leases

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following information on the number of applications received for leases per administration board area, and the numbers granted fused to 31 December 1978:46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Rand</th>
<th>East Rand</th>
<th>Eastern Transvaal</th>
<th>Vaal Triangle</th>
<th>Central Transvaal</th>
<th>Transvaal Highveld</th>
<th>Western Transvaal</th>
<th>Northern Cape</th>
<th>Eastern Cape</th>
<th>Cape Midlands</th>
<th>Southern OFS</th>
<th>Central OFS</th>
<th>OFS Northern</th>
<th>OFS Drakensberg</th>
<th>Diamond Fields</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications received</td>
<td>1 233</td>
<td>1 072</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>2 161</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-year leases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications received</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>224</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where there is a discrepancy between those granted and those received, applications had not been finalised.

Housing regulations

In May new regulations governing conditions of residence in townships were introduced in terms of Government Notice R1036, to eliminate any possible contradiction between general residential area regulations and the 99-year leasehold regulations issued in December 1978. One effect of the new regulations was to limit the arbitrary powers which township superintendents previously had to evict tenants from township houses. For instance, the requirements-failing which eviction could take place-that a person be a 'fit and proper' person, and free from infectious diseases were deleted.

The superintendent's authority was further limited by the requirement that he must obtain the approval for the granting of a residential permit from the Board or Community Council. Previously he had sole discretion in this matter apart from certain exceptional circumstances.

The new regulations also widened the scope of persons able to qualify for permits by stating that any person who has 10(1)(a) or (b) rights may apply for a permit to rent or erect a house. Previously only males over 21 with 10(1)(a) or (b) rights had this right. A further regulation also granted the chief commissioner the power, on recommendation of the board, to grant a permit to a person not fulfilling these requirements.

Greater freedom was accorded to site permit holders or holders of certificates of occupancy by the deletion of the requirement that the site be occupied by the applicant and his dependants, and the requirement that he should relinquish any other existing site, residential or lodger's permit if a further permit was applied for. However, these requirements still remained in force in the case of holders of/or applicants for residential permits (ie where a person rents a house).
The regulations were also extended to allow the holder of a site permit or certificate of occupancy to let his/her rights to the house or site to another qualified person, and to alienate the improvements on the site to such person. The permit holder, however, would remain responsible for the payment of rentals in relation to the building or site.

This extension was not made applicable to a holder of a residential permit who would still lose his/her right of occupancy if he/she sublet the dwelling without the written permission of the superintendent. A new regulation stated that the holder of a residential permit might lose such a permit if he obtained occupation rights because of his employment and he no longer worked for that specific employer.

Housing Provided

The following table details the number of dwelling units erected by the private sector and the Department of Community Development from 1972 to 1976 for Africans within urban African residential areas.47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Private sector</th>
<th>Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>7 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>8441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1 394</td>
<td>6994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>9608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1 040</td>
<td>8489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5015</td>
<td>40862</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cost to the Department of erecting the above 40 862 housing units (ie hostels and houses) was R34,8m, comprising 5,7% of the total of R611m spent on 151 153 dwellings for all races during these years.

The table opposite details the position regarding family housing for Africans according to administration board area as at 31/12/1977 and the projected supply and shortfalls at 31/12/1982.48
It was estimated that it would cost R764m to wipe out the 1977
backlog (at R4 000 per unit).
Details concerning hostel accommodation in stration board area as at 31 December
1977,
Commission's report, appear below:
Number of
Administration hostel beds Board 31/12/77
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Central Transvaal</th>
<th>Northern Transvaal</th>
<th>Highveld</th>
<th>Eastern Transvaal</th>
<th>Southern Transvaal</th>
<th>West Rand</th>
<th>East Rand</th>
<th>Western Transvaal</th>
<th>Vaal Triangle</th>
<th>Southern OFS</th>
<th>Central OFS</th>
<th>Northern OFS</th>
<th>Northern Natal</th>
<th>Drakensberg</th>
<th>Port Natal</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>Northern Cape</th>
<th>Diamond Fields</th>
<th>Karoo</th>
<th>Cape Midlands</th>
<th>Eastern Cape</th>
<th>South Western Cape</th>
<th>Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beds</td>
<td>23 140</td>
<td>2 458</td>
<td>5 944</td>
<td>2 639</td>
<td>2 116</td>
<td>59 842</td>
<td>5 916</td>
<td>2 196</td>
<td>8 739</td>
<td>2 471</td>
<td>2 22 070</td>
<td>1 700</td>
<td>9 296</td>
<td>1 243</td>
<td>1 170</td>
<td>14 959</td>
<td>12 500</td>
<td>4 153 None</td>
<td>3 000</td>
<td>3 524</td>
<td>1 828</td>
<td>1 905</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 472</td>
<td>33 905</td>
<td>1 013</td>
<td>1 640</td>
<td>1 155</td>
<td>12 752</td>
<td>1 064</td>
<td>15 406</td>
<td>35 285</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>3 000</td>
<td>3 524</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 080</td>
<td>6 382</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 080</td>
<td>6 382</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urban African Housing
for Africans per adminas given in the Riekert
Shortage of beds 31/12/77
22 070
1 700 9 296 1 243 1 170 14 959 12 500 4 153 None 3 000 3 524 1 828 1 905
400 35 906 4 262
513 None 1 080 6 382
155 None
Expected provision 1/1/7831/12/82 10 260 625
6 950
730
1 346 5 000 36 672 None None 3 000 2 685
950
1 432
500
4 000 1 000
513 None 1 080
621 540 None
Total 322240 126046 77904 112921
Approximately R275m would be needed to meet the expected shortage by 1982
which would mean R55m a year as compared with an average of R7m a year
since 1972.
The Riekert Commission pointed out that a further 11 897 hectares of land would
be required for the development of housing for Africans during 1977-1986. The
table below details the position:
Administration Board
Central Transvaal Northern Transvaal Highveld Eastern Transvaal Southern
Transvaal West Rand
Land area at present available
(in ha)
674
33
621 308
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration Board</th>
<th>East Rand Western Transvaal Vaal Triangle Southern OFS Central OFS Northern OFS Northern Natal Drakensberg Port Natal Northern Cape Diamond Fields Karoo Cape Midlands Eastern Cape South Western Cape Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land area at present available (in ha)</td>
<td>2 452 5 928 3 155 927 241 752 153 195 123 103 311 111 855 272 276 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Required over the next ten years (in ha)</td>
<td>1 955 200 820 158 51 2 257 25 175 419 125 572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19 867 11 877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following amounts were allocated for the building of economic housing for Africans for the period 1 April 1978 to December 1978 in respect of the main urban areas: Economic Cape Town Durban Pietermaritzburg Pretoria Port Elizabeth Kimberley East London Bloemfontein Johannesburg R 3 107 489 276 1 312 303 2 580 789 330 324
2200 970 382 4586 320
(This included expenditure from the National Housing and Community Development fund and funds made available by the consortium of banks in respect of housing provided by local authorities and the Department itself.)

The following numbers of dwelling units for Africans were constructed in 1978 by (a) the Department, (b) local authorities, and (c) the private sector in the urban areas listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Durban</th>
<th>Witwatersrand</th>
<th>Cape Peninsula</th>
<th>Port Elizabeth</th>
<th>Pretoria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
<td>1374</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>517</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td>405</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Urban African Housing**

**Homeland Housing**

The provision for 1979/80 for housing for Africans was R24 520 000 as compared with R15 550 000 in 1978/79 from the Community Development Vote.

The Vote for the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure for housing loans for farm labourers was R3.4m in 1979/80 as against R5m in 1978/79 and R200 000 and R240 000 in interest subsidy for those years respectively.

Additional, but unspecified amounts, for housing were allocated to the homeland governments in the Plural Relations and Development Vote.

Addressing the SA Institute of Housing Management's annual conference in October, Dr Koornhof announced that the Government was to introduce legislation permitting private sector township development in African urban areas.

His department was also considering a lowering of housing standards to make self-built informal housing possible.

The Minister also announced the introduction of a plan to build 4.1m houses for Africans by the year 2000 to cost at least R20 000m. The Urban Foundation commented that many low-income African families would be unable to afford the houses unless alternative housing methods were developed.

At the time of going to press a consortium of banks had pledged R300m for the first phase of this programme.

**Homeland Housing**

The table below details the position regarding the provision of housing for Africans in the homelands from 1960/61 to 1976/77:

| Actual expenditure on towns (R1 000) | SA Development trust | 50 | 256 962 | 1931 4013 |
Mr A. Dowie of Benso stated that about 110 000 houses would have to be built in the homelands each year in the 1980s compared with the

Year
Number of
houses erected
2 366 6 255 5 531 8 759
12335 12356
9 255 4 233
15 753
567
11 364
8 664
13141
7 963 7 561 5 405
29 240
Total
50 256 962
1 931 4013 14066 8 674 5 656 9515 18299 24 030 35 662 25 790
30 504 45 985
67 215

100 000 built in the previous nine years. From 1975 to 2000 the housing requirement would be 2,5m units at a cost of R100 000m.4

Housing: General
The Corporation for Economic Development set aside R4,4m for the building of houses and industrial sites in Mabopane East (Soshanguve) for the 1979/80 financial year.5 President Mangope stated that his government had decided to sell to the public houses owned by it. This would provide the government with funds to be made available to the National Development Council for the creation of a revolving fund with the specific purpose of granting housing loans to individual citizens."

The Black Sash estimated that at the end of 1978 there were 6 525 families on an official waiting list for houses in Umlazi. In 1976 247 houses were provided, 140 in 1977 and none in 1978.57 In November a R500 000 housing scheme at Umlazi, financed by two refineries and the KwaZulu Development Corporation, was opened.51
More than 13 000 residents of Durban's KwaMashu township were given permission by the Government to buy the premises they occupied.5

Rent Increases
Rents in the Ciskeian townships of Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, Dimbaza, Illitha and Sada were due to be increased on 1 January from R5,97 to R14,83 and from R6,57 to R15,45 although there was confusion over the date of their implementation. Township superintendents were acting in accordance with the 1 January date while Chief Sebe stated he would announce a new date for their implementation, later set at 1 April. Electricity charges and water tariffs were also to be increased.60

Rents in the KwaZulu township of Gamalakhe rose on 1 April, from R3,64 to R10,16 for a four-roomed house to bring them in line with rent increases instituted in other KwaZulu townships on 1 January.

The Department of Co-operation and Development had spent R11,4m on housing in Lebowa to date.70 Rent increases in Lebowa were suspended in February after the Lebowa government made approaches to Dr Koornhof as a result of representations by 22 townships in the territory.

Riekert Commission on housing
The Riekert Commission examined the situation of housing for Africans in detail and found that the housing shortage for this group was a major problem. It found that one of the reasons for the shortage was that most housing funds had derived from the state. Its recommendations, listed below, were aimed at stimulating the provision of housing by the private sector:

(a) ownership should be granted to employers who wished to provide accommodation for their employees in African residential areas;
(b) the private sector should be permitted to finance and develop housing schemes in African townships;
(c) land with services for leasehold purposes should be provided;
(d) capital gains from the sale of houses and erven to Africans should be used only for the provision of African township housing;
(e) the state should subsidise the housing of its African employees on the same basis as other population groups;
(f) consideration should be given to placing the subsidisation of African housing by government bodies on the same basis as for other race groups;
(g) provision should be made for a greater variety of housing in various ways;
(h) service industries and larger business centres should be planned and developed in African residential areas;
(i) the Government should publicise thoroughly the leasehold system.
With regard to (a) the Government stated that employers were already protected by right of occupation by agreement. Recommendation (b) was accepted in principle, (c) and (d) were in line with existing practice and (e) (f) (g) and (i) were being put into effect.

Community Councils

In September the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr G.de V. Morrison, stated that legislation to give community councils the same status, powers and responsibilities as white municipalities would be introduced during the next session of parliament. However, this did not mean that community councils would immediately be equal to white municipalities. The rate at which powers and responsibilities would be transferred to the councils from administration boards and the areas the councils would control would be 'a matter for negotiation' between the councils and the boards. He said that councils would have to take complete responsibility for their financial affairs and by way of taxes and levies be in a position to pay for electricity, water and other services.62 The SAIRR in a statement submitted to the Government said that community councils would not be comparable to white local authorities. The Institute stated that white local authorities had circumscribed powers forming a third tier in a system in which local inhabitants also had a say in the upper tiers. In terms of the proposed new constitutional plan the electors of coloured and Indian local authorities could also participate in the policy making of higher authorities. Under the proposed system locally representative leaders of the necessary calibre were almost certain to find themselves being asked to represent interests they did not and could not deal with, as the necessary links at regional level did not exist.43

This year regulations for township guards provided for in the Community Councils Act were drafted. The regulations stated that people found guilty of obstructing guards would face a fine of R90 or 90 days imprisonment or both, guards would be allowed to carry a knobkerie up to 120 cm in length and 2.5 cm in diameter. They might be armed with more lethal weapons, but not firearms, at the discretion of the commander of the local police station. There would be three ranks in the force; main guards, supervisors and guards, the first two being full-time employees. Guards of all ranks would be subordinate to the police. Guards would be obliged to obey any lawful order of the SA Police and might be suspended from duty at any time by any policeman of the rank of sergeant or higher. Appointment and promotion would be subject to the recommendation of the local Chief Commissioner of Black Affairs in consultation with the police commander. M

The introduction of township guards was criticised by Mr Siegfried Manthatha, leader of the Soweto makgotla, and the Federal Party of the Soweto Council, which saw it as an extension of the makgotla system. Dobsonville residents, however, supported the new system.

By November 198 community councils had been established countrywide and elections held in 140.65

Riekert Commission's recommendations on Community Councils
The Riekert Commission recommended that the Community Councils Act 1977 should be included in the proposed Black Community Development Act. This was accepted by the Government.

Transport

The Committee of Enquiry into the Subsidisation of Bus Transport for African workers completed its investigation and its report was being considered by the Government.66

Increases in taxi and bus fares were introduced countrywide throughout the year and especially after the June fuel price increase.

Bus Transport

In April Putco increased fares in parts of the Transvaal and Natal. A five-day weekly ticket from Soweto to Johannesburg rose from R2.40 to R2.90. In July it increased its Pretoria rates by 40c for a five-day ticket. Further increases of 1 to 5 c a trip were introduced in October on the Witwatersrand.67

After an application brought by a resident, Mr Justice Melamet of the Rand Supreme Court ordered Putco to revert its fares to the earlier, lower tariff. He found Putco had not lodged its application for increased fares properly through the local transportation board. The Corporation's financial controller, Mr R. Button, said Putco would reapply for increased fares in the African areas.61

Greyhound also increased fares by 2 c to 10 c on buses running on the West Rand and in the Eastern Transvaal in March, and again in June on the West Rand by 3 c on daily tickets and 15 c to 40 c on weekly tickets.69

In February the East Rand Administration Board (ERAB) announced it was selling its bus service as it had lost over Rlm in 1978. It also increased cash fares from 4 c to 7 c in March.70

In April more than 2 300 residents in Lamontville signed a petition stating that they could no longer afford to pay bus fares and asked the SAR for a railway station. Residents were paying R12.50 a month from Lamontville to Durban.7'

In August the Supreme Court set aside a ruling of the Cape's Local Road Transportation Board in favour of bus fare increases for City Tramways in Cape Town.

409

African Transport

The judge found, inter alia, that the board hearing on the increase had been premature as it had been held ‘before the expiry of the time limit for the filing of representations’.2

Both the Vaal Transport Corporation and the Lebowa Transron Corporation, which operated 209 buses throughout Lebowa, announced increases in fares in August. As a result the Seshego Village Committee called for residents in Seshego to boycott the buses.9

In September about 10 000 African workers in Ladysmith boycotted the BIC-owned Ezakheni Bus Company in protest against an increase in fares of from 20 % to 23 %. Season tickets rose in price from R2.55 to R3.40 while a six-day ticket
for the Klipriver complex rose from R5.30 to R7.00. People walked the 15 to 25 kilometres to work.4

In many instances employers provided free transport and allowed workers to sleep on the premises.

A meeting was held on 12 September between executives of the Ezakheni Bus Company and representatives of the Chambers of Industry, the Sakekamer and local businessmen in an attempt to resolve the issue.75 The meeting was described as 'abortive'. The company then announced it would apply for an increased subsidy from the Government but would not lower fares.16

A second meeting was held on 18 September with no results. Police converged on all roads leading to Ladysmith on 4 October in a crackdown on pirate taxis that had been operating extensively since the bus boycott commenced. Brigadier H. Viljoen, Divisional Commissioner for Natal, stated that they had waited 'patiently' for more than three weeks for the commuters and bus companies to settle their differences, but as nothing was resolved, they had decided to act.77

Workers ended the boycott on 8 October after the township's mayor, Mr H. Nngadi, who had met with the KwaZulu cabinet, reported back to them. The workers agreed to suspend the boycott pending further negotiations and investigations.8

A second boycott by commuters from the Mpumalanga township who worked in the Hammarsdale area commenced on 17 September in protest against increases on their routes.79 The boycott ended on 19 September.

About 300 workers at the Marburg Manufacturing Company staged a 'sit-in' against a proposed 50% increase in fares of the TransUmzimkulu Transport company to be introduced in October, and stoned police who moved in to end the strike. They were dispersed with teargas.8

A further boycott was held in September by commuters from Elandskop and Swartkop who refused to pay increases of 5c on the Sizanani Mazulu Transport company bus routes.81

On 1 October thousands of African commuters from the Port Shepstone area started boycotting the Trans-Umzimkulu Bus Service following a 50% increase in fares.2 Five buses in the Gamalakhe township outside Port Shepstone were reported as having been stoned.3 The boycott had not ended at the time of going to press. The Minister of Transport had asked for an immediate investigation into the bus company's financial position.84 At the time of writing it was estimated that the bus boycott had cost businessmen and the bus company at least R250 000 in loss of earnings.5

The Government announced in July that it was investigating ways of easing the burden placed on commuters by bus fare increases. The Secretary for Transport, Mr A.B. Eksteen, stated that they were looking at the possibility of a direct subsidy to bus operators to offset the effect of liquor of higher fuel bills, or an increase in the subsidy for Africans. (African and coloured commuters already receive R50m in subsidies a year on fares from the Urban Transportation Fund.)86 In August the Minister of Transport, Mr J.C. Heunis, informed the leader of the opposition that the cabinet was considering ways of keeping public
transport costs down. Mr Eglin (PFP) had made representations to the Minister of Finance and Mr Heunis that additional taxation revenue accruing to the Government, due largely to the increased gold price, be used to keep down public transport costs.7

Taxis
Taxi associations operating in the Benoni area, Western townships, the Pretoria area, Tembisa, Springs, the Johannesburg area and Northern Transvaal all raised their fares during the year, some more than once. Increases at any one time varied from 5 to 10 cents a trip.
In June the Transvaal Taxi Association prepared a memorandum of grievances to be sent to the Minister of Transport and Dr Koornhof’s regional committees.8
In July a representative of the Pretoria and District Taxi Owners’ Association stated that they would ask the Government for subsidies for Pretoria taxi owners because of the June petrol price increase.89

Integration of Transport Services
At a meeting of the Johannesburg City Council in July, the PFP called on the council to investigate the feasibility of opening all municipal public transport to all races. Councillor Dishey (PFP), who introduced the motion, stated that it could lead to a substantial cut in the transport department’s annual deficit, make buses more frequent and accessible, spread peak-hour passenger loads more evenly, and help fill empty buses during off-peak periods.9
The council rejected his motion and passed an amendment not to consider any changes until a National Transport Commission study into the effects of public transport integration was completed.
In August a spokesman for the Railways stated that blacks could use white coaches if their first class coaches were full and if they had first class tickets. The announcement followed the acquittal of a coloured man after a magistrate had found he had not committed any offence by being in a first class white coach.9'

Liquor
The Minister of Justice stated that the committee appointed in August 1977 to inquire into the distribution of liquor in African urban residential areas had not yet presented its report.92

Shebeens
Police clamped down on shebeens, particularly those in Soweto, this year. According to the law, any person arrested for buying liquor at a shebeen faced a fine of R500 or 6 months’ imprisonment.

Administration Boards
Northern Transvaal Eastern Transvaal Southern Transvaal Highveld Central Transvaal Western Transvaal East Rand Vaal Triangle West Rand Southern Orange Free State Northern Orange Free State Central Orange Free State Diamond Fields Northern Cape Cape Peninsula

Maintenance/
Incidental expenses
R
29 578 39 578 57 110 20 755
In response Soweto shebeens boycotted WRAB's bottlestores for three weeks in July/August after claiming that police were raiding their houses, confiscating liquor, cars and refrigerators. Mass meetings were held by shebeen owners who decided to draw up a petition to send to the Government to stop the raids. They also decided to apply formally to be allowed to operate legally in the area.

Shebeen owners were invited to submit evidence to the National Liquor Board on how they wished liquor to be distributed in urban African townships. In October shebeen owners met with the special inter-departmental committee which was investigating the whole question of legalising shebeens.

According to a South African Breweries study legalising shebeens would not effect the amount of liquor Africans consumed, but would merely make lawful an existing chain of supply. About 228 people were arrested between July and October for frequenting or running shebeens.

A committee of 325 shebeen owners was elected in October to deal with the problems and grievances of shebeen owners in different parts of Soweto.

Black Affairs Administration Boards
In accordance with an announcement made by the Government last year, the administration boards were reduced in number from 22 to 14 this year. They are as follows: Administration Boards for the West Rand, East Rand, Oranjevaal, Southern Orange Free State, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Port Natal, Drakensberg, Western Transvaal, Highveld, Diamond Fields, Northern Transvaal and Central Transvaal.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following figures of the amounts spent on incidental expenses and maintenance in each administration board area and on new services and improvements of existing facilities for 1977-78:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maintenance/ incidental expenses</th>
<th>New Services/ improvements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Western Cape</td>
<td>413 R 82 350</td>
<td>44 380 Brds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoo</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>53950 Boards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Midlands</td>
<td>513 071</td>
<td>371 600 Boards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New Services/ Improvements
R
14600 72 600 111 950 43 425 180100
204 470 304 252 966 780 Nil
39 750 223 550
254 415 726 900
164110 82 000
The Minister stated that up to 31 December 1978 building societies had lent R6 655 081 to administration boards at interest rates from 2.5% to 12.5%.

The following table gives the expenditure and revenue and capital expenditure of administration boards from 1973 to 1977:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1973/74</th>
<th>1974/75</th>
<th>1975/76</th>
<th>1976/77</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Current expenditure</td>
<td>150 958</td>
<td>231 159</td>
<td>275 343</td>
<td>295 577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General government</td>
<td>31 344</td>
<td>54 101</td>
<td>63 561</td>
<td>85 506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black housing funds</td>
<td>35 665</td>
<td>50 363</td>
<td>63 319</td>
<td>61 563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum beer and other liquor</td>
<td>83 949</td>
<td>126 695</td>
<td>147 665</td>
<td>145 702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and water</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>2806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Current revenue</td>
<td>168 222</td>
<td>256 980</td>
<td>320 601</td>
<td>329 060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General government</td>
<td>35 679</td>
<td>64 077</td>
<td>90 509</td>
<td>102 518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions in respect of Black labour</td>
<td>(12 367)</td>
<td>(30 621)</td>
<td>(45 503)</td>
<td>(52 004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black housing funds</td>
<td>31 586</td>
<td>42 416</td>
<td>51 930</td>
<td>52 469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum beer and other liquor</td>
<td>100 957</td>
<td>150 487</td>
<td>177 121</td>
<td>171 407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and water</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>2666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Surplus (B-A)</td>
<td>17264</td>
<td>25821</td>
<td>45258</td>
<td>33483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption</td>
<td>4955</td>
<td>7945</td>
<td>9175</td>
<td>9018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to capital expenditure</td>
<td>13149</td>
<td>12099</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additions to funds</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>5 777</td>
<td>20 257</td>
<td>8 755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Capital expenditure</td>
<td>20 637</td>
<td>30 451</td>
<td>59 908</td>
<td>53 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of land</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>1 265</td>
<td>2 166</td>
<td>2 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of plant and equipment</td>
<td>2922</td>
<td>6447</td>
<td>10842</td>
<td>9116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New constructions</td>
<td>16 827</td>
<td>22 739</td>
<td>46 900</td>
<td>41 922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential buildings</td>
<td>8 307</td>
<td>9 690</td>
<td>26 117</td>
<td>14 793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other buildings</td>
<td>3 234</td>
<td>5 289</td>
<td>12 722</td>
<td>15 063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>2499</td>
<td>2531</td>
<td>2688</td>
<td>4244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewerage</td>
<td>1 681</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>2820</td>
<td>3442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 106</td>
<td>2271</td>
<td>2553</td>
<td>4380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Riekert Commission considered the role and functioning of administration boards and found that although their functions would decline as community councils expanded, they would still be responsible for the administration of certain aspects of the proposed Black Community Development Act and would act as agents for other departments.

West Rand Administration Board
It recommended that:100
(i) their designation should be changed to Regional Boards for Black Community Development;
(ii) their constitutions be changed so that experts from the public and private sectors could sit on them;
(iii) each board should have a sub-committee (including non-board members, members of community councils, and persons from the private sector) to deal with labour, housing and general administration and another (called the regional development committee) to deal with matters relating to community development;
(iv) this latter committee should, inter alia, determine and plan priorities for the continuous development of African communities;
(v) local government functions which should form part of a municipal code should be assigned to administration boards until they were transferred to community councils;
(vi) administration boards should involve the Economic Development Corporation in African areas;
(vii) an intensive training programme for staff be introduced; (viii) the ratio of African to white officials be raised;
(ix) all community development action should take place on an economic and hence non-subsidised basis.

The Government accepted all the recommendations excepting (vi) which it rejected for the moment.

MATTERS CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL ADMINISTRATION BOARDS

West Rand Administration Board
Finance and Administration

In March the Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that an amount of R8,5m given to WRAB was to be allocated as a loan to the Soweto Community Council to upgrade and repair essential public facilities in Soweto. The aim was to place the community council on a sound footing and not to hand over a 'bankrupt estate'.

At a meeting of the three Soweto councils and WRAB in March the councils were given powers to raise funds, administer such funds, decide on projects for the development of the townships, maintain such projects, and appoint consultants to look into different aspects of development.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that fulltime chairmen on the West and East Rand Administration Boards received R14 520, vice-chairmen R7 260 and members of the executive committee R3 630 annually. Part-time chairmen appointed to other administration boards received R9 240, vice-chairmen R4 620 and executive committee members R2 310. Ordinary and substitute members of all administration boards received an R11 per day attendance allowance for each meeting.

A five-year R705m development plan, Ecoplan, for Soweto was drawn up by a consortium of consulting engineers appointed by the Soweto Council. The R705m comprised the following amounts: R170m for housing; R135m for electrification; R115m for decentralised shop-ping complexes; R72m for loans to householders;
R71m for transport and roads; R142m for other improvements, water, sewerage and infrastructure costs. The plan covered the greater Soweto administrative area and included Diepkloof, Meadowlands and Dobsonville. An urgent building programme would provide 35 000 to 50 000 houses and flats for which there was sufficient ground. An immediate start should be made with the construction of high density housing and home improvement schemes. Neighbourhood health clinics should be developed in the business and recreational areas. Thirteen bus stations and 20 bus terminals would be built to ease transport problems. Wiring in about 18 000 houses which already had electricity would have to be redone, and new wiring installed in the other 97 000 houses in Greater Soweto. All new houses would be wired, the high mast lighting system extended, road lights installed and electric substations built in Soweto. It was suggested that a computerised system of metering be installed. The initial monthly cost for each house for electricity would be R6.50.

In May more than 600 employees of the West Rand Board were given six months to decide if they wanted to be employed by the Soweto Council which was taking over board staff in certain departments.

The Prime Minister during his visit to Soweto at the end of August stated that the township had a first claim to a fair share of the resources and expertise of the State; that other institutions and individuals should help it to become a thriving and viable community; that the Government's primary role was to provide a share of the loan finance for infrastructure in Soweto, but that assistance in the form of loans was needed from the private sector. He stated that the debt of nearly R11.5m accumulated by WRAB would be written off. He further announced that the Community Councils Act would be revised, and that the Government wanted to see the development of free enterprise in the city.

In October Mr Manie Mulder, chairman of WRAB, resigned from his post as from 1 December. He was succeeded by Mr J.G. Knoetze, chief director of the Oranjevaal Administration Board.

Dr Koornhof announced in late November that the Soweto Council would evolve into a municipality 'as soon as possible'. He stated that there would be more than 2 000 posts under the direction of a chief executive officer who would be akin to a town clerk and would be paid on the same scale as a top municipal officer. Provisions were also to be made for various professional posts which would be filled by staff performing the functions of city engineer, treasurer etc. These posts would be allocated to Africans. Training programmes were already under way. The staff association of the West Rand Administration Board had indicated that their members would serve under the directions of the Soweto Council. Dr Koornhof also announced that legislation would be passed to replace the Community Councils Act.

Mr Nico Malan, WRAB's director of housing, became Soweto's first 'chief executive officer' in November. He was to serve the Soweto
It was also announced that Mr Frans du Randt, Chief Commissioner of the Witwatersrand, who was retiring, had been assigned the task of 'eliminating hurtful discrimination' from laws governing Africans, and Mr Rive, Postmaster-General, was to investigate ways of improving the quality of township life.

Housing and Hostels

In 1978 320 housing units were built in Soweto; 110 by the administration board and 210 by private owners."" This year WRAB announced it would build more than 15 000 houses and 400 flats: 1 200 in Diepkloof, 13 000 in Protea, and 1 169 in Dobsonville.16

In April the board asked the Department of Community Development for R8 448 000 for the construction of 400 flats in Diepkloof and an undisclosed number near the Jabulani Central Business Centre.

It also decided that part of the Mzimhlophe hostel, which accommodated 1 190 families resettled at the hostel after their houses were flooded at Kliptown two years ago, should be converted into family units at a cost of R258 000.117

The authors of the Ecoplan for Soweto estimated that there was a backlog of 30 000 units, and found that the occupancy rate for the average four-roomed house was nine people although occupancies of more than 20 were found. Because of the shortage of land Ecoplan recommended density increases from 38 to 62 units per hectare. This would be achieved by low-rise flat development of two to three storeys.1

All three councils asked WRAB to freeze development until Ecoplan had been fully discussed by the Government."9

A survey completed by the Institute of Urban Studies at RAU revealed that about 50% of houses in Soweto were too small for satisfactory living conditions.20

In January the Soweto Council approved a plan submitted by the Urban Foundation to build a home improvement centre costing R265 800. The centre would assist home improvers by encouraging and stimulating the establishment of African enterprise and would make loans available to prospective home improvers amongst other things.2 The chairman of the Krugersdorp Management Committee, Mr P.R. Human, confirmed that 800 African families in Munsieville township would be resettled within three years in Kagiso township to make way for a white housing project approved by the Krugersdorp Town Council.

Electrification

In March the Minister of Co-operation and Development granted the Soweto, Dobsonville and Diep-Meadow Councils the authority to negotiate loans for the electrification of Soweto, and the right to appoint consultants to execute the scheme, likely to cost over R100m.122 Loans for the project were to be raised on the SA capital market. It was anticipated that the success of such loans would depend on their being underwritten by the Government. Consequently, section 5 of the Finance Act passed by parliament this session accorded the Minis-
guarantees for loans raised by the councils for the electrification project. The Government in August guaranteed a R60m bank and public Soweto loan to finance the first phase of the six-year project. Residents were to be charged about R3 per house for the supply and another R5 to R6 for consumption. Twenty million of the R60m was to be raised from the public and R40m from Barclays Bank, Standard Bank, Nedbank and Volkskas. The total proposed cost would be R150m of which R110m would be supplied by stock issue. When originally conceived in 1976 the project was to have cost R60m but the delay in its implementation by WRAB and the Government led to the escalation in costs. In October the chairmen of the three Soweto councils and the managing director of GEC Power Distribution, Mr C. Coutts-Trotter, signed contracts in excess of R160000 for the first 20 miniature substations.

Rent Increases
In August the Soweto, Dobsonville and Diep-Meadow Community Councils announced a 100% increase in service charges to be implemented in three stages commencing on 1 September due to rising costs and deficits in their budgets. The announcement led to an outcry by residents in greater Soweto. A petition opposing the increases drawn up by the Sofasanke Party, Federal Party, traders and residents and signed by more than 5 000 people was presented to the Minister. In responding to demands that the Government should grant a subsidy to cover the increases, Mr Du Randt, Chief Commissioner on the Witwatersrand, stated that there was no provision in law to allow for this.

The chairman of Johannesburg's Management Committee, Mr F. Oberholzer, stated that Soweto's Africans were subsidising the income tax payments of wealthy whites and the township should be reimbursed with General Sales Tax money to cover the rent increases.

After meeting a delegation protesting against the proposed rent increases the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr G. de V. Morrison, stated that the Soweto Council had to take the final decision on the question.

Increases for Dobsonville and for the Meadowlands/Diepkloof areas were gazetted on 31 August.

Proposed increases were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Dobsonville</th>
<th>Meadowlands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 September 1979</td>
<td>R13,40</td>
<td>R14,40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 October</td>
<td>R16,80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 November</td>
<td>R20,80</td>
<td>R19,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 December</td>
<td></td>
<td>R21,60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 January 1980</td>
<td>R28,20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 February</td>
<td></td>
<td>R24,00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, all increases were suspended after the Prime Minister's announcement in September that the township's R11,5m deficit would be written off by the Government. Soweto

Community Evictions

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 312 tenants in Soweto were evicted for failure to pay rent over the past three years.130

Community Council Powers

The Dobsonville and Diep-Meadow Community Councils came into conflict with WRAB over the transfer of powers in terms of Section 5 of the Community Councils Act. They requested all powers while WRAB was willing to grant them only those which had been given to the Soweto Community Council. In May members of the Dobsonville Community Council decided to accept under protest their present allowance scales as prescribed by the Government as they were getting less than the Soweto Council. The Dobsonville chairman was receiving an allowance of R75 per month and the vice-chairman, as well as mem.

bers of the management committee, R60. Ordinary councillors received R45.131 In terms of Government Gazette 6511 of 22 June the Soweto Community Council was given control of its finances and budget of R66m. The Gazette stated that the Council would still be responsible to the Minister of Co-operation and Development who had to approve its estimates and expenditure. Moreover, the Auditor-General would be responsible for the audit of the council's books, and not WRAB. The Council's chairman, Mr D. Thebehali, stated that the Council had appointed the African Bank as its bankers.

Alexandra Township

Facilities

The Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that lighting in Alexandra's hostels was being installed.12 He stated that there were no communal halls, amphitheatres, dance halls or swimming pools, one cinema and beer garden, and six soccer fields, four tennis courts, one athletics track, four basketball courts, two netball courts, two softball fields, and table tennis facilities in the female hostel and

body building facilities in the male hostel.33 In 1978 WRAB spent R7 819 on electricity supply, R63 367 on refuse removal services and R48 158 on the provision of clinics and related services in Alexandra.1m

Removals

In 1978, 70 families were moved from Alexandra and 1 320 single people were settled in Soweto hostels. The breakdown per month of people removed in 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Adult Males</th>
<th>Adult Females</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since 1974 the demolitions had cost R100 000.136
The Government’s policy on the removal of families from Alexandra to other townships and its development as an area for single persons underwent a change during that year. Answering a question in parliament in March the Minister of Cooperation and Development confirmed that the removal of families was to continue and that they would be rehoused in Soweto, Tembisa or in the homelands. The Minister stated that owners of fixed properties were being compensated by the purchase of their properties and all families and their belongings were being transported free of charge.37 In response to this announcement the Rev S. Buti, chairman of the Alexandra Liaison Committee, announced a campaign to save Alexandra, and the committee met Dr W. Vosloo, Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development, to discuss the Government’s announcement.138

In May, in a reversal of policy, Dr Vosloo announced during the budget debate on the Plural Relations and Development Vote that Alexandra would be replanned as a high density urban renewal scheme for African families. The planning would be undertaken by his department in conjunction with WRAB, the Department of Community Development and the Sandton Council. A survey would be conducted by WRAB to determine which families would be allowed to stay in the area. It was announced later in the month that community leaders had submitted a R200m plan to the Government. The Urban Foundation was financing a socio-economic survey of the township and the services of several other private organisations, including the services of a townplanner and sociologist, Professor Tony Lamont of UNISA, had been enlisted. The plans set out details for detached houses, duplex flats, the ultimate phasing out of hostels and their replacement with bachelor flats, a community centre with offices and a hall, a shopping centre, sporting facilities, an advanced college of technical training and a swimming pool.39

Despite the Government’s concession, Alexandra residents would not retain freehold rights as these were to be replaced with leasehold rights. Dr Buti stated they would fight for freehold rights once the township had been rebuilt. He stated that the Government had agreed

420 to give the residents of the township additional land by annexing to it
part of the white area of Lombardy East.140
East Rand
Alexandra Liaison Committee
Board Elections for the Alexandra Liaison Committee were held on 16 May and were contested by the Save Alexandra Party and the Alexandra Residents Party. More than 11 000 people voted in the election with the Save Alexandra Party under Rev S. Buti winning all six seats." At the inauguration of the committee on 28 July, Dr Koornhof announced that he would ask parliament to change the status of the township's liaison committee to a full city council.142

East Rand
Housing
The Board stated it would spend R8,3m out of a total budget of R13,6m in 1979/80 on housing in townships under its jurisdiction. From 1973 to February 1979 it had spent R5m.43 The Board's chairman stated that R62,7m was needed to meet the estimated backlog of 17922 houses.

It was announced that a new township-Geluksdal-was to be developed to rehouse people living in Payneville, Springs, and 460 houses were to be built this year.44

The critical housing shortage led to Daveyton residents setting up shacks on open ground in Daveyton in April. At a meeting held between the Daveyton Council and board officials, the latter appealed to the councillors 'to prevent the families from erecting shacks and to persuade them to return to where they came from'." The critical housing shortage led to Daveyton residents setting up shacks on open ground in Daveyton in April. At a meeting held between the Daveyton Council and board officials, the latter appealed to the councillors 'to prevent the families from erecting shacks and to persuade them to return to where they came from'.45

The shanty town, called 'Phumlanqashi', was demolished two days later by SA and board police, and the squatters were 'assisted' by the board to return to their 'original' place of residence. Mr Shadrack Sinaba, a community councillor who had assisted the squatters, was questioned by security police, instructed not to hold public meetings and later (on 9 April) detained.147

Answering a question in parliament, the Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 33 shack were demolished in the raid. A squatters' committee which had been set up in April requested a meeting with the Daveyton Community Council in July to discuss the provision of housing as the council had taken no initiative in this respect.49

In April ERAB commenced with the building of 308 houses in Daveyton to alleviate the housing shortage.50

Rent increases
From 1 September revised rents were implemented for townships on the East Rand. The lowest house rent for a four-roomed house in Katlehong was set at R14,25 per month and the site rent at R16,20 per month. Added to this would be service charges.'

Local government
At a meeting in January Katlehong residents passed a resolution that they would only accept a community council if former Advisory
Board members would not stand for election. In February the Katie-hong Advisory Board was dissolved and notices served on its members by the chief director of ERAB, Mr F.E. Marx, who stated that a community council would be established."2 In the election held in May a Adminisparty formed by former Advisory Board members won 12 of the 14 tration seats. Advisory Board members stood for election despite the resi- Boards dents' resolution against their doing so. The new council, under the chairmanship of Mr M. Kumalo, was inaugurated on 23 May.3 In March the Tembisa Advisory Board accepted the introduction of a community council in the township to be elected on an ethnic basis.1

It was announced in July that five East Rand Community Councils-Daveyton (Benoni), Katlehong (Germiston), Thokoza (Alberton), KwaThema (Springs) and Vosloorus (Boksburg)-would take over all powers and functions under the provisions of the Community Councils Act.155

In September, the Wattville Advisory Board informed ERAB it would not accept community councils if they were elected on an ethnic basis. Wattville was the only remaining Reef township with an advisory board as its local government.16

Central Transvaal

The Mamelodi Community Council rejected a Central Transvaal Administration Board proposal that a hotel estimated at R2,5m be build in the township as it was a luxury. Preference should be given to alleviating the housing shortage.117 Pretoria City Council's management committee turned down a request from the Central Transvaal Administration Board for funds to renovate Atteridgeville's R600 000 stadium as it felt the council's financial position did not permit it to develop sports facilities in African areas.38

Oranjevaal

The Vaal Triangle Community Council budgeted for an expenditure of R20,4m in 1979/80; R18,9m in income, leaving a deficit of R1,4m. Projects which were to be undertaken included the construction of 1755 houses in Sebokeng, while further sites were to be planned and pegged."8

Rents

Regulations concerning rent increases were promulgated for townships in the Oranjevaal area. In Kroonstad, for example, site rents were set at R4,23 plus R9,92 for service charges, and house rents varied from R0,60c to R47,75 per month depending on the size of the house." The previous increases were in March 1978.

Community Councils

The Evaton Standowners and Residents' Association sent a memorandum to the Department of Co-operation and Development in April protesting against the establishment of a community council in Evaton. It stated that as the township was a freehold area it was not defined in terms of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act and therefore could not
Present
3-roomed houses:
Rental R3,72
Services 12,29
R16,01 per month

Proposed
4-roomed houses
Rental R9,17
Services 14,11
R24,08 per month

He stated that the community council had been consulted and was in favour of the removals.64

The decision was not popular with Walmer residents who criticised the council for supporting the removals.6 Mr N. Singapi, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, stated in March that he was opposed to the move and that it had not been discussed by the council.66

The first families were moved to Zwide in June.67 A Save Walmer Committee appealed to the Minister of Co-operation and Development to halt the removals. A similar appeal was made by the central executive of the Port Elizabeth Ratepayers Association.68

A letter addressed to the Save Walmer Committee by the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development in October reiterated that Walmer residents would be moved to Zwide, and on 13 November he Administration Boards be considered as falling within the scope of the proclamation of the Community Council Act of 1977.160

Eastern Cape

In January raids were conducted against squatters in East London's Second Creek and Mpuku Streets. Twenty-one people were arrested, convicted and sentenced to R10 or 20 days imprisonment each.69

In February ECAB officials commenced with the removals and 'repatriation' to the homelands of squatters from these camps. Many squatters were reported as fleeing into the bush to escape removal,". The Transkei Minister of the Interior stated that East London squatters could not be repatriated until their bona fides as Transkeian citizens had been established. Raids by board officials were conducted against Parkside (East London) squatters in November.

The squatter camp at Frankfort (King William's Town) was demolished in March and the 150 families were resettled in an adjacent area. The squatters were required to build their own accommodation within three months, during which time the Government would provide them with tents.16

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated in parliament that 3 493 residents of Walmer Location in Port Elizabeth were to be moved to Zwide township as a proposed freeway would reduce the size of the township and also as slum conditions prevailed. The removals would be completed by June 1980. Amenities to be provided included housing, waterborne sewerage, school accommodation, adequate sport and recreation facilities and welfare services. He stated that 700 dwellings of the 51/9 four-roomed sub-economic type house
would be provided. Home-owners numbering 169 people would be compensated for the value of their houses. He gave the following details regarding present and proposed rentals:

specifically ruled out the question of any further negotiations on the removal of.

At the time of writing Dr Koornhof had instructed the board to call a meeting of all interested parties which he would address.

The Port Elizabeth Community Council stated that it rejected Motherwell near Coega for township expansion because it was too far (15 km) from the city, Coega farmers had indicated they would not welcome African neighbours, and the community council had not been consulted.

The Administration Board for the Cape Midlands approved plans for the redevelopment of the Port Alfred African residential area. In May it asked the Department of Community Development for R105 000 to finance the first phase of development.

Forte families squatting on municipal commonage at Hillside settlement near Fort Beaufort refused to move, choosing to face prosecution for illegal squatting, as most of them were born there. Another 50 families had left voluntarily and moved to the Ciskei.

The East Cape Administration Board announced in August that a new higher income housing suburb in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township would be constructed. It would be called Fordville, in recognition of the part played by the Ford Motor Company in its planning and development.

In August expropriation notices were served on 26 householder in Grahamstown's Fingo Village as part of the final stage in the eviction of Africans from the village. Alternative accommodation-323 houses then under construction—would be provided for property owners only, while no viable alternatives were available for the remainder.

It was reported that it had originally been intended to move residents to Glenmore. (See section on removals for information on the Glenmore resettlement camp.)

The removal of families from East London's Duncan Village to Mdantsane continued this year. At a mass meeting Duncan Village residents agreed to draw up a memorandum for a deputation which would seek an interview with Dr Koornhof to ask for permanent residence for Duncan Village's Africans.

A proposed removal of 300 Africans from the township of Rhodes at Barkly East to either the Ciskei or Transkei was shelved in November.

Housing: general

The Administration Board for the Cape Midlands (ABCM) announced it would spend R8.6m on the installation of electricity in Port Elizabeth's African townships although final approval from the Department of Community Development was still needed. Increases in rents were introduced for townships in the Eastern Cape as from 1 April. The site rent for King William's Town township was set at R5.28 and the house rent for four-roomed houses varied from R2.79 to R7.33. Service charges amounted to R3.44. Previous increases for most of the townships took place in May 1978.
In May, a meeting of more than 1 000 people from Port Elizabeth's African township decided to appoint a 'committee of 21' to appeal to the authorities to suspend the increases. The committee sent a memo-

Administration Boards

Residents in Duncan Village opposed the increases and criticised Adminis-

the community council for having accepted them.80 ECAB officials an-

nounced in August that Africans in Grahamstown's township owed nearly R80 000 in rent arrears. The board urged community councillors to interview regularly people who fell behind in their rents.1

Community Councils and local government

In January agreements on the transfer of powers from the ABCM to community councils were signed between the Board and ten community councils. (Uitenhage's community council did not sign because of a technical hitch.) The powers and functions handed over included the allocation and administration of housing; approval of building plans, allocation of business premises, administration of social welfare, recreational and educational matters, control of unauthorised occupation of dwellings and demolition of buildings not fit for occupation, and control of the general moral and social welfare of the community. Still being negotiated was the transfer of staff establishments and equipment.82

In August the Uitenhage Community Council sought a meeting with the Minister of Co-operation and Development over differences it had with ECAB concerning transfer of powers. It wanted to employ its own staff, the authority to negotiate loans, and the appointment of a qualified judicial officer and consultant to advise the council.2 In November the chairman of the Uitenhage Community Council stated that it would proceed with plans for electrification of Kwanobuhle, despite a rejection of the idea by the Eastern Cape Administration Board. It was intended to supply domestic electricity to 900 of the 4647 houses in Kwanobuhle, and then to supply the rest of the houses on demand.84

In October a new political body, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (PEBCO) was formed under the chairmanship of Mr Thozamile Botha, with the aim of making representations to the Eastern Cape Administration Board and the Government on issues such as rents, service charges and bus fares.

Western Cape Housing

The Minister of Co-operation and Development provided the following information concerning the numbers resident in Peninsula townships as at 31 December 1978: 185

Langa Nyanga Gugulethu
Males over 16 years  18192  7480  17406
Females over 16 years  2 414  3 335  20 522
Children under 16 years 3 449 4 770 23 846  
Males over 16 years in bachelor quarters 16 440 4 786 5 313  

He stated that 29 new housing units were provided in Langa during 1978, 81 in Nyanga and 7 in Gugulethu. All those in Langa and 78 of those in Nyanga were converted from hostel units.186 Brigadier van der Westhuizen, chairman of the former Administration Board for the Peninsula Area, stated in March that a decrease in contract workers from 33 000 to 18 000 had led to an increased number of vacant hostel units which were being converted into family units."7  

Tenants in the converted hostels voiced their dissatisfaction at having to pay higher rentals than former tenants and also complained that there were no floors, ceilings or electricity.8 In August the Department of Community Development completed plans for a new township to house Crossroads residents. The project would cost R13,5m. The area set aside for the township between Nyanga and Gugulethu was adequate for 2 575 sites.  

Squatters  
On 5 April Dr Koornhof announced that a new township was to be built to house Crossroads residents who fell into the following categories:  
* families who qualified to live and work in white urban areas in terms of section 10(1(a) and (b) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act;  
* contract or migrant workers and their families living in Crossroads;  
* families where the breadwinner was not a contract worker in fulltime employment, but earned a living in some other legitimate way;  
* persons or families who by reason of having been uprooted or through other special circumstances deserved special consideration with a view to avoiding hardship.  

Specifically excluded were:  
* criminals with convictions involving fines of more than R500 or imprisonment for six months;  
* vagrants and persons or families with no visible and legitimate means of support which rendered them a burden to the community; and  
* persons who were offered jobs and housing in the Transkei.  

He further mentioned that the ownership of Crossroads would be transferred from the Divisional Council to the Western Cape Administration Board but the Council would continue to render 'environmental services' as an agent of the board. He announced that a survey of Crossroads residents was to be undertaken to determine who would qualify to move to the new township. Aggrieved persons could present their cases to an informal committee comprising a senior official of the department and one or two outside independent persons with legal qualifications and experience. The expertise of such bodies as the Urban Foundation would be sought, while he would also seek the involvement of the Crossroads community in the planning and execution of the project.89  
Dr Koornhof's plan was endorsed by Crossroads residents at a mass meeting.90
In July the chairman of the Western Cape Administration Board stated that the survey of residents which commenced on 2 July indicated that there were more people in Crossroads than was originally estimated. There were also indications that between 11 and 12 people were occupying each house.

In the months after Dr Koornhof's announcement police were still rounding up Crossroads residents who were in the area illegally and they were being prosecuted. The Chief Commissioner in the Peninsula stated that Dr Koornhof had not said that people illegally in Cape Town would not be prosecuted. The Athlone advice office expressed concern that Crossroads residents were losing jobs due to the increased fine imposed on employers for employment of workers illegally in the Peninsula. On 17 July the Department announced that six-month temporary residence permits issued under section 10(1)(d) of the Urban Areas Act would be granted to Crossroads residents to allow them to continue in employment or seek work while the Government decided which of them would qualify for residence in the new township. Employers employing workers in possession of the six-month permit would not be prosecuted. The names of people applying for permits were checked against the list of names taken by the Administration Board during its survey.

In a follow-up to the survey men in Crossroads were called to administration board offices in October and advised to send their wives and families to the homelands. Angry residents arranged a meeting with the Chief Commissioner in the Western Cape to discuss the issue.

The Transkei government rejected the names of 2 400 out of 3 000 Crossroads squatter families which the SA Government had produced for repatriation to the Transkei. The Transkei authorities stated that they had discarded most of the names after an examination of the alleged home districts of the families concerned and negotiations with the tribal authorities. Only about 600 to 700 families had been identified as having homes in the Transkei.

Members of Crossroads' executive committee were shown plans of the new township in November by government officials, and were given two weeks to report back after consulting the community.

Shacks belonging to 82 Table View squatters were demolished in late October by board officials. The squatters had been offered, and accepted, temporary accommodation in Langa township.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that there were 22 081 and 21 481 African squatters in the Cape Peninsula at the end of 1977 and 1978 respectively and 377 squatters were given assistance to return to their places of origin during 1978.
A 27% poll (ie 176 people) was recorded in elections held for a community council for Paarl's Mkekweni township. Many people stayed away from the elections as they alleged that only advisory board members had been told about nomination day. Candidates in six of the seven wards were returned unopposed.2x1

Elections were also held in Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu.0'

Northern Cape

Rents were increased for townships in the Northern Cape area. In Galeshewe township (Kimberley) site rents were increased to R8,50 per month, and R6 for most four-roomed houses. Service charges were also increased. The last increases were in 1977.2

Boards

Southern Orange Free State

Housing

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that no houses had been built in the Bloemfontein area in 1976, while the figures for 1977 and 1978 were 431 and 167 respectively.2°2 He stated that no further houses would be constructed after the completion of the scheme of 1 000 houses under construction. This decision had been taken as it was existing policy that Africans, where practicable, should be settled on a family basis within a homeland.°30

Rent increases

Site rents were amended by the introduction of differential rates for sites according to the facilities provided. They ranged from R14,09 for a diminished residential site to an enlarged residential site with sewer at R23,21. Previously the charge for a site was R7,10.204 Hostel fees were increased from R4,45 to R6,70 per month.

Drakensberg

It was announced that the townships of Imbali and Ashdown were to be excised from the borough of Pietermaritzburg on 1 April 1980 and placed under the jurisdiction of the SA Development Trust. They would later be incorporated into KwaZulu. The 10(1)(a), (b) and (c) rights of residents would be retained.0

Community Councils

Residents of Imbali township voiced their opposition to their advisory board's decision to accept a joint community council for Imbali, Ashdown and Sobantu.206 Later in the year it was announced that only Sobantu would have a community council as Imabli and Ashdown were to be incorporated into the SA Development Trust in 1980 as a step to their inclusion in KwaZulu.01

In elections held in Steadville township near Ladysmith in June polls of 35,5 %, 26,4 % and 22% were recorded in the three wards contested with 1 500 people voting.2°'

Port Natal

Rent increases were introduced for the Port Natal area as from 1 April. Rentals varied with the size and type of house. The charges for a four-roomed house were a R6,00 house rent, and a R8,61 site rent to be increased by R2,08 after six months.2°9
Despite an assurance by Dr Koornhof in 1978 that shacks in Clermont would only be demolished when alternative accommodation for squatters had been found, demolitions of shacks continued throughout the year.210

428

Administration Boards
Between February and April department officials demolished 146 shacks claiming that they had been erected illegally. Eight of the shacks were occupied by a total of 24 people at the time.212 The demolitions were supported by the Clermont Advisory Board.12

About 40 000 people, many of whom were living in squatter camps, were being resettled in two new townships-KwaNdlengezi and KwaDabeka near Pinetown. Chief A.M. Ndwalane, residing near Murchison, ordered all outsiders without permits to leave his area resulting in an estimated 1000 people setting up shacks in the bush.213

About 12 000 people living on Richmond Farm on the outskirts of KwaMashu Township were in danger of being moved due to the development of Ntuzuma Township, north-east of KwaMashu.

A survey of 816 residents undertaken by a committee of Richmond farm residents and the Black Sash showed that 394 or 48,4 O/o had lived at the farm for five to ten years; 546 or 66,9 % had lived in Durban for fifteen years or more and only ten or 1,3 % had lived on the farm for less than one year.24

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May
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March 123 Ibid 10 August 124 Post 1 November 125 Rand Daily Mail 6
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col 294 135 Ibid 5 Q col 296 136 Star 8 May 137 Hansard 4 Q col 268 138 Star
11 March
9 Ibid 16 May 140 Citizen 7 August 141 Star 21 May 142 Sunday Express 29 July
141 Star 21 February 144 Post 6 January ,41 Ibid 15 January 146 Rand Daily Mail
3 April 147 Post 9 April 148 Hansard 12 Q col 761-762 149 Post 19 July 110
REMOVALS/RESEITLEMENT

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following information regarding the number of Africans removed from the urban areas to the homelands during 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No's removed</th>
<th>Idle</th>
<th>undesirable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>1 295</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>2 504</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>3 789</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>1 495</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister also gave the following information on the amount of land acquired by the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure which was formerly classified as black spots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Land (ha)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>33 891 963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>5137192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Throughout the year raids were conducted against squatters in Winterveldt where it was estimated between 250,000 and 750,000 people were living. President Mangope threatened to remove all non-Tswanas who refused to take out Tswana citizenship from Bophuthatswana. These comprised amongst others the 63,000 Ndebeles living near Hammanskraal and the squatter camps around Winterveldt. He was accused of misleading the squatters as according to the Bophuthatswana Citizenship Act effective from 1 December 1978 people who were not Tswanas by birth and who had not lived in the territory for five years or more before its independence could not qualify for citizenship. Pres Mangope warned Winterveldt landlords in March that their properties would be expropriated if they allowed their plots to become overpopulated with squatters. He also accused owners of ‘robbing’ their squatter tenants of thousands of rands by imposing ‘illegal’ rents.

The Bophuthatswana Government closed 13 schools operating in Winterveldt. It was also reported that squatters seeking renewal of their work-seeking permits and contract endorsements were turned away from the relevant office in Bophuthatswana and were referred to Pretoria instead.

The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development stated in Parliament in February that in 14 months 6,000 families from the Winterveldt area had been resettled and extra land was being made available for resettlement. He stated the Government was proceeding in terms of an agreement with the Bophuthatswana Government that SA would endeavour to accommodate in resettlement projects non-Bophuthatswana citizens who left after independence while Bophuthatswana would allow non-citizens to remain until suitable arrangements could be made.

Mrs Suzman made a plea in August after visiting Winterveldt that the Bophuthatswana and SA Governments should negotiate a solution to the legal status of the Winterveldt people.

In June the removals commenced of about 68,000 Sotho squatters from Kromdraai, situated in Bophuthatswana, to 35 farms 12 km distance expropriated by the SA Government. The farms formed part of the QwaQwa homeland in which the Kromdraai people, who were being harassed by the Tswana police, had chosen to live as an alternative. Initially 4,500 sites were made available for which tenants would pay a monthly tariff of R1. A school with 50 classrooms was also erected.

Raids were also conducted against non-Tswana squatters at Stinkwater near Hammanskraal who were fined for remaining in the area without permits. Lawyers representing the 200-300 families negotiated with the Department of Co-operation and Development for their resettlement in Lebowa. The families were
originally moved to Stinkwater in 1965 from the Boekenhoutkloof, Cullinan, Walmansthal and Eersterus areas.

Rooigrond

About 250 non-Tswana families living at Rooigrond in Bophuthatswana were instructed in June to leave the area. Five years previously they had been removed from their homes in Machavistad in Potchefstroom.

Northern Transvaal

In terms of Proclamation R217 of August 1978 it was stated that the Batlokwa people were to be removed from the Soekmekaar area near Pietersburg to the Bochum-Vivo area about 100 km away in Lebowa. The area was excised from Lebowa in 1977 thereby rendering it a 'black spot' from which Africans were to be removed in terms of the Government's homeland consolidation plan.

Relocation: Winterveldt

Relocation: Northern Transvaal

Last year the Batlokwa chiefs were summoned to a meeting by the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Transvaal and informed of the decision to resettle the tribe. Chief Ramakgopa refused to attend a second meeting in Pietersburg last year as he was not informed of its purpose. In August this year he was charged under the Bantu Administration Act for failing to attend a meeting called by the Chief Commissioner of the area, or alternatively failing to obey a lawful instruction. The charge was later withdrawn.

This year the tribes under Chief George Ramakgopa and Chief Lethebe Machaka drew up a memorandum which they handed to Dr Koornhof objecting to the removal and asking that Proclamation R217 be withdrawn.

In the memorandum they objected to not having been consulted on the issue; and stated that their removal from the land of their birth which they had developed was 'grossly unjust, inhuman and unchristian'. They held that the Vivo area to which they were to be moved had no flowing river, had scanty rainfall and was unsuitable for rearing animals. Also the distance from Pietersburg where they worked made it impossible for them to travel daily, and thus they would be forced to become migrants. Furthermore they had been moved twice before—in 1945 and 1958.

Dr Koornhof said he would give the memorandum his deepest thought.

A third Batlokwa Chief, Chief Makgatho, agreed to the removal of 3 000 of his people to Kromhoek near Vivo as the area was larger (11 000 ha as against 2 000 ha) and his scattered tribe could be consolidated. It was reported that he had been asking the Central Government since 1973 to resettle his people elsewhere for these reasons.

However, opposition to his decision was demonstrated by the majority of his tribe, and only 40 families moved with him in September out of approximately 515 families. On 2 October the dissenting families fled into the bush when police in 30 trucks arrived to remove them. The fleeing villagers stated they would seek refuge with the remaining chiefs. Up to the 5th about 17 families were forcibly
removed. During the week about 14 people were arrested for 'assault, malicious injury to property and trespassing'.

In answering allegations that the tribe was being resettled in an arid and inhospitable area, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Wentzel, stated the new area offered more opportunities, had schools, and a water supply. He stated that removals were being carried out with the co-operation of the tribal authority concerned and would enable people to 'link up with their national state' more easily.4

On the 5th it was reported that about 200 families had been removed, although several people had returned to their former homes." Mr Wentzel announced on the 6th that the forced removals would stop and only those people who wished to move would be taken to the resettlement camp."6

The Machaka Tribal Authority decided on 10 October to allocate stands to the stranded Makgatho villagers in spite of Government warnings that the accommodation of the villagers in the area was unlawful.7

On 16 October, nearly 7 000 students in the area boycotted their schools and staged a peaceful demonstration against the forced Makgatho removals. The students, who had formed the Batlokwa African Youth Organisation, submitted a petition via the circuit inspector addressed to the Lebowa government and Department of Education and Training. It stated that the department had shown no interest in the plight of the Makgatho students who were roaming the streets after demolition of their schools, that 10 detained students should be released before that Thursday, that 740 Makgatho students were out of school because of the removals; that the department should make arrangements for the Makgatho students to write exams at the local schools since the Makgatho schools had been demolished in the wake of the removals."8

It was reported on the 22nd that the principals of the Kgaragara High School and the Batlokwa Higher Primary School had been instructed by the area's circuit inspector to register the stranded pupils. This was then denied by Lebowa's education officials. On the 25th officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development stated that plans were still under way to resettle the tribesmen, but they wished to achieve this through a process of negotiation and were committed to minimising the inconvenience caused to the tribesmen by the move.19

It was reported that the salaries of 14 Makgatho teachers had not been paid for October because they had not worked during that month. The teachers contended that they had worked at the Ramokgopa circuit office duplicating question papers during the last three weeks of October. Lebowa's minister of education stated that the teachers would be paid only after submitting leave forms and valid reasons why they had not worked during October.20

Eastern Cape

In April the Government commenced with the removal of 180 families from the Klipfontein farm to the site of a R26m proposed township at Glenmore. The first families moved in April formed part of the labour force to build the township.2

In April Mr Lorimer (PFP) stated he had received confirmation from Dr Koornhof after an interview with him that the ECAB was to suspend the removal of all
families from Klipfontein who were unwilling to be moved. Furthermore Dr Koornhof stated that ECAB had been instructed not to remove to Glenmore people from the emergency camp at Kenton.22 On 5 April the removal of the Klipfontein squatters was temporarily halted after an urgent application to the Supreme Court in Grahamstown by squatter representatives that the eviction order issued by the Chief Magistrate of Alexandra was irregular and should be set aside as invalid.23 The eviction order was set aside by the Supreme Court on 12 April. Squatters who had been moved were free to return to Klipfontein. It was estimated that 140 families had already been moved.2 In mid-May papers were served on the remaining 25 families notifying them that an application was to be made to an Alexandra magistrate for their eviction under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act.21 By that month there were 489 families in Glenmore removed from Colchester, Alexandria, Coega, Grahamstown and Klipfontein.26

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Relocation:
Eastern Cape

436 Relocation
Conditions at Glenmore were criticised by a number of groups, including the Glenmore Action Group which stated there was a shortage of rations and high unemployment there. A survey undertaken by the Group showed that only 40 of the 3,000 residents were in full-time employment, each receiving about R80 per month. Another 160 shared 80 jobs on a half-time basis at R40 per month, and about 200 pensioners were receiving R25 per month.27

In August the Chief Commissioner in Queenstown, Mr P.J. Hitge, gave his assurance that all needy families at the resettlement camp would in future receive Government rations. In September a new system was introduced where rations were to be handed out to all.28

Dr Koornhof revealed in Parliament in June that only R875 127 had been set aside in the 1978/79 financial year for Glenmore's development, although the South African Development Corporation announced in 1978 that it would spend R6.1m that year as part of the total of R25m allocated for the township's development over a five-year period.29

On 6 August the SA Government announced that it was halting the Glenmore resettlement scheme until jobs could be provided for the residents. It would investigate the possibility of a settlement at Peddie to be established with the assistance of the Ciskei government. It was later announced that as many as possible of the 3,000 people in Glenmore would be absorbed into agriculture projects in the area, while the balance would have the option of moving to Peddie where housing development was expected.30

The Dias Divisional Council gave its support to a plan of ECAB to establish an African township in the Klipfontein area. It was agreed that there was an urgent need for a permanent African township for Africans employed in the area but who were housed in a temporary camp at Kenton-on-sea.32
Natal
The administration board announced it would move more than 15,000 Africans from the Northern Natal townships of Sibongile (Dundee), Thembahihle (Glencoe), Bhekuzulu (Vryheid), and Paulpietersburg to the Nqutu area in KwaZulu. Those removed would be granted freehold land rights in the new area and loans would be available for those wanting to build their own houses. Those unable to afford buying their own houses would be offered accommodation in houses built by the Department.3
Residents from Thembahihle and Sibongile voiced their dissatisfaction over the removals and accorded their respective community councils a mandate to protest to the Government. No response was received to a memorandum subsequently sent to the Minister.34 The residents in Thembahihle were opposed to the move as they would incur heavy expenses in travelling from Nqutu to Glencoe, where they were employed. They also felt that the Government should provide them with houses before they were forced to move.

Groutville
The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development announced in Parliament in March that the Government planned to move

more than 25,000 African residents, including 180 landowners, from Groutville to Mapumulo in the lower Tugela district in KwaZulu. Residents formed a 'Save Groutville Committee' to fight the Government's plan."  

Relocation

After talks with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that the Groutville people would not be forced to move out of the area.36 There were also plans to move a further 42,000 people from the Upper Tugela region near Bergville to the Loskop area near Estcourt as the nearby Woodstock dam, in the process of construction, would probably flood parts of the area affecting approximately 260 kraals in the next few years. After officials of the KwaZulu government and representatives of the Amangwane and Amazizi tribes had had talks with the Government, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that only 3,000 people would be moved and resettled on the farm Oliviershoek next to the Upper Tugela Location. The chiefs and KwaZulu government had been opposed to the Loskop area as a resettlement site as they felt the land was inferior to that then occupied by the people concerned.7

References
Hansard 4 Q col 248
Senate Hansard 4 Q col 12
Star 14 March Ibid 19 March
Post 21 April
Ibid 3 May
Hansard 3 col 109
Rand Daily Mail 24 August
Argus 4 June, Post 7 June
AMENITIES FOR
BLACK PEOPLE
IN THE COMMON AREA

Government policy and the permit system

It remains policy that full and proper facilities should be provided in the areas occupied by each race group. However, as regards the sharing of facilities in areas declared 'white' in terms of the Group Areas Act, the trend towards relaxation in terms of the permit system (see Annual Survey 1978 p 362) continued. This trend was interpreted by supporters of government policy as being a) part of the current move to free private enterprise from state interference and to decentralise decision-making to local levels; b) to share facilities which it was not economically feasible to provide for each group separately; and c) to provide facilities for blacks working, shopping etc in white areas.

Speaking during the Community Development vote the Minister said that he believed that the permit system was essential for good government under the present dispensation and he would oppose any attempt to do away with the system entirely in matters concerning the Group Areas Act. However, relaxation and the avoidance of ad hoc decision-making would be kept in mind and were being investigated.'

In reply to a question on what steps had been taken and were planned by departments to remove discrimination in respect of relations with and services to the public, the Prime Minister said, inter alia, that in the Republic with its multinational composition it was policy to take into account and respect the desires and needs of all the population groups. The prevention and elimination of unnecessary discrimination based on colour was receiving continuous and positive interdepartmental attention. In its administration SA would always have to take into account the diversity of its population groups as well as the recognition of the rights of different groups.’

It was announced in December that the Group Areas permit system would be relaxed in relation to a range of facilities, for which in future a once-only, i.e. once-and-for-all or blanket, exemption for multiracial attendance would be required. Exemption permits would also be granted more readily and the process of applications would be streamlined. The facilities were:
"Libraries
* Private hospitals, should a doctor certify to the management
that it was in the interest of the patient

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a All theatres and halls for the purpose of live theatre, music re-
citals of quality, wedding receptions, concerts etc where proper and alternative
facilities befitting the occasion were not
available in the areas of other population communities, after Shared consultation
between the Departments of Community De-
velopment and the local authority

e Receptions for participants at congresses, symposiums etc
* Guests in clubs

e Agricultural and industrial exhibitions and charity fetes

e Drive-in cinemas
* Circuses

e Cafe and restaurant facilities in certain areas identified after
consultation with the relevant local authority.

With regard to premises with liquor licences the Liquor Act provisi-
on would still apply and applications for so-called international status or exemption on an ad hoc
basis would still have to be made to the Liquor Board.

The Government said it remained policy that the provision of facilitie s in the
areas of each population community should proceed in order that they could
develop to the highest level as fully-fledged communities.

This announcement, which embodied current policy by putting the ball into the
court of private enterprise and local communities, was welcomed in some
quarters, but received with a wait-and-see attitude in many others. Applications
for mixed sports events would still have to be submitted to the Department of
Sport.

The Minister added that should concessions lead to friction he would withdraw
them. The Government would overrule local councils if the Minister of
Community Development felt it necessary in the interests of the public. Three
classes of amenity remained closed: cinemas, residential areas and schools.

Another area of activity which the Government seemed determined to discourage
was mixed dancing at public venues. Speaking in the Assembly earlier the
Minister appealed to bodies not to create 'embarrassment' by applying for such
permits, as it was contrary to Government policy. What people did in their own
homes, he said, was their affair.' Dancing at public venues could still be
controlled in terms of permit conditions under the Liquor Act.

The official opposition continued to call for the abolition of the permit system.
Many black people and groups expressed the view that the permit system was by
its nature insulting and meant their attendance was under sufferance. It was also
claimed that permit relaxations were used as window-dressing for overseas
consumption. Permits had been given for performances by overseas artists while
local ones had been refused. They also opposed the granting of 'white' status to
overseas blacks while local citizens were restricted.
Following the new announcement it was questioned whether confusion as to whether a facility was now open might not lead to more racial ill-feeling. Unless facilities indicated their status clearly, blacks might suffer the humiliation of being turned away.

At the synod of the Anglican Church it was decided that if church negotiations with the Government for the church to be freed from the permit system failed, the church would refuse to subject itself to a system of racial discrimination requiring the permission of secular authorities in the ordering of its life and mission, and thus would refrain from asking for permits where required for its activities.

Hotels
Permits were not needed for inter-racial worship, but were necessary for such activities as meetings lasting for longer than a day, whites visiting African areas, and priests living in parishes other than those for their own race group. (See Annual Survey 1978 p 43.)

Hotels
As at 31 December 1978, 58 liquor-licensed hotels had been granted international status out of 78 which had applied during that year. A comparison with the total number of hotels registered and graded by the Hotel Board was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gradings</th>
<th>No. of hotels</th>
<th>No. of hotels with international status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-star</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-star</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-star</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-star</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five-star</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As at July 1979, 59 hotels had international status, 22 in the Cape, 21 in the Transvaal, 13 in Natal and 3 in the OFS.

The Department of Justice reported that there was a comparatively slight demand by blacks for accommodation in these hotels. Statistics of the beds occupied by blacks, expressed as an average percentage of the beds sold, ranged from 0,51% to 6,47%. The highest percentage occupancy of beds in any one hotel was 36,98% in a one-star hotel.

Hotels had a quota arranged with the Liquor Board of the number of beds which could be sold to blacks. This ranged from 5% to 15%.

Black foreigners were not taken into account in determining whether the quota was filled. The chairman of the Liquor Board said the percentage limit was reviewed annually and if a hotel's quota was filled at any time it could telephone the Board for suspension to accommodate additional guests.

Hoteliers are also obliged to submit returns to the Liquor Board on the numbers of blacks at every function held. The figures for July 1977 to June 1978 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grading</th>
<th>No. of functions</th>
<th>No. of blacks present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One-star  58       886
Two-star  312      8656
Three-star 1 020    14 813
Four-star  510      10497
Five-star  271      10098

The Minister of Justice stated that during the annual hearings of re-applications for international status by those hotels which had already been granted this status, each applicant was expressly asked whether any difficulty had been experienced in applying the conditions laid down by him in this regard and whether the applicant wished to submit any proposals for amendments to these conditions. In Theatres each instance the reply had been that the conditions were acceptable. It was therefore surprising that there were press reports alleging difficulties. He questioned why these were not taken up with the proper authorities with a view to a solution.

The restrictions and anomalies related to international status are described in the Annual Survey of Race Relations 1978, p364. Reports continued to appear of confusion on the part of the black public regarding dancing, use of hotel pools and the circumstances under which they could buy a drink, and potential embarrassment on the part of hotel owners. None of the restrictions applied to foreign blacks, including passport-carrying black visitors from Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Raising the question in parliament during the vote of the Minister of Justice, opposition members claimed that hotels were afraid to complain as this might result in the loss of their international status concession.' The NRP MP for East London North also questioned why the fee for an international liquor licence was double that of the ordinary liquor licence.

The Niemand Commission of Inquiry into the Performing Arts tabled its report in March. Most of its recommendations were of a technical nature, concerning financing and training of the arts. The Commission stated that it was not its task to make far-reaching recommendations concerning the theatre attendance of various race groups. However, it believed that the permit system should be scrapped completely in theatres or halls under the control of government departments, provincial and local authorities, universities or any of the four performing arts councils. This should also apply in the case of utility services sponsored by local authorities. These venues should be made available at the discretion of their administrators, on the merits of individual cases, according to clear guidelines laid down by the Government.

The Commission said the permit system hindered productions, especially those that had to be planned long in advance and involved booking international artists. Uncertainty and red tape were an obstacle to arrangements. The time lapse between permit application and decision was often exceedingly long and made a nightmare of the work of booking offices. The Commission also recommended
that professional black artists be eligible on merit to perform a Western art in productions in any theatres practising these arts.

Mr Pyper, NRP MP, welcomed these recommendations but said that the situation regarding privately owned and managed theatres had not changed. Guidelines determined by the central government could only be accepted on the clear understanding that the local controlling bodies had full discretion over the whole issue of the granting of integrated audience permits.

442 The leader of the NP in the Transvaal Provincial Council announced that the new R50m opera house complex being built in Pretoria would be open to all races when it was completed. This announcement followed a lengthy debate in previous years when the then Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Van Niekerk, was reported as saying that the complex would be for whites only. He said that it was government policy that each race group should have its own amenities in its own area. The provincial authorities were responsible only for the provision of white amenities. Blacks had different cultural interests which should be catered for separately.

The provincial NP, in announcing its decision, said that while the complex was in a white area and intended for whites it was the conviction of the caucus that it should be open to all. Commenting on the decision, NP councillors said the Administrator had not been consulted because, as Administrator, he stood outside politics. His view had been personal and he had always said he would not be responsible for the final decision.

The official view of the ruling NP in the council was that realities had to be taken into consideration. It was not possible to duplicate such an expensive project and if the complex was not open very unfavourable publicity and problems with artists and performance rights could be expected. It was emphasised that the decision was the Transvaal's and had not been forced by the central government.

The decision was welcomed by black leaders, theatre personalities and local civic and political representatives. Mr Van Niekerk commented that the opera house was still a white theatre in a white area. He did not favour the word 'open', preferring the interpretation of Dr Treurnicht, Transvaal leader of the NP, that the theatre offered 'hospitality' to other races.

Only whites would have a say in the running of the theatre which was controlled by PACT who would consider applications for its use by other groups when PACT was not using it. The announcement was welcomed by the chairman of Pretoria City Council's management committee, who had been at the centre of a serious controversy in 1978 over PACT's request to open its Breytenbach Theatre. He said the decision to keep the Breytenbach for whites only would not be changed. It had been PACT's headquarters only in the interim.

When they moved to the opera complex the Breytenbach would play a secondary role.

Following the announcement in 1978 that theatres could apply for blanket open permits under certain conditions' and the granting of such permits to 26 theatres
the Guild Theatre in East London and the Hexagon and Studio theatres at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, were granted blanket permits during the year. Natal's MEC for local government announced that although the Government would have the final say the province favoured opening Durban's proposed opera house and theatre complex to all races.

The Northern Cape Technical College, trustees of the Kimberley Theatre, agreed to support applications by promoters for mixed audiences, rescinding a previous decision. The theatre could not be granted a blanket permit as it did not comply with all the requirements laid down by the Department of Community Development, and permit applications would have to be on a production basis. Kimberley's coloured and Indian management committee chairman congratulated the College on a step in the right direction but called for the abolition of the permit system. The Department of Community Development granted multiracial permits for only half the performances of the first two productions applied for. Black attendance was disappointing and the coloured and Indian leaders reiterated that the theatre would get the full support of the community only when it was opened unconditionally. A leading Kimberley producer said he would boycott the theatre until the permit system was abolished.

In December it was announced that all theatres could apply for once-only exemptions (see Government policy). In a referendum in March British Equity members voted for a change in the union's constitution making major changes in policy subject to a full ballot of Equity members. Past ballots of the full membership had always produced moderate decisions. Local impresarios hoped that the change would presage a relaxation of the ban on theatrical contact with SA, as anti-SA decisions could not now be carried at sparsely attended general meetings.

Clubs

The Minister of Sport in reply to a parliamentary question said that as at 31 December 1978 there had been 88 applications from sports clubs for international status and 68 had been granted. One application was refused, 8 were technically defective and 11 were withdrawn. The names and locations of the clubs were supplied in the reply. In terms of the permits clubs could supply liquor and meals to black competitors from other clubs and their accompanying officials and guests of host club members. A condition of the permits was that no dancing could take place.'0 When the question of mixed dancing was raised by the official opposition during debate on the sports vote the Minister said this restriction was not aimed at sport in particular but existed to prevent friction at all levels of society. Commenting editorially on a call by the chairman of the SA Olympic and National Games Association for a commission of inquiry into the whole sports situation, the Transvaler said that while sport itself was now immune from discrimination, fringe problems existed which stood in the way of the undisturbed pursuit of sport." Intricate legal procedures required in terms of the Group Areas and Liquor Acts affected matters outside the playing fields. During the year various cases were reported where, for example, clubs without international status
holding tournaments experienced problems or incidents relating to post-match
entertainment of players of different races and where clubs with international
status wanting to enrol black members experienced difficulties with the conditions
laid down in terms of the Liquor Act. The PFP urged sportsmen themselves to
pressurise the Government to change the laws hindering multiracial sport.
In reply to a question on the group areas status of clubs and their admission of
black members the Minister of Environmental Planning said that membership of a
club was not determined by any laws. Clubs as autonomous bodies could decide
on their membership. In April the Minister of Sport supported the SA Rugby
Board's decision to open clubs to all races, but stressed that the Board's affiliated
clubs and unions were autonomous. (Virtually no mixed club rugby was however

444 taking place.) Some white clubs in various parts of the country had
opened or were assessing their members' views on opening to black members.
The case of the Wanderers Club in Johannesburg was an example of
restrictions faced by clubs when considering this step.
After confidentially polling all members the club, at its annual general meeting,
decided in favour of opening its membership. It was reported that the rugby
section of the club was originally opposed to opening and conflicting claims were
made by the club chairman and the chairman of the rugby section as to whether a
decision lay with club as a whole or with each sporting section separately. The
club chairman later stated that it would be left to each section to decide and all
sections voted in favour of opening.
Liquor Act restrictions, however, were an obstacle to granting full club
membership to prospective black members. The club interpreted the conditions of
their international status permit as meaning that the club bar and dining hall where
liquor was served could be used only by black visitors such as members' guests
and competitors from other clubs. A black member of the Wanderers would have
to be signed on as a guest by a white member in order to take part in an
aftermatch function or any of the club's full social facilities. Even in this case, he
would not be able to dance. The club felt that it would be discriminatory to offer
full membership when all the club's facilities could not be used. Instead only
sectional membership of the sporting sections was opened. Many whites belonged
only to one or other of the many sporting sections. A sectional member could use
the sporting facilities, and the club's cloakrooms and restaurant but not the bar and
dining hall. Post-game fraternising could take place in a private function room.
Wanderers presented evidence on the legal situation to the Department of Justice
and said that if the relevant laws were changed full black membership would be
canvassed. At the time of going to press the first black sectional member had been
enrolled. Not many applications had been received. While in terms of the
December announcement (see earlier) clubs could now apply for a once-only
exemption concerning guests, the restrictions in terms of the Liquor Act
remained.
Another issue peripherally affecting sport was desegregation of spectator seating
and facilities. These were affected by the Group Areas Act and also the Liquor
Act if bars were included in the facilities.
It was also necessary for the owners and controllers of each stadium to decide whether they wanted spectator integration. The views of city councils for the areas concerned were taken into account as well. The Durban, Clairwood and Pietermaritzburg Turf Clubs were reapplying to the Departments of Community Development and Cooperation and Development to relax race barriers for punters at the courses. Only racehorse owners could mix in the members' enclosure.

Their applications had been refused in 1978. At Clairwood modernisation of spectator facilities was begun which, if desegregated, would be planned on the basis of 'economic segregation' with all racegoers enjoying whatever amenities they were prepared to pay for.

In April the Minister of Sport said that there was no player or spectator segregation in rugby leagues. Some grounds were however still segregated. The president of the Coloured SA Rugby Federation announced that he would boycott the Newlands stadium in Cape Town as it was segregated. In June the Western Province Rugby Union decided on full spectator integration at Newlands. The stadium would still have to apply for an international liquor licence. This was the first major rugby ground in the country to become fully multiracial. Wanderers stadium, used for rugby while the new Ellis Park stadium was being built, had international status.

The Border Rugby Union ground and the Orange Free State and Port Elizabeth stadiums were also multiracial, although most reported that there were not many black spectators. The Loftus Versveld ground in Pretoria was the last big rugby stadium to be opened. Controversy arose as to whether spectator facilities would be multiracial only for the international Tate-Coetzee boxing match. The Government stated that the matter rested ultimately with the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union and the Pretoria City Council and it was eventually decided that the stadium would remain open after the boxing event, with the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union retaining final control.

After the controversy surrounding this event the Minister of Sport said that the Government supported open admission and would allow spectators of all races open access, where requested, to sporting events. There would be no legislation as the Government recognised the autonomy of the various sporting bodies and the owners of grounds.

The chairman of the Soweto Community Council announced that he would discuss with the Johannesburg African Football Association the opening of the Orlando stadium to all races. Should permission to open the stadium be granted the next step would be to approach the Government on the matter of whites requiring permits to enter Soweto.

At the Natal Congress of the NP the Minister of Sport announced that clubs would be able to apply for 'inter-club stadium' status to hold mixed sports fixtures. This would obviate the current procedures for obtaining permits.
Shortly before the 1978 summer holiday season the Cape MEC for local
government announced a reallocation of beaches in the Cape Divisional Council
areas of the Cape Peninsula. This reallocation, together with the previous opening
of 27 km of beach along the False Bay coastline east of Muizenberg, meant that
roughly half of the False Bay, Table Bay and Atlantic coastlines of the Peninsula
were declared unallocated, ie open to all races. Larger stretches of both beach and
fishing areas were open. However the Cape administrator stated that vested
interests were not touched. Thus in the main beaches immediately adjoining white
and in some cases coloured residential areas remained reserved for the race
groups living in those areas. These included the most popular white beaches.
The administrator said that in the past several local authorities had been lax in
providing adequate facilities for all groups. Provincial funds for the creation of
facilities such as road access and parking, change rooms, picnic areas and tidal
pools on the Cape coast would be spent exclusively in the next few years on
mixed beaches. At the Provincial Council session in February he announced that
the pace of this development would be increased. Rlm would be spent in the
current

financial year. With decisions now made on the Peninsula, Port
Elizabeth and East London, the administration would continue discussing
reallocations on other stretches of the Cape coastline. Proposals were Beaches
being considered from the Dias Divisional Council and the local
authorities of Simonstown, Milnerton, Mossel Bay and VredenburgSalldania.
A consulting engineers' report on the development of facilities along the False
Bay coast, commissioned by a committee representing the local authorities
concerned, said that the two largest open beaches there were unsafe for bathing.
[he report set out guidelines for the development of recreational resorts at
Strandfontein and Mnandi, which formed part of the open beach area near
Mitchell's Plain and recommended that R2,3m be spent on facilities, including
pool complexes.
During the holiday season it was reported that police were checking beaches still
zoned 'white' and warning many bathers of other races to leave. Police blamed the
situation on confusion among coloured people as to which areas were now open.
In Simonstown a coloured man was convicted and fined for being on a whites-
only beach. An African Transkeian official refused to leave the whites-only
Muizenberg beach when asked to by police, and was allowed to remain. Black
leaders in the Peninsula said that if the opening of some beaches was designed to
improve race relations police activity in enforcing apartheid more rigidly on white
beaches had the opposite effect.
The SAP MP for Simonstown defended the right of local seaside communities to
decide by whom their beaches should be used. PFP provincial councillors called
for the opening of all beaches, claiming that any racial demarcation was an insult.
The only morally sound principle was that all natural amenities belonged to the
public at large and not to the local authority representing people living nearby and
should be accessible to everyone. Beaches should be suitably developed and
controlled to avoid overcrowding and anti-social behaviour.
In Port Elizabeth the provincial administrator declared most beaches north of the harbour open. This coastal stretch included the beaches nearest to the African townships. The area from around the Swartkops River mouth to St George's Strand remained 'white'. South of the harbour the main Port Elizabeth beaches, Humewood, King's Beach and Pollock Beach, remained white. Further south, the rocky coastal area south of Cape Recife was open. The black communities were not satisfied with the new demarcation, stating that the best and most popular beaches remained white. Blacks had received nothing more as the open beaches were those previously reserved for them which were now to be shared with whites. The Coloured and Indian Management Committees called for all beaches to be open. The Indian Management Committee decided to withdraw from the multi-racial committee of local authorities formed to plan the development of beach facilities. They felt that at least all the beaches north of the harbour should have been opened. Development of improved facilities at the mixed beaches commenced.

East London's Coloured Management Committee continued to press for the opening of all beaches in the area. The coastline on the west bank of the Buffalo River was open, with the exception of Hickmans River. The Orient and Nahoon beaches were still white. In January the Management Committee resolved that as the open beaches had been used without incident by all races over the Christmas season there was no longer any need to keep some beaches reserved for whites.

Black bathers using the open beaches complained of inadequate facilities. A spokesman for the Divisional Council, controlling the west bank, said that development was proceeding. The MEC for local government said that R500 000 had been spent on facilities on the west bank and at Cove Rock.

An NP motion in the Natal Provincial Council that the Executive Committee give local authorities who requested it the right to demarcate beaches racially, was defeated. The NRP-controlled provincial Council was opposed to racial beach zoning. They said that if coastal local authorities applied for it, permission would be given only if equal beach facilities were made available to all groups. The right of local option was recognised but it must be exercised fairly. Local authorities could not request demarcation of their beaches for whites only. Natal favoured a system of allowing all races to get together unobtrusively. The MEC for local government disclosed that there had been seven applications from local authorities. One had been granted, at Richards Bay.

In Durban the council's Amenities Committee recommended the establishment of a multi-racial beach, following a letter from a councillor citing the increasing numbers of black tourists using beachfront hotels. The Director of Parks and Recreation was asked to report on a possible site and the feasibility of such a beach. For the years 1979-81 R40 000 each had been allocated for improvements to the African and Indian beaches.

Restaurant and Shopping Facilities

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that as at 31 December 1978 eight licensed restaurants other than those in international hotels
had been granted international status. At that date 22 applications had been received of which 12 were refused and 3 withdrawn. The official opposition commented that this reply illustrated the fact that virtually no restaurants outside hotels could admit blacks and SA was going backwards in its aim of removing discrimination. When questioned on the reasons for refusal of international status to some restaurants and the granting of it to others, the Minister of Justice referred to sections 19 (1) and (2) of the Liquor Act of 1977. These provide that the Liquor Board and the Minister shall not be required to give any reasons for a decision except where questions of law or the cancellation of a licence right are involved. After the annual hearings of licence applications by the Liquor Board the number of restaurants outside hotels with international status had risen to 12-4 in Johannesburg, 2 in Cape Town, 2 in Stellenbosch, 1 in Grahamstown and 3 in Durban. Of the 12 licences, 6 were wine and malt licences. Countrywide in 1977/78 there were 159 restaurant liquor licences and 17 meal-time wine and malt licences.""
After unsuccessful applications for multiracial permits the Cape Town store was granted permission to serve black customers on condition that there were separate seating areas divided by a non-transparent screen. This decision was deplored by the CBD Associations of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg, and by black customers. The restaurant was later reintegrated.

The OK Bazaars stated that it was not their company's policy to provide seating for whites only in store restaurants. The company had reapplied for a multiracial permit for their largest store, in central Johannesburg. Their interpretation of the law was that black customers could be served with meals but not seated. If the permit application was not granted they would convert to standing-only food service. In March a cafeteria at a Natal Hyperama was thus converted after a complaint by a Transvaal visitor.

The Wiehahn Commission, in considering the provisions of the Shops and Offices Act, recommended that as far as the general public was concerned it should be left to proprietors, occupiers or managers of premises to determine admission to facilities as they deemed fit. They stated that profound changes had occurred in shopping patterns and the shopping public increasingly reflected the growing purchasing power of non-whites. A minority viewpoint maintained that the question of separate facilities was a delicate issue and recommended that the status quo in regard to segregated facilities be maintained. The Government accepted the majority recommendation but stressed the importance of cautious handling of these matters, and stated that in the meantime powers to grant exemption from the Act's provisions would be used.

In August the Secretary of Community Development announced that renewed permit applications by unlicensed department store restaurants would in future be sympathetically considered. In the case of licensed restaurants, the Department of Justice would have to be approached. The statement was generally welcomed by managements of nation-wide stores, who indicated their intention of reapplying.

In September the Minister announced that in future, instead of having to apply for permits, restaurants would only have to apply for a once and for all exemption to admit all races. The applications would be dealt with on merit and he reserved the right to withdraw an exemption to avoid racial friction although he did not think this would happen. Applications from restaurants with liquor licenses would still have to be dealt with in conjunction with the Department of Justice. This move was in line with current policy towards decentralisation and less government involvement in private enterprise. In December, when the once only exemption was extended to other facilities as well, the Government said the exemption would apply to caf6/restaurant facilities in certain areas identified after consultation with the relevant local authority.

Attempts were made to start black restaurants in the white areas of some cities and towns. These restaurants were aimed at serving the middle-level worker who could not afford restaurants at the international hotels but needed something more than the very basic facilities already available. Although group areas permits were obtained, some restaurants did not succeed as business ventures. The luxury restaurant for blacks in central Johannesburg, started in 1978, closed after nine
months. The same happened to a restaurant in central Pretoria which had aimed to provide reasonably priced meals for up to 3000 people at a time. Its establishment had been supported by the city council after the United Municipal Executive had urged local authorities to provide eating facilities for blacks in city centres, and it was intended as an example and showpiece. It closed after a few months. Negotiations were reportedly under way with other organisations interested in reopening it. A black restaurant was planned in central Durban, with city council approval. Most African workers canvassed felt that they might patronise it if there was no alternative but would prefer non-racial restaurants. A permit was granted for a black restaurant in Middelburg's central area after an earlier refusal. The council had supported the application but it was refused by the Department of Co-operation and Development because of white resistance. It was granted after intervention by the deputy minister. In Springs the council opposed a permit application for a black restaurant in Selection Park because of the opposition of white residents in the area. Churches were not precluded by the Group Areas Act from running mixed restaurants in white areas, and it was reported that church-run restaurants were opened in Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg. Although the Liquor Act did not stipulate apartheid, it remained a condition of bottle store licences that segregated entrances and shopping areas be provided. The Minister of Justice stated that a change was not considered desirable as the outlets concerned were places where friction might arise. It was reported that liquor stores which had desegregated were warned that they could lose their licences. Municipal Local authorities held varying views on whether their town or city halls should be used for multiracial functions. The Department of Community Development granted Johannesburg a blanket permit for open live performances and SABC concerts at the city hall. Separate permits were still necessary for performances by outside organisations, film shows, conferences and meetings, sports events and for the two smaller halls in the complex. The council had refused to accede to segregated seating and toilet facilities initially requested by the authorities. The council apologised to African patrons who complained of being removed from a concert in a discourteous manner before the hall became open. The Pietermaritzburg city hall received a blanket permit allowing multiracial audiences at live performances. Separate permits were still required for other functions and for performances which included African, coloured or Indian artists. In 1971 the Philharmonic Society had been given permission for thirty Africans to attend concerts at the hall which was withdrawn after one concert, following a cabinet decision.
The East London council was refused a blanket permit to admit all races to the Orient theatre and the city hall, but announced its intention to reapply.

The Krugersdorp council decided to investigate its discriminatory regulations. A motion that these be revised as far as practically possible in current circumstances referred to progress made in the past decade in improved race relations in public life. Representatives of other races were being invited to functions which took place at the town hall.

The Boksburg council turned down by majority vote an application by a high school in the coloured suburb of Reiger Park for use of the town hall for a debutantes ball to raise charity funds. The Benoni council, however, granted the school's application to use their town hall. Officials said that Boksburg's by-laws allowed only whites to use their hall. Benoni changed its by-laws to open its hall to all races several years previously. Such a step had been discussed in the Boksburg council but was repeatedly defeated.

The Management Committee chairman reportedly stated that the coloured community needed uplifting before it could be allowed to use the hall; also white ratepayers had paid for the town hall and should have the sole right to use the building and its amenities. The coloured community had its own facilities.

The chairman of Reiger Park's Management Committee said this attitude was insulting to the coloured community. The council was being inconsistent as it had opened its pools to coloured swimmers. Reiger Park did not have a hall suitable for the occasion and government policy in moving away from discrimination was that facilities that were not duplicated should be shared. An appeal would be made to the Administrator if further negotiations with the council resulted in a deadlock.

Commenting on Benoni's decision to allow the use of its hall, its management committee chairman and MPC for the area said that each council had a responsibility to the people in its area and other councils could not really expect Benoni to take over their duties. Actonville Indians used the Benoni town hall as similar halls in coloured and Indian areas were luxuries that could not be afforded. The Opposition in the Boksburg council commented that the 'verligte' majority in the Benoni council was keeping in step with policy adaptations. Queries to other councils in the area revealed that blacks could use the town hall in Alberton but not in Springs. The Nigel, Brakpan and Germiston councils stated that other races either had their own facilities or had never made applications to use the town halls. The Pretoria city hall remained white.

The Johannesburg group areas board rejected Benoni's application for a permit to use its hall for the function. The permit was subsequently approved when Mr Bergins, then leader of the Coloured Freedom Party, approached the Minister of Community Development.

The Boksburg council subsequently broke new ground by agreeing to an application by the Jaycees to hold their Sportsman of the year function, at which
two black athletes would be present, in the town hall. To get around its by-laws the council would invite the two sportsmen as its guests. Coloured leaders later opposed council plans to modernise the community hall in Reiger Park, stating that facilities would not be comparable and the money should be spent on relieving the housing shortage. The Boksburg council said the rebuilding was not being done in order to keep coloured people out of the town hall but to make up a shortfall in facilities, and that a mass meeting would be held in the coloured suburb to canvass local views.

The Boksburg council also refused a request that it rescind a 1963 decision to reserve the lake for whites. The management committee chairman said coloured people had vandalised their own facilities in Reiger Park. Discrimination should be removed in an evolutionary way and friction had to be prevented. The community should learn first to look after its own facilities.

The Uitenhage council refused the use of its town hall for a nonracial religious rally and a choir competition. The Sunday Schools Association had always previously used the town hall. However, for the first time a coloured congregation had joined the Association. The mayor said that it was long-standing policy that coloured people were to use facilities in their own areas. Indian functions were allowed as they had no suitable halls of their own.

Clergymen of various denominations and coloured political leaders deplored the decision, stating that it was contrary to government policy and harmed race relations. The NP MP for Uitenhage supported the council's stand while the MPC said that such issues were left to the third tier of government to decide.

The Durban city council recommended that its by-laws be changed to enable the central library to be opened to all. For space reasons this new policy could only be implemented when the planned move to new premises took place. There was considerable debate in the council about removing or changing the 'Europeans only' sign outside the reference library, which was there in terms of existing by-laws.

Although the librarian had discretion to admit blacks. Following an appeal by Women for Peaceful Change, the Durban North and Musgrave libraries were opened. After an appeal by a councillor to open all libraries the Management Committee asked the Town Clerk to submit a detailed report on all those libraries not already open to establish the possible effects of removing race barriers.

A right-wing group campaigned to maintain library segregation, while Women for Peaceful Change mounted a counter-petition calling for the opening of all libraries. During the budget debate in the Natal Provincial Council white local authorities were criticised for not making use of funds made available by the province for libraries in coloured and Indian areas. It was reported that the opening of East London's central lending library was under consideration. It had
been opened in 1975 but closed when the Provincial Administration threatened a withdrawal of its subsidy. The reference library was open.

The Department of Community Development refused the Kloof town council a multiracial library permit after the town had promulgated by-laws enabling it to open. Johannesburg sent a copy of the legal opinion supporting its earlier decision to open its own library. Kloof also sought a further opinion in order to avoid the possibility of legal confrontation if it ignored the Government ruling. Senior Counsel said that the law was unclear. Although there was no specific prohibition, in general terms under the Group Areas Act, interpreted together with the Separate Amenities Act, it could be illegal. If the

Council representatives met the Minister of Community Development after the MP for Pinetown had offered to assist in arranging a meeting. In a subsequent memorandum to the Minister the Council stated they found a refusal difficult to understand in view of the Government's expressed policy of moving away from discrimination.

Libraries and halls were included in the Government's once-only permit exemption announced in December (see Permit system). In the case of halls the announcement said that the concession would apply where proper and alternative facilities befitting the occasion were not available in the areas of the other population communities, after consultation by the Department of Community Development with the local authority.

Coloured Management Committee members in East London called for the council to apply for open permits in advance of the annual visit of the fun fair and to ban if all groups could not attend. The deputy mayor said it would not be fair to deprive one group of entertainment because the central government ruled that other groups could not use the facilities. He urged the management committee to take the matter up with higher authorities. The organisers of East London's annual Carnival announced that the coloured community had been represented at planning stage and that any planned event which did not receive multiracial permits would not be held.

The Port Elizabeth council decided to apply for permits to enable all events at the annual Festival of the Sea to be multiracial. In 1978 the Indian Management Committee objected to a Council donation to the festival as it had not been multiracial. Permits needed in order to open two events were refused. Coloured and Indian leaders called for a black boycott of the festival, stating that they were opposed to having to obtain permits. If the festival organisers had sincerely considered black interests they should have planned the festival at the new multiracial beaches instead of at the white King's Beach.

Durban's management committee dismissed an appeal by four Local Affairs Committees backed by a petition that all city swimming pools be opened. They were prepared to consider a request that only the five pools in coloured and Indian areas of the city be desegregated.
Councillors criticised the Durban council for inadequate black toilet facilities in the city centre and beach front. In debate on the difficulties facing the council in planning the provision of more black toilets one councillor said that the establishment of these facilities in the city always generated opposition from white residents. The local amenities committee of Women for Peaceful Change blamed not only the council but also major stores for shirking their responsibilities towards black residents and visitors. They called for council and commercial provision on a non-racial basis. It was reported that the Pietersburg council was building black toilet facilities in a park near the city centre, which also contained seating so that workers could use the whole area during lunch hours. Several Transvaal municipalities had sent delegations to Pietersburg to inspect its new black bus terminus which also contained various other amenities. Speaking to municipal officials Mr Hough, MEC for Local Government in the Transvaal, called on local authorities to provide facilities such as toilets, restaurants and rest places for blacks who were in white areas to work, shop or for other reasons. He said that some local authorities had unfortunately neglected their responsibilities in this regard since the establishment of administration boards and community councils.

Fire departments in towns on the Reef generally still had white and black ambulances, but in emergencies the service became non-racial. Johannesburg's 42 ambulances were integrated as one service but where possible staff of one race were sent to serve patients of the same race. The Reef's African townships were served by the Administration Boards.

State facilities
In 1978 the Department of Posts and Telegraphs announced the phasing out of petty apartheid at post offices. A question in parliament concerning the Newcastle post office, where it appeared that apartheid was still being enforced contrary to instructions, led to an exposition of the Department's current policy by the Minister.

He said that most post offices still had two service halls which had been built to serve white and non-white respectively and it was practical that both should still be used. Clients were not coerced but it was sometimes necessary to establish a measure of orderliness by means of persuasion in order to provide a satisfactory service. Practical problems such as language and the keeping of pension documents meant that all services could not be duplicated everywhere. The employment and training policy of the post office was aimed at creating opportunities for all population groups and at serving clients as far as possible by members of their own group. Friction between groups remained a real risk and circumstances might develop where steps to prevent it were necessary. During debate on the Railways budget the PFP called for a programme of removing discrimination following the example of the post office.
They noted that apartheid signs at airports had been removed, but said that complete integration of rail services should be phased in, starting with 2nd class services. The Minister of Transport said that in 1978 there had been an investigation into scrapping unnecessary apartheid regulations. Where apartheid measures were necessary to avoid friction they would be retained. The Government had created possibilities for bringing about changes and many examples could be cited of changes that had been made.

SAR policy was that no blanket decision was taken to abolish apartheid signs at every station, but it was left to the discretion of local system managers to judge on merit whether any signs were unnecessary and could be removed. In Johannesburg the main concourse and all its facilities were white. The official reason was that there were two comparable white and black stations and the large passenger flow in narrow walkways and stairs might cause racial friction. The Cape Town concourse was open and 'whites only' signs on benches had been removed. In Pretoria all apartheid signs were removed except those on toilets, cafes and bars. There was still 'economic discrimination' as the station concourse was open only to first and second class black ticket holders. In Durban the only reserved areas were white waiting rooms and bars. It was reported that signs were replaced at Parow station subways after local whites had complained of muggings by a criminal coloured element.

A few incidents involving black first class travellers in coaches reserved for whites stimulated public discussion and raised the question whether it was railway policy to allow blacks into white coaches if their own first class section was full. In Durban after an official discourteously tried to remove black commuters an apology was tendered by the acting system manager of railways, Natal. In Randfontein a coloured man was arrested and appeared in court after being found in a white first class coach when the black ones were full. The Magistrate dismissed the case saying that it did not constitute a crime. SAR spokesmen said that it was an unfortunate incident.

Railway policy was that although separate coaches were normally set aside the conductor could relax this restriction at his discretion, provided there would be no friction. If a white passenger objected the conductor was obliged to tell the black politely to move back to a black coach. Reactions to this policy statement were guarded. It was welcomed by blacks who nevertheless felt that conductors would continue to harass black passengers in white coaches. Incidents of this type in fact continued to occur. Pandering to white objections would also allow the most prejudiced whites to decide policy. A railways spokesman later said that after the court case had brought publicity to this policy relaxation whites were starting to complain and blacks to abuse the arrangements. Until then the concession had been working well. Later in the year the SAR announced that all apartheid signs on bridges, subways and goods offices at stations in the Western Cape were being replaced by first, second and third class notices. The same phasing out would take place in the Transvaal. It had not yet been decided
whether similar signs on coaches would be removed eventually. Toilets, waiting rooms and cafeterias remained segregated.

**Resorts**

The PFP criticised apartheid in the parliamentary diningroom, stating that this created a bad image and example. The Leader of the House said the matter should be raised in the relevant committee and not in public. Multiracial dining facilities were being investigated. The leader of the Transvaal Provincial Council said the members' diningroom was too small and council members were asked to entertain guests including blacks in the private diningrooms.

**Resorts**

The Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in the Eastern Cape noted at its annual meeting that facilities for black visitors to nature reserves were inadequate. Environmental awareness among the black population was important and the development of facilities was necessary. In the Eastern Cape the Addo National Elephant Park, Tsitsikama Coastal National Park and Mountain Zebra National Park lacked adequate facilities. It would be recommended to the Council for the Habitat that, as a first step, existing restaurants in reserves be given international status.

Petty apartheid at the Cango Caves was criticised. The caves were a national monument and attracted thousands of visitors, many from overseas. There were separate parking areas, restaurants, toilets, entrances and guided tours. At the beginning of the year a spokesman for the Oudtshoorn town council said the municipality in conjunction with the authorities was giving the matter consideration. The council refused to comment further in reply to subsequent questions on their policy.

The Natal Parks Board opened the first hutted camp for blacks, Masinda, at its Umfolozi game park. It included a VIP lodge for dignitaries. Speaking at the opening Chief Buthelezi said this was the first recognition that blacks had a right to at least part of the Natal game reserve complex. It was a myth that conservation was not part of African culture. He called on the Parks Board and the Provincial Council to move towards doing away with all discrimination in facilities they controlled, saying that credibility in moving away from discrimination could not be maintained if some facilities were seen as set aside for certain race groups. Other facilities were opened for blacks in other parks of Natal. The Parks Board announced a planned annual programme to develop black recreational facilities. The Board had a multiracial advisory committee. The NRP-controlled Natal Provincial authorities claimed that they provided more facilities for blacks than any other province. Their local option policy was that there should be separate facilities for all groups at major resorts as well as additional non-racial facilities. In an effort to introduce mixed public areas at their resorts after the appeal by Chief Buthelezi, the Board planned black and non-racial accommodation at the Albert Falls resort. White residents protested, claiming that the area was zoned for white occupation. The Parks Board provided African facilities at Midmar Dam, claiming that in doing
so they were ignoring Government policy that no black facilities should be provided at state dams. A formerly whites-only picnic area at Nagle Dam was desegregated when the Durban Council removed the apartheid sign and built black toilet facilities. A caravan and camping resort for Indians was opened at the Chelmsford Nature Reserve near Newcastle.

According to a reply to a question on recreational and outdoor holiday facilities for blacks in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area there were 41 parks and open-air places, various picnic spots (Vaal and Hartebeespoort Dams), two zoological gardens, one lion park, one animal and nature reserve, one nature reserve, one mineral spring resort, and four river and two dam camping sites. Specifically for coloured people there were the Hartebeespoort and Vaal Dam camping and fishing terrains, the Roodeplaat Dam in Pretoria and the Vanwyksrust resort in Johannesburg with camping, caravan and pool facilities. There was only one fully developed Indian holiday resort, at Potchefstroom. The Johannesburg Council was developing a pleasure resort near Lenasia and the Roodeplaat Dam resort would soon also be available.2" The Public Resorts Board, a Provincial-controlled statutory body which developed and managed holiday resorts, was developing the coloured and Indian resorts at Roodeplaat Dam at a cost of R2,5m.

The National Parks Board had huted accommodation for blacks at four camps in the Kruger Park, and some facilities for day visitors. There were no facilities for blacks at any of the other parks under the Board's control.

It was reported that coloured and Indian hikers wishing to use the facilities on the Blyderivierspoort hiking trail could do so if they made a block booking of the whole overnight rest hut, or if whites were not using it at that time. The Minister of Forestry said it was policy to create equal facilities on trails for all race groups. The mixed use of overnight facilities might create problems. Coloured and Indian groups had been consulted on the planning of the trails in the Cape and Natal and a need had been indicated only on the Hottentotsholland and Outeniqua trails.

Transport

Cape Town was running integrated and all-white bus services (a Provincial subsidy was received for the latter). The managing director of Tollgate Holdings' Cape Tramways which provided the service told the company's annual meeting at the end of 1978 that it was planned to decrease the number of white-only buses in view of the wide acceptance of the integrated service. It was later announced that the Provincial subsidy would not be provided in future.

In Port Elizabeth the Department of Transport had laid down several types of bus service-all white, all black, mixed, lower deck reserved for whites, and buses with a few seats reserved for either white or black. The council decided which type of segregation was most suitable for each route.

It was reported that East London's bus service had received permission to desegregate.

The National Transportation Commission was investigating road transportation services. This included inter alia examining the viability
of private and municipal bus services with a view to economising. The Secretary for Transport said the Department of Transport would consider desegregation on certain routes if sufficient requests were received from bus companies. It was reported that some authorities, including those of Johannesburg and Pretoria, were not in favour of desegregation. Johannesburg's management committee chairman stated that the issue should be viewed from a practical and not a political standpoint. Black municipal bus services were subsidised and desegregation might entail raising fares. An opposition motion in the council to drop segregation was not adopted. The council decided to await the Transportation Commission's report.

Organisations

The Pretoria Bar Association continued to be the only representative body of advocates which barred black members. At its annual general meeting in February 48 of the 100 members voted in favour of keeping it closed. A two-thirds majority was needed to change its constitution. Indian attorneys in Pretoria threatened not to brief advocates who were racially prejudiced. The Transvaal Law Society and the Bar Council of SA could not intervene in the domestic affairs of the Pretoria bar. Black attorneys sent a memo to the Transvaal Law Society calling on it to mediate in the issue. The Bar Council at its annual meeting urged the Pretoria Bar to remove its race restriction. Plans to form a separate Bar Association in Pretoria were under consideration.

It was announced that Government approval had been obtained for the SA Jockey Club to train black jockeys at the Jockey Academy. Trainers and horse owners supported the move. Many blacks had been granted racing colours and it was felt that the move would create more interest in the sport and improve the country's image. All apprentices would have the same amenities but separate living quarters. A Transvaal ordinance was amended in 1978 to allow separate black Tattersalls. Residents of Lenasia opposed moves to establish one there, claiming that the Johannesburg Tattersalls should be opened to all races in order to avoid the potential problems of Tattersalls in a residential suburb. The Transvaal Provincial Administration suspended moves to establish it.

The Cape Show again received a blanket permit for all races to attend on all days. The show organisers, the Cape Agricultural Society, barred coloured entrants from showing horses, allowing them to attend only as spectators. The Western Province Horse Society condemned the decision. It was later decided that in future the show would be open to all participants. Agricultural and industrial exhibitions were included in the once-only exemption announced in December (see earlier). The Natal Agricultural Union was informed by the Department of Community Development that where similar associations did not exist for coloured and Indians they could join local associations but mixed dancing would not be allowed. The first African Round Table was inaugurated at Krugersdorp. It was reported that the Salvation Army in Cape Town, in moving to a new hostel building, would be forced by the Group Areas Act to accommodate whites only. The authorities had turned a blind eye to white and coloured staying together at the old building. The SRC of
the University of Stellenbosch called for acceptance in principle of mixed student hostels. The SRC's President said that with the admission of coloured undergraduate students the university had entered a new organisational phase, and they should not be excluded from normal student life. The Pretoria City Council decided not to recognise its new junior city council if black schools were included.

References
1 Hansard 13 col 5909
2 Ibid 16 Q col 937
Ibid 13 col 5872

These were:
Transvaal: Pretoria: Boulevard, Burgerspark, Manhattan; Johannesburg: Carlton, Devonshire, Holiday Inn (Milpark), Johannesburger, Landdrost, Moulin Rouge, Rosebank, Sunnyside Park, Victoria; Kempton Park: Airport Holiday Inn, Southern Sun Airport; Groblersdal: Groblersdal; Pietersburg: Holiday Inn; Louis Trichardt: Clouds End; Tzaneen: Tzaneen Hotel; Ermelo: Holiday Inn; Vanderbijlpark: Holiday Inn; Witrivier: The Winkler; Cape Town: Claridges, Heerengracht, Holiday Inn, Metropole, Mount Nelson; Wynberg: Newlands, Palace; Bellville: Holiday Inn; Colesberg: Merino Inn; Mafeking: Crewe's;
8 Annual Survey 1978 p 365
9 Theatres open as at July 1979: Johannesburg: Civic, University Great Hall, Brooke, Intimate, Alexander, Colosseum, His Majesty's, Andre Huguenot, Alhambra, Academy, Barnato, Market, City Hall, theatres at University of Witwatersrand and RAU; Durban: Alhambra, Civic, City Hall, St John, theatres at University of Natal, City Centre Theatre Workshop; Cape Town: Baxter, Three Arts, Nico Malan; Pietermaritzburg: Cygnet, Winston Churchill, theatres at University of Natal, City Hall; Stellenbosch: Endler Hall, HB Thom, Oude Libertas; George: Arts; Somerset West: Playhouse; Port Elizabeth: Opera House; Grahamstown: 1820 Settlers Monument; Pretoria: Piet van der Walt; East London: Guild.
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

Legislation

Slums Amendment Act
Maximum fines payable for offences were increased, and provision was made for these to be paid to the local authority concerned and not to the central government as before. The Act was unopposed.

Slums Act No 76
After many amendments, including an important one last year in which local authorities were brought more effectively into planning future housing needs in their areas, the Act was consolidated.

Group Areas Amendment Act No. 113
The Act amends Section 49A, inserted in 1977. This section removed the Act's restrictive provisions with regard to ownership, occupation and use of land by unqualified persons in areas zoned for industrial purposes.
A subsequent Supreme Court judgment ruled that this applied to land zoned 'general' which could be used for varied purposes, inter alia industrial. In Johannesburg land zoned 'general' could be used for residential purposes as well. So the sections of the Act restricting residence did not apply in these areas, which include a belt of land around the central area.
The amendment closes this loophole by stating that the restrictive clauses of the Act shall not apply in respect of land or premises which are zoned specifically and may be used without any approval for industrial purposes, and adding 'for as long as such land or premises are not used for any purpose other than industrial purposes'.

During debate Government members stated that this problem had been drawn to their attention by the Johannesburg City Council, and while it was their intention to share industrial areas as part of a single economy, the principle of separate residential areas remained. The amendment was opposed by both opposition parties as, although it eliminated exceptions created unintentionally, it was radically discriminatory, would affect many Coloured and Indian families, and was an insensitive measure in view of the housing shortage. The problem could be solved by rectifying factors which caused people to live in industrial areas and by providing housing near to where they owned factories or worked.

16 These were: Johannesburg: Civic Theatre, Zoo Lake, Greatermans, Top of the Campus; Cape Town: Nico Malan Centre, University of Cape Town Sports Centre; Stellenbosch: Langenhoven Studentesentrum, Oude Volkskombuis; Grahamstown: The Monument Restaurant; Durban: Seahaven, Haven on Sea, University of Natal Refectory. 11 Department of Justice Annual Report 1978 18 Rand Daily Mail 1 February

10 Hansard 9 Q col 627
21 Ibid 14 Q col 887, 895 and 900
Housing Amendment Act 109
See Chapter on Urban Africans.

Housing shortage
In reply to questions in the Assembly and Senate, the Minister of Community Development gave the following estimates of the housing backlog as at 31/12/78:

Cape
34,500 (Peninsula 25,000
Port Elizabeth 3,400)
1,100 (Peninsula 800
Port Elizabeth 140)
OFS 1,000
Natal.
3,000 (Durban 2,050)
-- 16,000 (Durban 11,800)
Transvaal
6,400 (Witwatersrand complex
4,400
Pretoria 640)
2,200 (Witwatersrand complex
1,900
Pretoria 500)

The official shortage figures are in some cases lower than those recorded on local authority housing waiting lists and estimates made by representatives of the communities concerned. For these estimates see Group Areas and Housing - Regional Developments. In addition, housing provision has to make allowance for natural increase, relieving overcrowding, housing replacement and urban migration. For official estimates of the additional housing needed and annual rates of provision necessary to eliminate shortages, see Annual Survey 1978 p 379.

Provision of Housing
The Minister of Community Development said the following number of housing units were made available for occupation by his Department and local authorities during 1978:

7
Cape OFS Natal Transvaal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19770</td>
<td>2170</td>
<td>19770</td>
<td>3091</td>
<td>3644</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>136</td>
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<td>2170</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision</td>
<td>3164</td>
<td>10231</td>
<td>2893</td>
<td>3164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Provision 1977 % increase/decrease over 1977

-19.7%
+128.8%
+25.7%

Official housing provision for coloured people exceeded projections made for 1978, but Indian housing did not meet the projected estimate of 5 683 units. The Departmental report stated that the programme for Indian housing was not satisfactory. On 30 September 1978 there were 9 029 uncompleted units for Indians in schemes for which funds had been allocated and a further 10 948 dwellings in approved schemes awaiting funds. Save for unforeseen circumstances these 19 977 units should be completed within three years, giving an average annual provision of about 6 500 dwellings. To eliminate the shortage within five years the authorities, together with the private sector, would have to build 8 000 units a year. For coloured people the estimated annual provision was 23 000 units.

Speaking in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development said the Department expected R600m in ordinary funds from the Treasury up to 1981 and R161.6m in additional funds. From ordinary funds 20 000 houses would be built for whites, and from ordinary plus additional funds 68 862 houses could be built for coloured people and 17 224 for Indians.

Nearly twice as many dwellings were completed by the public sector in 1978 as compared with 1977, and there was a sizeable increase in the number of incomplete dwellings. Even though there was no shortage for whites and vacancies were reported in public and private housing in many areas, the Department stated that replacement and selective augmentation had to continue, and extrinsic factors mostly of a temporary nature had contributed to the decline in demand.
The Department of Community Development vote for 1979/80 was R371,566m (R53,031m more than the previous year). The total amount applied to the provision of housing was R226,195m (R27,270m more). Of this, R217,320m was appropriated to augment the National Housing Fund, including R30m reflux capital. Allocation of the nett addition in respect of housing schemes was as follows:

White 16.36 %, Asian 14.42 %, Coloured 55.62 %, African 13.6 %.

In addition housing schemes costing R195m for Coloured, Indian and African groups were in the interim being financed by banks and building and financing companies, of which R100m would be spent in the 1979/80 financial year. It was reported that as at 30 September 1978 R21m of these additional funds had been spent and contracts worth R128m had been concluded.

Community facilities
From October 1977 to September 1978, 130 applications were approved for loans for community facilities totalling R168m. Since the start of these loans in 1974, applications worth R33m had been approved. The committee appointed to investigate standards was preparing its report.

Properties owned by the Department of Community Development
The total value of properties held by the Department was R290 237 586.11

Squatters
In his report the Secretary for Community Development presented the following information concerning registered squatters in the areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Office</th>
<th>Registered</th>
<th>Demolished</th>
<th>Not yet demolished</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>24 036</td>
<td>2 445</td>
<td>8 570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>5 232</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>4 851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>7009</td>
<td>1 522</td>
<td>1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzbure</td>
<td>4,1-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37963</td>
<td>4398</td>
<td>10523</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forty-six local authorities had requested the implementation of Section 36 of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, (an amendment in 1977 controlling the employment of persons from outside the authority's area if accommodation could not be provided).--e only large centre to have done so was Cape Town.

Some general comments on the housing situation
Available data point to a shift in the public sector away from the provision of white housing in favour of housing for other groups. In line with the income structure of the community, the private sector continued to contribute
significantly to white housing and negligibly to coloured, Indian and African housing. The contradiction between an over-supply of housing in white areas and pressure on land and housing in coloured and Indian areas became more striking. The official view was that both were temporary phases. White oversupply was due to factors such as economic recession, a decline in immigration and longer military call-up periods. The Minister of Community Development claimed that if R100m more than the expected allocation was received in the next few years the coloured and Indian shortage could be overcome within the next five years and the African shortage possibly within eight years. The Opposition warned that the provision of housing had the potential of becoming a major issue of conflict. If, as the Department claimed, this was a temporary phase, innovative interim measures such as permits to remain in white areas and self-help housing were needed.

Debate on the necessity and desirability of self-help housing schemes continued. The Department in its report stated that this idea seemed to have gained ground and warned against it. The mass of lowpaid unskilled workers could not make a significant contribution to the provision of their own housing. The Republic, which was a privileged member of the Third World, had the capital and ability to pay the price of proper housing and this could be done within the capacity of the lowest paid. A table of Departmental housing costs and monthly rentals according to income group was presented to illustrate that a person earning as little as R64 per month could afford a three-bedroomed subeconomic unit which, with all necessary services and facilities, could be provided for R4 500. The rental of R15.93 calculated at a subsidised 1% interest rate was based on the international norm according to which the basic rental may not exceed one quarter of income. Researchers into low cost housing claimed that this norm could be applied practically only to incomes of R200 upwards. At incomes lower than this the remaining money would be insufficient to cover other necessary expenditure such as on electricity, transport and family maintenance.

The Government sponsored National Building Research Institute called for alternative forms of self-help housing such as the improvement of squatter dwellings and site and service schemes. They pointed to a growing world-wide realisation that no country could provide fully and directly for the housing needs of all its people solely from public sector resources. At a NBRI-sponsored conference 'Towards viable communities', many experts were sceptical that the Department would be able to cope with the housing demand through contractor-built schemes. A number of speakers described successful self-help schemes in Africa and other third world countries. Experts described self-help housing as being of two basic types 'site-and-service', where families were permitted to erect temporary sub-standard shelter on sites, with minimum services, with voluntary or mandatory upgrading to standard structures and services over time; or 'minimum shelter', where families were given contractor built structures of minimum size and finish. The owners could then
either extend with substandard material on a temporary basis or make additions that complied with standard building codes. The Department was in fact itself experimenting with intermediate accommodation in the form of core houses costing R1 900 at Mitchells Plain and Valhalla Park. However, the Minister stated that this could not be allowed to become part of the general pattern. The Secretary for Community Development said that home ownership was intrinsic in the constitutional changes envisaged for SA. The Department appealed to local authorities to promote home ownership among coloured and Indian communities. Over the past five years 22 000 houses financed by the National Housing Fund had been sold to coloured people and Indians in the main metropolitan areas. The private sector, which had so far mainly served white housing, was to be encouraged to provide housing for other groups where possible. (See also chapter on urban African for African housing.) Group Areas The Minister of Community Development said the following families and persons were moved from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act during 1978:20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>2 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS Transvaal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Areas: Removals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS Transvaal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal 271</td>
<td>1 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
persons had been of the Group Areas

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2100</td>
<td>10 878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following families and persons remained to be moved in terms of proclamations under the Group Areas Act as at 31 December 1978:

**OFS Transvaal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2465</td>
<td>12 769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>2409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>12093</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total family picture is as follows:

Resettled since commencement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 225</td>
<td>72 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Resettled

1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>2 832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remain to be resettled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>13 941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 840</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Planning and the Environment gave the following information relating to proclaimed group areas:

**White Coloured Indian**

Proclaimed as at 31/12/78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>834 541 230</td>
<td>761 442 ha</td>
<td>91 161 ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 969 ha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the period 1 October 1977 to 30 September 1978, 5 963 applications for permits for ownership and occupation by disqualified

The Minister said the following families and moved from their homes from the commencement Act up to 31 December 1978:

**Indian**

Families Persons

White

Families Persons

Coloured

Families Persons

Indian

Families Persons

Cape 726

2 708

56482 292 577

2 509 12595

Natal
814 3 036  
3 113 16125  
21 731 109 090  
Total  
2 225 8 299  
72 392 374 990  
34 294 172 156  
White  
Families Persons  
Coloured  
Families Persons  
Indian  
Families Persons  
Cape  
9 050 46 879  
1 030 5 171  
Natal  
2 362 12 235  
8 401 42 173  
Total  
13 941 72 215  
11 840 59 437  
White Coloured Indian  
Cape  

persons in terms of the Group Areas Act were received. 5 166 were granted, 466 refused, 107 withdrawn and 224 carried over. Of 45 appeals received, 31 were refused.  

Traders  
The Minister of Community Development gave the following information in respect of people moved from business premises in terms of the Group Areas Act:  
Resettled from commencement of Act to end 1978  
3 8  
10  
Moved during  
1978  
Disqualified as at end 1978  
Total  
21 - 79  
Non-White  
Cape 70 15 163  
Transvaal 48 5 33  
OFS - -  
Natal 11 - 4  
Total 129 20 200  
Indian Cape 304 34 742  
Transvaal 1 182 88 1 822
OFS - -
Natal 479 - 549
Total 1965 122 3113

The towns in which Indian traders were moved the numbers and costs involved were as follows:

Barkly West Cape Town Bloemhof Carolina Coligny Ermelo Middelburg (Tvl) Pretoria during 1978 and
R
68 267 55 698
787 192
9 295
356 951
74 970
1 568 572 not yet available

In addition to the above traders, 38 moved of their own accord or closed their business.

The Secretary for Community Development in his report said that 1144 business premises had been erected for Indians by his Department. A further 245 premises were under construction, while 534 were in various stages of planning. The resettlement of disqualified traders in Transvaal rural areas had reached an advanced stage and would be proceeded with as planned.

465
Group Areas
White
Cape Transvaal OFS Natal

466 In answer to questions on removals of traders in terms of the Group Areas Act the Minister of Community Development reiterated that these were not being proceeded with except in Transvaal rural Group areas and Ladysmith, Natal, where the process was far advanced. 351 Areas rural traders remained to be moved and 70 urban traders in Vereeniging where an Asiatic Bazaar was nearing completion. Traders would however still be moved if necessary for slum clearance or urban renewal. The decision to halt removals did not affect the disqualified status of a trader and therefore no amendments to the Group Areas Act were necessary."

Eight 'section 19' areas, ie areas outside coloured and Indian group areas where coloured people and Indians may carry on business in terms of the Act, had been identified. These were as follows: 28

Cape Transvaal Natal
Port Elizabeth Pretoria2 Newcastle
East London2 Roodepoort Ladysmith
Vryburg Pinetown

Investigations in consultation with the Department of Environmental Planning and Energy had been instituted into the possible establishment of further 'section
19’ areas. The places so far affected included Johannesburg, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Vereeniging, Springs, Nigel, Boksburg and Durban.

During discussion of the Indian Affairs vote in the Assembly the Minister said that more than 2,700 traders in Transvaal cities, Natal except Ladysmith, and the Cape would now not be resettled under the Group Areas Act. In the cases of the 300-odd traders still to be resettled, circumstances such as slum conditions and the advanced stage of planning necessitated removals. For the rest, where resettlement was necessary, traders would be moved to white business areas. In the following towns Indians had already moved into new premises: Bloemhof, Bronkhorstspuit, Carolina, Coligny, Ermelo, Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, Koster, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Nylstroom, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Standerton, Swartruggens, Venterdorp, Wolmaransstad. In the following towns traders were still to be moved (numbers of traders involved are given in brackets): Potchefstroom (2), Klerksdorp (1), Ladysmith (70), Bethal (32), Louis Trichardt (50), Piet Retief (19), Pietersburg (87), Potgietersrus (34), Schweizer Reneke (16), Zeerust (17), Vereeniging (70). The estimated cost was R22,907m.

Riekert Commission Recommendation
The Riekert Commission on legislation affecting the use of manpower recommended amending the Group Areas Act to provide for demarcated areas in the business centres of towns and cities which could be used by persons of all racial groups for commercial or professional purposes. It was further recommended that the Minister concerned should not refuse a request by the local authority concerned to demarcate such an area.

The Government White Paper on the Report stated that the only way in which this recommendation went further than Section 19 of the Act was that it would no longer be necessary to apply for permits, which were in any case granted relatively freely. However, it was in-
tended to amend the Act to allow such areas to be demarcated after in-
vestigation by the Group Areas Board and with the consent of the Ministers of Environmental Planning and Community Development. As far as local authorities were concerned, it was conceded that they had Group an important part to play in such decisions and should convey their views to the Group Areas Board. The Board would have to satisfy itself that such areas would not lead to under-utilisation of business areas established by the State in new group areas at great expense, and would not lead to residential mixing.

The Minister of Community Development said that one of the problems to be considered would be whether existing business centres would become white elephants. Another problem was that if central areas were opened, only whites and Indians had sufficient capital and expertise at present to make use of the opportunity. Coloured businessmen who wanted to exercise rights in these areas later might find that they had fallen behind)
Some general comments on Group Areas Act

The Riekert Commission stated that although most of the evidence given supported separate residential areas only a small proportion of witnesses testified on this matter. This apparent lack of interest could be ascribed to the fact that it had no direct bearing on the Commission's terms of reference. The Commission did not therefore express an opinion on this principle of the Act. It did however note that many Coloured and Indian areas were far away from employment areas, causing high transport costs for those who could least afford them. It recommended the subsidisation and improvement of transport to unfavourably situated areas. It also recommended that employers be granted ownership rights by means of permit if they wished to provide housing in their employees' respective group areas. These recommendations were accepted.

The Minister of Community Development announced during debate on his vote that arrangements had been made with building societies whereby they would be able to act as juristic persons in group areas where they were disqualified, in order to finance housing.

It was reported that the congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond decided that the principle of separate areas was not discriminatory. Possible discrimination should be removed from its application by providing comparable facilities in areas for all groups. The official opposition, during discussion of the vote of the Minister of Environmental Planning and Energy, once again appealed for the abolition of the Group Areas Act. The Minister stated that group areas would not be abolished but that 'the concept of fairness would be upheld in the allocation of areas to the various population groups'.

The SA Indian Council at its July session resolved to request the repeal of the Act, and to request the Prime Minister to appoint a commission of inquiry into the activities of the Department of Community Development. Mr Bergins, then leader of the Coloured Freedom Party, called for the Act's repeal in order to avoid estrangement of the coloured group.

Writing in the journal 'Social Work' Dr Erika Theron, chairman of the Theron Commission on the coloured people, called for a review of

Housing: Group Areas and Housing-Regional Developments

Johannesburg Metropolitan Area

Shortages

A significant backlog in the provision of both coloured and Indian housing continued. This was highlighted by prosecutions of families who had moved illegally into white suburbs around the city rentre where accommodation was available due to a high vacancy rate in Johannesburg's white flatland. During a test case an estate agent testified that there were 528 vacant bachelor flats and 224 vacant onebedroomed flats. It was also reported that over 300 Council-built white
houses were vacant.

Official estimates of the coloured backlog at 4 400 and the Indian backlog at 1 900 units were disputed by leaders of these communities.

A survey by coloured and Indian bodies showed that more than 10 000 homes were needed. Of these, 4 400 were in coloured townships and 600 in Alexandra. The survey did not include the older suburbs of Newclare, Bosmont and Coronationville, where several hundred other families were overcrowded. The Johannesburg council's official waiting list for coloured families stood at 3 912 units.

Another 600 units a year were needed for natural increase and influx.

The Indian Management Committee estimated that there were 1 900 people living in garages and outbuildings in Lenasia and more than 3 000 people in overcrowded housing.

People living outside Lenasia were not being considered for housing until several hundred families in Pageview had been resettled in Lenasia by 1980.

Johannesburg's Department of Coloured and Asian Affairs estimated the Indian waiting list at 1 800 families in Lenasia, 100 to be resettled from Pageview and approximately 500 to be resettled from the Diagonal Street area.

In the case of both communities, influx from other parts of the country due to the economic recession and better employment opportunities in Johannesburg added to the existing shortage of housing to catch up with the backlog and provide for natural increase. Many of the families prosecuted for living in white areas could afford good housing but were unable to find it in their own areas. The Indian Management committee rejected a Government proposal that employers be barred, in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, from employing people who did not have proof of accommodation.

Coloured Housing

During 1978 the number of homes built in the Witwatersrand complex was as follows:

Department of Community Development
145 123

White Coloured Indian

Local Authority
71
1 000

Private Sector
4348
494
31

The Johannesburg City Council's budget for 1979/80 allocated R13m for coloured housing to be provided through loans from the Department of Community Development and bridging finance made available by the Council. At the beginning of the year the Council anticipated being able to build more than 100 houses a month. Building of more than 2 000 homes would take place in Eldorado.
Park, Riverlea and Klipspruit West. The first phase of the Westbury redevelopment scheme was also approved. A new group area at Olivantsvlei was being investigated. The Department of Community Development was continuing with the housing development at Ennerdale, and would also provide a sub-economic scheme in Eldorado Park. 826 houses were expected to be completed at Ennerdale by the end on 1979. During the next decade a further 13 237 were planned, 1100 of these during 1979-81. There were also stands for sale. Work was proceeding on sports, community and shopping facilities. It was planned that Ennerdale would become a self-sufficient town. Emphasis would be placed on providing industry in the area.

Both authorities claimed that the shortage would be eliminated in the foreseeable future. It was hoped to build over 3 000 houses by the end of 1980, at which stage council-owned land would be filled, and several thousand more were planned up to 1985. The development would take place in Ennerdale if no further coloured group areas were declared in the council's area of jurisdiction. The council also announced that stands would be made available for private sector development to assist in reducing the backlog. There were conflicting reports concerning the willingness of the 600 to 700 families in Alexandra to be resettled in Klipspruit West. Completion of the resettlement scheme was expected by 1980. The Minister announced that housing in Klipspruit would be available but the families would not be forced to move. The Department of Cooperation and Development announced that it had been decided in principle to acquire the area of Protea South for Africans, ending years of uncertainty for the area, in which there were reported to be 3 000 coloured residents.

Indian housing

The Secretary for Community Development reported that during 1977/78 265 houses were completed in Lenasia, and in 1979 182 units were built. There were 229 stands for sale to home builders. The Department aimed to achieve and maintain an annual building rate of 1 000 units. It was later reported that after a delegation from the Indian Management Committee and the city council had seen the Minister the promised 3 000 units had been increased to 4 000 within the next three years.

Approximately 1 000 of the new units planned would be used for resettlement, the rest for the township's homeless. 158 units would be ready in early 1980, 1 325 units by the end of 1980 and 1 068 by early 1981. A further 3 200 units were planned for the new area south of Gatsrand. A large part of Gatsrand would be given to private developers. A pleasure resort and recreation area was being developed to the north of Lenasia. Johannesburg’s town planning committee agreed to allow more than one family per house in Lenasia, to suspend
prosecutions for illegal structures and to allow houses with more than five bedrooms.
Dissatisfaction existed because new houses were being allocated to families moved from Pageview. Pageview's approximately 1 000 remaining families formed a committee to oppose resettlement and appeal for urban renewal and rezoning of the area as an Indian suburb. Many of the residents had already been moved from what had historically been an Indian area although most property had been owned by the City Council. The appeal was refused by the Minister, who stated that the area had been overcrowded and there would be no room for community facilities necessary for viable residential re-development. The Transvaal committee of the SA Indian Council announced that it would campaign for the reclaiming of Vrededorp and Fordsburg as Indian group areas. They stated that the complex could house 50 000 people and it was desirable to have an Indian area within Johannesburg's municipal boundaries.

It was reported that all privately-owned properties in Marlboro had been expropriated and detailed planning would start shortly. The sale of land and occupation of housing provided in schemes would commence in mid-1981. There would be a planned 600 houses and 300 stands.

Coloured and Indian people in white group areas

The Secretary for Community Development reported that during 1977/78 the number of complaints of illegal occupation had increased sharply in certain areas. These had been referred to the police for investigation. Many cases had been brought before the courts, investigations were continuing and a number of convictions had been obtained. In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Police said that from 1 February 1978 to 31 January 1979 fourteen white, 242 coloured, 194 Asian and 182 Africans were charged with illegal occupation in terms of the Group Areas Act. The tempo of prosecutions in Johannesburg increased during 1979 and in the first months of the year many reports appeared in the press of families threatened with eviction and of court cases involved. By April more than 250 families were involved. It was estimated that 2 000 to 3 000 people were living illegally in white areas. The issue highlighted the extreme pressure on accommodation in coloured and Indian group areas side by side with a surplus of white housing. In one case an Indian family camped for several weeks in a tent on the pavement outside the house it had been ordered to vacate, which was in the white area of Mayfair bordering on a controlled area, Fordsburg, in which Indians were allowed to live.

A voluntary group, Actstop (Act Now To Stop Evictions), was formed, consisting of lawyers, social workers, coloured and Indian leaders, white landlords and other concerned individuals, to assist affected families by defending their cases and requesting the authorities to allow the families to stay where they were until the housing backlog had been alleviated.

It was reported that public representatives in the areas concerned had received few complaints, that landlords involved were prepared to let their vacant premises to coloured and Indian families who were good tenants and that complaints to the police had been spearheaded by a right-wing organisation, the National Front.
Opposition spokesmen called for more flexibility in the application of the Group Areas Act to allow for local option in areas where different races had begun living together and blamed the situation on the acute housing shortage, for which the Government would have to bear some blame. The Johannesburg city council passed a motion proposed by Progressive Federal councillors that the Minister be asked to halt evictions until the Management Committee had reported on the housing shortage and formulated recommendations.

Both the opposition and pro-Government press called for a moratorium on evictions. The Minister of Community Development said that the surplus in white areas was a temporary one and when normal demand returned qualified people would want the accommodation, causing racial tension. He warned that stricter action might be necessary and that the families being defended in court were financed by outsiders in order to frustrate the due application of the law.

By the end of April it was reported that four courts had been set aside to hear the cases concerned. Under the auspices of Actstop fifty attorneys and advocates volunteered to defend all the cases without payment. It was reported that this was the most positive civil rights gesture in the history of the SA legal profession.

Many cases were postponed pending the outcome of two test cases. In the first, the 'Adams' case, evidence revolved around the housing shortage. It was argued that the intention of the legislature was to organise the social structure within the policy of separate development and not to render people homeless. The residence of the defendant in a white area was a reasonable step taken out of necessity. The magistrate found the defendant guilty and fined him R100 or 50 days suspended for 3 years. He stated that there was documentary proof of a chronic housing shortage of alarming proportions. It was not however the court's duty to interpret Government policy or its social consequences. The defendant had had legal, if unsatisfactory, accommodation in his own group area, therefore it was not a case of necessity. The case went on appeal. In the Supreme Court Mr Justice King, with Mr Justice Myburgh concurring, dismissed the appeal. The judge said he was bound by the provisions of the Act although if he were sitting in a court of equity he would have come to the assistance of the appellant.

The concept of accommodation in SA in 1979 did not include a ratinfested unhygienic and overcrowded hovel, the judge said. However, Mr Adams had failed to apply for a permit to live in a white area. Although basing his appeal on necessity, Mr Adams had not explored all the avenues open to him. Because of the serious housing shortage he felt sure the Minister would be reasonable when approached for temporary permits. The ejectment order was stayed until November and leave to appeal was recorded. The other case, the 'Werner' case, was referred to the Supreme Court as the defence challenged the validity of Proclamation 83 of 1962, defining white areas in central Johannesburg in terms of the Group Areas Act. In terms of the
new Criminal Procedure Act this fell outside the jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court. The defence contended that the proclamation was invalid because it discriminated against a certain section of the population and led to manifest injustices and a gratuitous interference in the rights of citizens. The implementation of the proclamation was so unreasonable as to be ultra vires. The application of the Group Areas Act was also in conflict with the Slums Act, which obliged local authorities to house their inhabitants decently. In the only previous test case in 1961, Minister of the Interior vs Lockhat, the Appellate Division had ruled that the right to treat different races unequally was implicit in the Group Areas Act.

In finding the defendant guilty and sentencing him to R75 or three months suspended for five years, the judge ruled that the proclamation was valid in spite of the fact that coloured and Indian people were discriminated against. To rule otherwise would deem the proclamation of fluctuating validity. The judge held that he was bound by the Appellate decision in the Lockhat case, but gave leave to appeal. He said he took into account in imposing the sentence that the availability of housing in coloured areas left much to be desired. The State's attitude was that over-population in the areas was brought about by the magnet of Johannesburg's economic expansion. Evidence had been given that everything possible was being done to provide adequate housing. The judge gave Werner four months to leave his flat and advised him to apply for a permit to live in a white area.

At the end of May the Attorney-General of the Transvaal ordered a month's postponement of pending cases in order to investigate the housing situation. It was estimated that at that stage approximately 300 people had been charged. A deputation from the NG church received an undertaking from the Minister that removals, but not prosecutions, would be halted until housing was available in approved areas. The Minister announced in Parliament that prosecutions could not be postponed indefinitely when the law was being broken. However, the courts were not ordering immediate evictions but giving six-months to one-year extensions. At the rate building was proceeding there was reason to hope that it would be possible to rehouse the families as eviction orders became effective. Otherwise he was willing to see if the extensions could be prolonged.

At the end of June the Attorney-General said that prosecutions would resume. There was a housing shortage but people could apply for permits to live in a white area.

Approximately 250 pending cases against tenants and landlords were postponed to await the outcome of the Appellate decision in the Werner case, set down for February 1980.

Spokesmen for Actstop said they intended applying for permits for the 300 people who had asked them for help. Previous applications had been rejected. Reacting to this, the Minister of Community Development said permit applications would be considered on merit. In terms of Government policy 'criteria' included hardship, the possibility of race conflict and whether adequate housing was available for the race group qualified to be in the area.
Speaking at the Transvaal NP congress the Minister said new legis-
lation streamlining the Act would be introduced in 1980. He hinted
that this would make it lawful to eject a tenant, who would then have Areas and
to show he was occupying the premises legally before applying to Housing: court
for an order restoring his occupation. At present tenants are al-
Transvaal lowed to remain in their dwellings until after conviction.

Other Transvaal areas
The interim housing committee of the Indian suburb of Actonville in Benoni
called on the Government to halt Indian settlement in Rynsoord (a previously
white area made available for Indian occupation in 1978) pending inquiries into
alleged irregularities. Actonville had a housing waiting list of at least 1 200
families and it was alleged that Rynsoord, which had 220 stands, was being taken
over by rich buyers instead of being used for housing poorer families. A Benoni
councillor explained that a committee of twelve consisting of councillors and the
Actonville Management scrutinised all applications. The issue highlighted the
intense pressure on available land and housing. The Minister of Planning and the
Environment stated that land around the area would be investigated for addition to
the Indian area.

It was later announced that a large tract of land to the east of Rynsoord would be
expropriated for further Indian township development. The new land was
estimated to be large enough to accommodate 1 000 houses. It was bordered on
two sides by deploclaimed land that would become extensions to the new
township when required.

Development of an Oriental Plaza was announced between Boksburg and Benoni
for Indian traders from Boksburg and the coloured suburb of Reigerpark. There
were 67 Indian traders in Boksburg. Reigerpark was to get a new business
complex.

It was reported that many Germiston Indian families were dissatisfied with the
planned move to the new suburb of Palm Ridge south of Alberton, claiming that
the area was dolimitic and 30 km from their shops and work in Germiston. The
town planner responsible for the area said that municipal transport would be
provided. The remaining coloured families in Germiston were to be moved to
Eden Park, a coloured township 20 km away within the Alberton municipal area.
The Germiston council would provide a bus service.

The mixed squatter area of Payneville near Springs was being demolished.
Coloured families would be moved to Geluksdal in Brakpan. Some had also been
resettled at Reigerpark in Boksburg and Alrapark in Nigel. The African families
would move to Kwa-Thema. Geluksdal was expected to house 6 000 people
initially. The proclaimed group area could accommodate 20 000.

Payneville adjoined Bakerton which had been proclaimed an Indian group area.
Negotiations were in progress for the incorporation of Payneville into the area.
The Bakerton Indian Consultative Committee reported serious overcrowding in
the area and appealed to the Springs Town Council for help in getting an
extension to Bakerton declared an Indian group area.

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Group Areas and Housing: Western Cape

Frustration was reported in Pretoria's Indian township of Laudium, which was overcrowded. The official housing waiting list was 1 300 but the Management Committee claimed the unofficial figure was 2 000. In nearby Claudius, proclaimed Indian in 1977, about 20 families had moved into existing white houses and 400 erven were being replanned by the Department of Community Development. The expansion of both areas was hampered by dolomite problems and, in the case of Claudius, the planned provincial road grid. The community made urgent representations for a new Indian area, and areas in the vicinity were being considered by the Group Areas Board.

No houses were built for Pretoria Indians during 1978. Sixteen were built for coloured people. The private sector erected 1 926 white houses in Pretoria and local authorities and the Department of Community Development 657. The officially estimated shortage was 640 coloured and 500 Indian houses.

The Pretoria Council's Planning Director said that urgent attention needed to be given to the provision of further housing in the coloured township of Eersterust. There were at present 2 249 homes of which more than half were subeconomic.

Plans were under way for the first phase development of extension 6 during 1980 which would include more than 1 500 residential plots and various amenities including a central business area.

An Indian businessman, Mr Packery, who had moved into a wealthy white Pretoria suburb, was prosecuted after complaints were received from residents. The company which had rented him the house was also charged. Mr Packery had lost his property in Laudium due to insolvency and had been informed that no rented accommodation would be available there for the next three years. He had stayed in an international hotel in Pretoria until it was sold. His application for a permit to live in the white suburb was refused. He appealed to the Minister against the refusal and was notified that the department would not consider his appeal. This decision was later reversed. His passport was withdrawn. The Minister of Community Development said his actions were not connected with the case.

When the case came to court the defence accused the Minister of contempt of court for having publicly made incorrect statements concerning the case while the matter was sub judice. The case was postponed. In November Mr Packery's attempt to obtain a court order setting aside the refusal of the Minister to grant him a permit was dismissed with costs in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Western Cape

The officially estimated shortage of coloured housing in the Cape Peninsula at the end of 1978 was 25 000.4

It was reported that of the 23 406 homes built for coloured people in 1978 with Department of Community Development loans, 13 170 were in the Cape Town area. Of these 13 145 were built by the local authority and 25 by the Department. The private sector had built 326 houses.42 Fifty-seven Indian homes were built, all by the local authority.

For the financial year ending 31 March 1979 Cape Town received R46,38m from the National Housing Fund and spent R57,56m. R88m was
earmarked for housing in the current financial year. The Deputy Minister of Community Development said in August that there were 19 092 uncompleted units in the building programme in the Cape metropolitan area. These included houses under construction as well as those for which funds had been allocated and tenders were pending. 4 700 units were needed annually to cater for natural increase. These together with dwellings for approximately 13 500 families in slums and shacks, 5 000 in overcrowded conditions in coloured areas and 4 500 still to be resettled from white areas, brought the housing need into the region of 30 000 units.

As in Johannesburg, the Cape Town council reported vacancies in its economic schemes for whites. There were also vacant flats and stands available for whites in schemes developed by the private sector. The Minister of Community Development said that there were 487 plots available for sale to coloured people in the Peninsula and none for Indians. Four plots would be made available for Indians in the next year and 875 for coloured people. He said that in subsequent years it would be possible to provide plots to meet the coloured demand.

From extra funds allocated to the city council later in the financial year it was reported that the council planned to allocate R10m for approximately 5 000 'infill' sub-economic homes in existing older coloured housing estates. This was opposed by residents of the areas concerned, who were supported by Labour Party members of the Association of Management Committees and the Western Province division of TUCSA. Residents claimed that it would create overcrowding and leave little room for facilities. They called on the council to look for land elsewhere and also to sell existing rented houses to the tenants.

Progress in the provision of housing at Mitchell's Plain as at 30 September 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Under contract</th>
<th>Ready for contract</th>
<th>Being planned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>475</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group Areas and Housing: Western Cape

Development, including facilities, had at that stage cost R110m. The areas were divided into eight suburbs, six of which were in various stages of development. Five were being developed by the city council while the sixth, Woodlands, was developed by the Cape Divisional Council. The Department of Community Development had also completed an experimental scheme of 24 core houses at Woodlands. The units built by the city council were all for sale. The Department reported that sales up to then had practically kept pace with delivery.

The railway line between Nyanga and Mitchells Plain was 25% built and the estimated completion date was June 1980. It would carry approximately 25 000 people daily.
It was reported in October that there were over 12,000 houses, housing more than 60,000 people. About 500 houses a month were being sold at prices ranging from R8,000 to R16,000. The minimum in-

Group Areas and Housing: Western Cape

come requirement was R240, and minimum deposit R100. It had been anticipated that the more affluent families would move to the area, creating vacancies in older schemes for families on the waiting list who couldn't afford Mitchell's Plain; but it was reported that this was not happening at the desired rate. At any one time approximately 1,500 completed homes were empty. The council stated that this was not abnormal for a scheme of this size. However, commentators pointed out that it was abnormal in the context of the housing shortage. In a survey by the council's housing committee in late 1978 it was found that only 6.5% of tenants in older schemes could afford Mitchell's Plain. Families also resisted moving from areas where they were established to a group area further away from the city centre.

Later in the year there were more than 2,000 empty new houses. A further reason for this was a reorganisation of the firm handling sales, Mitchells Plain Housing Sales, formed by a consortium of the companies carrying out the building contracts. Several senior staff left the firm following revelations of irregularities and accusations that some buyers had been victims of unscrupulous salesmen. It was reported that the Cape Town Council was for the first time considering the possibility of renting some of the houses, as it felt part of the problem was that too many houses were being offered for home ownership. This move was opposed by the Residents' Association. In November it was reported that one in three of the people who had bought homes were in arrears with bond repayments. The arrears figure was R600,000. Further tenders for 11,500 economic and subeconimic homes at a cost of nearly R100m were concluded, and also the provision of 1,140 plots. When these homes were ready Mitchells Plain would be three-quarters developed.

It was reported that negotiations were in progress for more land east of Mitchells Plain. Cape Town's Town Clerk expected the Yeld Commission report on the feasibility of coloured local government to recommend that the area should become a city within two to three years.

Development of the central business district would commence in 1980. A firm of property consultants had been retained by the Department of Community Development, and national white-owned chain stores would be allowed space in the CBD on a 49/51 shareholding basis.

In Atlantis the Department reported in the last quarter of 1978 a total of 8,257 houses in various planned schemes being developed by the Divisional Council, approximately 2,000 of which were completed. It was estimated that half a million people would be living there in 2010. By the middle of the year there were 3,330 homes and approximately 14,000 people. Only 60% of the accommodation was filled. Vandalism of empty accommodation was reported.
It was reported4l that many residents particularly in sub-economic schemes were having difficulties meeting their rent, services and transport costs and were in arrears and while an average of 150 families came to Atlantis each month, about 45 families left. There were more than 40 industries there and 60 more had received permission from the decentralisation board. Officially, approximately 75% of the work force were employed in Atlantis, while the rest had to commute to Cape Town. Transport costs were high. Average salaries were R150-250 per month. Planners from the University of Cape Town said it would take years before jobs and salaries there matched those offered in Cape Town and recommended that residential development be slowed down to match the number of jobs being created by industry.

Negotiations in respect of financing the rail line were not complete. This was planned as a goods, not a passenger rail service, as Atlantis was not planned to be a dormitory town.

The Director of Planning said the Government considered development at Atlantis to be the key to the economic development of the Western Cape. Planners at the University of Cape Town48 recommended the removal of decentralisation development incentives from the area and the slowing down of its development in the short term in order to bring development into the Cape Flats. Mitchell's Plain was unlikely to become fully self-sufficient unless given the full range of facilities and opportunities for urban living.

District Six was officially renamed Zonnebloem. The Minister of Community Development reported49 that when the area was proclaimed white, it was 94% coloured-occupied. 55.4% was owned by whites, 25% by coloured people and the rest by Indians. The Community Development Board had spent R24,7m on clearance, replanning (which was completed), and acquisition of properties, and seven properties had been sold for R233 880.50 7 701 coloured and 391 Indian families had been removed since proclamation, and 2 006 coloured and 114 Indian families remained. By July 8 065 coloured and 404 Indian families had been moved. The remaining families comprised about 10 000 people.

In the first stage of redevelopment, the Fawley Terrace flats were being renovated, an Indian business centre was being constructed, a pilot scheme of 20 group housing units was planned, 25 dwellings for the SA Police and 50 for the Defence Department were being built, and the Bloemhof Flats would be renovated when 600 coloured families there were resettled. It was later reported that the Cape Technikon was to site its new campus in the area.

The Ministers Fraternal of District Six warned of the detrimental effects on the remaining community of insecurity, demolition and pressure by the authorities to move out. Alternative accommodation was not readily available and there was a need for coloured housing near the city centre. They suggested recognising the permanence of those still there and urban renewal in a deplored District Six. Local inhabitants formed a Rent Residents and Ratepayers Civic Association to further their cause and embarked on a project to paint and renovate the buildings they still occupied.
The Secretary for Community Development said a point of no return had been reached and Government plans would not be changed. The Government refused a request by the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce that a portion of District Six be deproclaimed as a white group area. A group of architects and businessmen led by the councillor for the area also called for a rethink. Although it might be too late to change phase one, Walmer Estate, bordering the area and recently proclaimed coloured, could be extended to include the adjoining part of District Six where most of the remaining residents lived.

Group Areas and Housing: Western Cape

An urban renewal plan for Walmer, which would involve financial aid to residents to upgrade their houses instead of demolition and rebuilding, was widely welcomed. Planners claimed that District Six which had not developed due to an oversupply of housing and white reluctance to live in the area was unsuitable for white upper-middle class residential use. At a meeting organised by another newly-formed body, Friends of District Six, attended by Cape Town's mayor and deputy-mayor, the mayor undertook to ask the Prime Minister for the restoration of the area as an 'open' area. Petitions to the State President were organised by the Civic Association and community groups. In December the Prime Minister announced that the status of the area would not be changed.

The announcement concerning the Cape Technikon, which would occupy 20% of District Six and involve the demolition of approximately 200 houses, caused increased protest. Protest revolved around two issues—whether the new Technikon when built would cater for all races or would remain for whites only, and whether it was in the city's best interests to site it in District Six. The authorities insisted that the site was the most suitable. However, opposition came from the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce which organised a protest symposium. Several large firms announced their decision to withdraw financial support from the Technikon if the authorities proceeded with their plans. Answering a question on the Group Areas Board investigation into parts of Woodstock and Salt River in 1978 the Minister of Environmental Planning said the Board had received representations from 899 people (including petitions) and sixteen agencies. Six agencies wanted the area to remain white, three wanted it coloured and seven wanted it deproclaimed. The majority of individual representations were in favour of deproclamation. In November it was announced that two sections of the areas concerned, which had been officially white but were de facto coloured, were to be declared coloured areas. A third section, which had also been white although populated by roughly equal numbers of white and coloured people, would not be decided on for the
time being and thus retained its previous official status. A fourth section would be deproclaimed as a white area and left controlled and a fifth section which was previously controlled remained controlled. These two sections were zoned inter alia for industrial purposes and the Minister of Environmental planning stated that 'the purpose...is that they may be freely utilised, i.e. without permit, for industrial purposes by all population groups'.

The mayor and other prominent local residents commented that it had been hoped that the whole area would be declared open for all races. The mayor said the only thing that could be said in favour of the zoning decision was that it created another area close to the city centre where coloured people could live. The Theron Commission had previously recommended that Woodstock and Salt River be declared coloured group areas. It was reported that most of the sections declared coloured were owned by White landlords and that after the announcement property prices rose significantly. It was feared that the residents might be forced out as the houses were sold to wealthier coloured people anxious to live close to the city centre.

No finality had been reached on the proclamation of an Indian group area in the southern part of the Peninsula. The Minister of Community Development said the recommendations of a committee appointed by him to investigate social conditions in Sea Point and Green Point had been accepted in principle and a standing committee of the Department would proceed with implementation.14

The leader of the opposition said that certain problems associated with the presence in the area of large numbers of non-residents were essentially social and class and not race problems and should be analysed as a Peninsula-regional issue. Social amenities should be provided on a Peninsula-wide basis as working class people serving the area had been separated by Group Areas Act removals from their natural community base near to where they worked."

Eastern Cape

The Port Elizabeth city council built 600 houses for coloured families during 1978. The Department of Community Development built 72 for Indians.6 The official housing shortage was 3 400 coloured and 140 Indian homes. No houses for Indians and 550 for coloured people would be provided in 1979 from the National Housing Fund.7 The Minister said that provisionally the council's coloured building plan from 1977/8 to 1982/83 remained the same, but it was being reviewed.

Although the time spans given according to the plan might not coincide exactly with those given in replies to questions on housing provision, it appeared that the programme was falling behind as seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing 1977/78</th>
<th>1978/79</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>planned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 000</td>
<td>1 025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626 210 538</td>
<td>1 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>479</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group Areas and Housing: Eastern
The Port Elizabeth council's housing department said in its annual report the waiting list for rented properties stood at 6,901 at the end of 1978. It estimated the housing need at 7,676, based on a 1977 survey of the coloured population—4,105 units to house those in squatter and slum areas and 3,571 to rehouse overcrowded families. The estimated housing shortage in 1979 was 8,500, about 3,000 of which were for families in the higher income brackets.

As in other main centres, the housing department had problems filling vacancies in its schemes for whites. More than 200 flats were empty in Algoa Park, a white scheme adjoining coloured areas including the squatter area of Missionvale. The outgoing president of the Chamber of Commerce pleaded for Algoa Park to be reproclaimed coloured, and the Coloured Management Committee called for the flats to be made available to any family who could afford the rental. The white tenants, with the support of the councillor for the area, opposed this move. The Secretary for Community Development stated the area would remain white and said efforts would be made to expedite the financing of 700 homes to rehouse the Missionvale squatters in Bethelsdorp. Coloured spokesmen stated that it was illogical to spend money to provide coloured housing in order to keep Algoa Park white. The Coloured Management Committee also asked the council to call for reproclamation of Stuart Township, originally built for coloured people and later rezoned white. The council planned to demolish 127 empty homes there. However, coloured spokesmen claimed it would be cheaper to renovate them than build new homes for coloured people. Coloured people queued to buy plots at Gelvandale Extension 2. The Management Committee then recommended that plots in extension 7 should not be sold on a first come first served basis but on merit, with preference given to married couples with no other property.

Municipal housing department studies revealed other chronic problems in the coloured group areas. Unemployment had caused an upsurge in rent arrears and evictions. More than a quarter of coloured workers earned less than R100 per month. There was a lack of training facilities. The crime rate was perturbing. A transportation study revealed that coloured group areas were dormitories, far from employment and traditional shopping and recreation areas. New areas had problems of higher rentals and higher transport costs.

The annual report of the chairman of the Coloured Management Committee provided details of housing being provided for coloured people. The major scheme was the Bloemendal New Town project, designed to house 200,000 people by the turn of the century. Work had started on 120 bedsitter units at Schauderville; 150 economic flats and 20 sub-economic houses for the aged at Korstenville were due for completion by the end of the year; Chatty Extension 17,
started last year, would provide 194 sub-economic houses, 92 maisonettes and 303 core houses; 285 economic houses were due to be completed in Chatty No 22; 120 bedsitters were built in the Korsten-Schauder area; 245 economic houses were built in Bethelsdorp Extension 22; and the Durban Road project in Korsten was continuing, designed to house 500 people.

The chairman said there was a growing trend for homeowners to extend their houses.

In terms of Proclamation 256 in the Government Gazette of 19 October a group area to the west of the Indian township of Malabar was deproclaimed Chinese and part of it was proclaimed Indian to allow for the extension of Malabar. The Port Elizabeth Indian Management Committee criticised the City Council for once again delaying the building of a civic centre in Malabar.

It was reported that the East London Council had approved a Coloured Management Committee proposal that families in arrears have stop orders against their salaries paid by employers. The housing department had approached major employers.

The Council, in consultation with the Coloured and Indian Management committees, had blueprint a housing programme. The current backlog was 1400 coloured and 150 Indian homes, excluding the demand for serviced sites. Very low income families would be housed in older, cheaper schemes while occupants with economic incomes would be moved into current schemes. A start was made with 93 economic units.

It was reported that the council was to propose to the Department of Community Development that they buy 970 houses in Duncan Village, occupied by Africans but planned to be reproclaimed coloured when the Africans were moved to Mdantsane, in order to alleviate the coloured shortage. This was opposed by the residents of Duncan Vill'age and by the Coloured Management Committee who were not in favour of moving Africans in order to house coloured people. There was a move on the part of the Duncan Village Community Council to have the Government reverse its policy for the area and allow African ownership in terms of the 99-year leasehold scheme. Coloured people did not want to cause racial friction by being seen to want to take over the area. Many coloured families had already been allocated houses in the area.

The Indian Management Committee rejected development in the Fitchett Road area and called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the opening up of the whole of East London. The committee agreed that work would carry on in Braelyn Extension 4 and 5, a select home ownership area.

Amalinda Common was declared a coloured area. The chairman of the Coloured Management Committee welcomed this as a logical extension to Buffalo Flats.

Natal

As in other centre's the Durban picture was one of a shortage of Indian and coloured and a surplus of white housing. The Durban Corporation's report revealed that at the beginning of the year there were more than 230 empty flats in white schemes, despite intensive efforts to fill them. The official shortage in the Durban complex (ie Durban, Queensburgh, Illovo, Umbogintwini, Westville,
Amanzimtoti, Kingsburgh, Pinetown, New Germany, Kloof, Yellowwood Park) was
Coloured 2 050
Indian 11 80061
The Minister of Community Development said the expected natural increase
would require 2 000 units a year, so 21 800 would have to be provided in the next
five years. On average 4 500 would be provided each year, so 22 500 would be
built within the five-year period.62
During 1978, the following housing was built in the Durban complex:63
White Coloured Indian
Department and Local
Authorities
97
1 669 1 868
481
Group Areas and Housing: Natal
Private Sector
1 437
26
468
In the rest of Natal, 1 223 Indian housing units were provided from the National
Housing Fund.6 In 1979 there was expected completion of 3 500 Indian homes in
Durban and in 1980 5 000. There were 5 804
RRS - R
482
Group Areas and
Housing: Natal
incomplete units in schemes to which the Department was committed, and
schemes comprising 8 372 units would be started when funds were made
available, totalling 14 176.65
The Durban Corporation's housing waiting list for Indians was far larger than the
officially estimated shortage. At mid-year it stood in the region of 25 000 of
which nearly 17 000 were for sub-economic housing.
The coloured waiting list was 2 850. Tenders for 1 200 houses were prepared in
January.
The Department of Community Development reported that as at October 1978
funds had been made available for schemes comprising 5 700 units in the Indian
township of Phoenix, of which 2 896 were completed. A further approximately 8
000 houses were awaiting funding. The Durban council was planning further
schemes. Community facilities had not kept pace with housing development. The
Minister of Community Development said that another thirteen schools would be
virtually completed during the year. R4,8m had been allocated for general
facilities for Indian areas, much of which was for Phoenix. A regional shopping
centre was an urgent necessity.6
A hospital was planned in 1981 and two outpatient clinics would be provided in the meanwhile. There was no police station or community centre. The Phoenix Working Committee reported in May that 70% of the resettled community were in financial trouble. Many came from slum settlements and now had to bear higher rents and travel costs. Many children were undernourished. The new coloured township of Newlands East had 3,000 inhabitants. It was reported that the provision of facilities had improved. A lack of postal services, telephones, shops and schools had made coloured families on the waiting list reluctant to move there. The first 600 unit phase of the coloured township at Mariannridge was complete. Unemployment, high transport costs and a lack of facilities had again made the area difficult to fill initially.

Reports appeared in the press about the plight of shack dwellers at New Farm and Inanda—many inhabitants had left various areas which were declared white in the 1960s. New Farm had approximately 6,000 residents. It had been taken over by the council and its people were to be rehoused in Phoenix. Inanda however did not fall within the council's jurisdiction.

It was reported that an ad-hoc committee was formed in Chatsworth to start expediting the provision of community facilities with the assistance of businesses and self-help. 250 sub-economic homes in Chatsworth had been sold to tenants out of 4,652 that were available for sale.

The waiting list for Indian housing in Pietermaritzburg was over 2,000. Many vacancies were reported at Westgate, a white scheme. No further housing for white or coloured was being planned. The current Eastwood coloured housing scheme would provide a further 900 units. The Northdale extension 9 and 10 schemes would provide a further 2,266 economic and sub-economic Indian homes. The provision of high-rise infill housing was being investigated. It was reported that there was no further land available for Indian housing.

The Pietermaritzburg Local Affairs Committee recommended to the city council that the newly established advisory committee for housing matters be asked to find ways of controlling high land prices in Indian areas. Because of the artificial shortage created by the Group Areas Act, when additional land was demarcated for Indian occupation, the price rose. The Department of Community Development informed the council that this was impossible and impractical.

In reply to a parliamentary question, the Minister of Environmental Planning said the Group Areas Board had made recommendations to him on the future zoning of Cato Manor. He had asked for further information on the surrounding area in order to enable him to take a rational decision on Cato Manor in the wider context. A confidential interdepartmental investigation was being conducted. The Minister of Community Development and Indian Affairs said it was intended to make whatever area was returned to the Indians a top level residential area. The Natal Provincial Council informed the Government that it was opposed to returning the whole area to the Indians and asked for a round table conference of all groups concerned. Mr Reddy, on behalf of the SA Indian Council, and supported by the Reform Party, reiterated that the Indian people would accept no
compromise on the return of the area to them. The Natal Indian Congress and the Coloured Labour Party called for the area to be open to all groups. In November it was announced that nearly all of the original area was to be deproclaimed white and proclaimed Indian. A section was to be controlled to be used for sport and recreation and a portion of the area was to remain white. It had been decided not to allocate any part of the area to the coloured group. It was expected that the area would be redeveloped as a showpiece suburb, housing 10 000 people. It became apparent after the announcement that there were various views among the Indian community concerned with the area as to who should have priority claims there—the self-help group, poorer people who needed to live in the inner city, present tenants, former landowners, etc but Indian leaders seemed agreed that land speculation would be undesirable. Coloured and Indian group areas were being investigated at Richards Bay.

References
This chapter deals with coloured and Indian housing. See also 'urban African' Annual Survey 1978 p 377
Ibid 1977 p 428
Hansard 19 col 9208
Ibid 4 Q col 240, Senate Hansard 9 Q col 41
The regional shortages quoted in answer to a question in the Senate are more than the total as given in answer to a question in the Assembly. Hansard 4 Q col 240
See annual Survey 1978 p 380
9 Secretary for Community Development Annual Report, 1 Oct 1977-30 Sept 1978, RP 24/79
Hansard 13 col 5855
"Estimate of expenditure for the financial year ended 31 March 1980, RP 2 and 5/79 Secretary for Community Development op cit p 20 " Senate Hansard 7 Q col 31
483
Group Areas and Housing: Natal

484
Group Areas and Housing
4 The report states that the particulars were received from local authorities which submitted returns and that the data, while not being absolutely accurate, are informative.
1 The administration of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was given to the Dept of Community Development in October 1975.
6 By August, ie nearly a year later, the official figure for the Cape Town metropolitan area was 13 500 remaining in squatter conditions-9 650 had been rehoused. 11
Hansard 13 col 5857 ,1 Ibid col 5791
1 Secretary for Community Development op cit p 13 20 Hansard 3 Q col 132 ,
Ibid 6 Q col 387 21 Ibid 3 Q col 143 26 Secretary for Community Development
op cit p 33 14 Hansard 13 Q col 789 25 Terminology used in Hansard. Judging by previous figures given (see Annual Survey 1978 p 384) this refers mainly or wholly to coloured traders. 26 Hansard 13 Q col 791 11 Ibid 13 Q col 789, Senate Hansard 11 Q col 49 26 Ibid 6 Q col 389 29 Senate Hansard 11 Q col 49 36 Hansard Standing Committee on Indian Affairs col 1052 Hansard 19 Q col 1086
62 Commission of Enquiry into Legislation Affecting the use of Manpower RP 32/79 66 Standing Committee on Indian Affairs col 1050 14 Hansard 13 col 5905 'Ibid 31 cols 6231 et seq 66 Star 13 March
Ibid 23 August
66 Information supplied by the Regional Representative, Dept of Community Development 31 October
69 Senate Hansard 2 Q col 2 40 Hansard Standing Committee on Indian Affairs col 1044 Hansard 4 Q col 245
42 Senate Hansard 4 Q col 17 46 Argus 14 August 41 Hansard 19 Q col 1093 11 Secretary for Community Development op cit 46 Hansard 4 Q col 228 41 Cape Herald 12 May, Argus 21 June, Burger 3 to 5 July 48 Dewar, David and George Ellis, Low income housing policy in SA. Univ of Cape Town
Urban Problems Research Unit 11 Hansard 13 col 5870 56 Ibid 3 Q col 144
5 Annual Survey 1978 o EP Herald 14 June

EDUCATION
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS AND GENERAL MATIERS
Total expenditure from the State Revenue Account on education during the 1977-1978 financial year was as follows:
R-million
The provinces (white) 623,495
,Dept of National Education (mainly white) 253,429
Dept of Coloured Relations and the CRC 144,173
Dept of Indian Affairs 60,801
Dept of Education and Training 110,382
Other State Departments 40,196
Total 1,232,476
Expenditure on African education in the financial years 1977-78 and 1978-79 was as follows:
R-million R-million
1977/8 79,664 1978/9 99,505
The estimated expenditure by the Department of Education and Training for 1979-80 showed an increase of R37,946m over the previous year's estimates of R143,858m. (These figures do not include expenditure by homeland governments.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>R-million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>7,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>84,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>26,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Education</td>
<td>39,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational, Trade and Industrial Training</td>
<td>998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of Handicapped Children</td>
<td>1,011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>R-million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>6,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>1,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Supporting and associated services</td>
<td>13,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statistics and expenditure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>181,804</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department of Public Works budgeted the following additional amounts for Accommodation, Structures and Engineering Services:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary and secondary schools for Africans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical and vocational education for Africans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Estimates 1979-80: 183,194

Total expenditure from the State Revenue Account on education for Indians during the 1977-78 financial year amounted to R51 848 690.1 Capital expenditure during this period amounted to R4772 525.6 An amount of R54 522 500 was voted for Indian Education (excluding technical and university education) during the 1978-79 financial year. This represented an increase of R5 047 500 over the amount voted the previous year.

Total expenditure on the education of coloured persons by the Department of Coloured Relations during 1977-78 amounted to R117 044 331.8 Capital expenditure during the same period amounted to R20 694 401.9

According to the Department of Statistics the estimated total expenditure on education for whites during the 1977-78 financial year was R886m.0 This included R503 476 000 spent by the provinces and R382 524 000 by the Department of National Education.

The Minister of Statistics said in the Assembly that capital expenditure on schools for white pupils during 1977-78 amounted to R74,1m." A total of R9 748 616, was spent on the provision of books and stationery by the provinces during the 1977-78 financial year.
Estimated per capita expenditure during 1977-78 on school pupils of the various racial groups was given by the responsible Ministers in the Assembly:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Group</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>149.24</td>
<td>363.53</td>
<td>185.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>236.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans in 'white area'</td>
<td>48.99</td>
<td>93.42</td>
<td>54.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pupil-Teacher Ratios 487

Pupil-teacher ratios were calculated using educational statistics supplied by the Department of Statistics. Ratios are for primary, secondary and special classes:4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1:19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1:19.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Admission of black Pupils to white Private Schools

Following the decision of the Catholic Bishop's Conference to continue admitting black pupils to church schools, applications for admission were received by many 'white' Catholic schools in the country. The Government's decision that the question was ultimately a matter for the respective provincial authorities to decide led to different approaches being adopted in the various provinces.

The Cape and Natal Provincial Administrations appeared to take a more lenient line on the admission of black pupils to white private schools. Mr Frans Loots, MEC in charge of education in the Cape Provincial Council, said in May that a total of 605 blacks were attending private schools for whites in the Cape this year.5 Last year's attendance figure was 391.16 Earlier in the year Mr Loots had said that his department expected an increase of approximately 10 % on the 1978 admission figures.

More Natal schools opened their doors to black pupils during 1979 and those which already had some black pupils attending their schools applied for permission to admit a larger number. A report in the Natal Mercury said that there would be a considerable increase in the numbers of Indians attending private schools in Natal during 1979.' A white American Rotary exchange student attended a school for Indians in Natal while she was in the country.'8

The Transvaal Provincial Administration, however, took a more rigid line in interpreting Government policy on the issue. Of the 310 applications for admission received, only eleven were approved.19 The conservative administrator of the province, Mr Sybrand van Niekerk, threatened to deregister schools which continued to admit blacks without permission2° after Catholic schools decided to continue admitting pupils regardless of their race. Despite earlier central government intervention in the dispute in an effort to resolve it,"1 and later meetings between Mr van Niekerk and Catholic authorities, the issue remained deadlocked. In May Mr van Niekerk instructed inspectors of schools, as part of their normal inspections, to ascertain which schools had admitted black pupils.
illegally Catholic schools remained adamant that black pupils attending their schools without permission would not be expelled. Mr van Niekerk's resignation as administrator, following his nomination for the parliamentary seat of Koedoesport in May, and the appointment of Mr Willem Cruywagen as his successor defused the issue. Mr Cruywagen undertook to examine the whole situation before any further action was taken. At the September meeting of the synod of the Johannesburg diocese of the Anglican Church a resolution was passed calling on Angli-

School Education Africans

can schools in the province to open their doors to black pupils and disregard the attitude of provincial officials in this respect. The resolution noted that the attitude of the Transvaal provincial officials was the most conservative in the country with respect to school integration and it was because of this that the call to disregard the official viewpoint was made. However, the Government was apparently not alone in opposing the integration of private schools. A call was made at the Soweto Introspection Conference, organised by the Committee of Ten, for blacks not to send their children to white schools. Following papers delivered by Mr Fanyana Mazibuko and Ms Marcia Tlhogane, the conference rejected the idea of black parents sending their children to integrated schools. Mr Mazibuko said that the black community should adopt the slogan "organise, educate and agitate" as exemplifying its attitude towards the education system. In terms of this slogan integrated schools had no relevance to the black community.

German Schools

The request by the West German Government to German schools in SA, subsidised by Bonn, to open their doors to pupils of all races resulted in the admission of approximately 88 black pupils to the Deutscheskool in the Cape as part-time pupils. In March the West German ambassador had warned the school that if it did not open its doors, the West German Government would withdraw its subsidy. Opposition to the plan to admit black pupils was encountered at the school's annual meeting. Despite threats of a boycott by some parents, reports indicated that these had little support with most parents adopting a 'wait and see' attitude.

AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION

The election of Mr P.W. Botha as Prime Minister in the latter part of 1978 brought with it a cabinet reshuffle. Mr Willem Cruywagen was replaced by Mr T.N.H. 'Punt' Janson. The appointment was welcomed as Mr Janson was regarded as pragmatic. However, the resignation of the State President brought with it yet another cabinet reshuffle and Dr F. Hartzenburg, Mr Janson's Deputy Minister in the prior cabinet, was promoted to head the Department. Dr Hartzenburg's appointment was cautiously received. He was regarded as a 'conservative' politician and it was feared that his appointment might signal the adoption of a more rigid line than that followed by his predecessor. Calls for reform in education for Africans
Despite the passage of the new Education and Training Act (discussed below) in June calls for reform in African education continued to be made by educationists and laymen. Major grievances were the perceived disparities between African and white education and, most importantly, the continuation of the separate nature of the education system, once more legislatively enshrined.

During the parliamentary debate on the Education and Training vote, the Minister, Mr Janson, outlined his department's aims as the achievement of compulsory education, eventual parity in expenditure and the raising of the qualifications of teachers. He acknowledged that Africans were suspicious of his department and that there was great room for improvement in the field of African education.

Attacking Bantu education for having been designed to make Africans hewers of wood and drawers of water, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said it was natural for blacks to clamour for a uniform education system" but said that this did not necessarily mean uniform curricula. Giving evidence for the defence in the trial of the Soweto Eleven, Dr F.E. Auerbach described African education as inferior to white education for a number of reasons. Briefly outlining these as the better qualifications of white teachers, the greater per capita expenditure on white school children and the overcrowding prevalent in African schools, Dr Auerbach said he did not personally believe that African education was designed to keep Africans in an inferior position. However, the African community perceived Dr Verwoerd's 1953 speech in this way.

Dr Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, addressing a gathering to mark the Year of the Child, echoed this sentiment when he said that one of the main objectives of the NP when it came to power was "to stunt the mind of the black child in order to stay in power for ever".

Calling for an ending of the separation of education systems in SA, Mr Nathan Molope, vice-chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee representing teachers who resigned in protest against Bantu education during 1976, said that as long as there were separate education systems for white and black blacks did not expect any equality with white education.

The new Minister of Education and Training, Dr Hartzenburg, committed himself to carry out his tasks "with the greatest consultation and co-operation with those concerned".

In January the Education Commission of the SA Institute of Race Relations presented its report, 'Education for a new era', setting out alternate education policy guidelines for SA. The principles on which the Commission based its recommendations were:

(i) an emphasis on equality of opportunity with supplementary allocation of resources for disadvantaged groups;
(ii) no legal separation of the various race and language groups in SA and positive efforts to encourage integration;
(iii) curriculum content should stress, in addition to the learning of basic linguistic, mathematical and scientific skills, the development of the critical ability of pupils;
(iv) improved adult education and literacy facilities;
(v) a single education department and administrative system;
(vi) the recognition of non-state educational institutions, so long as such institutions were compatible, in broad terms, with the Society's norms and maintained acceptable educational standards.

The Commission recommended that there should be as little separation of language and ethnic groups as possible, that there should be a high degree of decentralisation of the control and management of educational institutions, that a greater proportion of SA's GNP (at least 489
School EducationAfricans

490 8 %) should be spent on education and that there should be deliberate discrimination in expenditure in favour of the disadvantaged groups. It also recommended the revision of the school curriculum and School of the content of textbooks so as to reflect the multi-cultural nature of Education- SA society and, finally, that adult education should enjoy a high priorAfricans: ity. The commission's report was sent to all members of parliament and Legislation many educationists.
Education and Training Act, No 90

The Act replaces the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Bantu Special Education Act of 1964. A number of representations from interested organisations, including the SA Institute of Race Relations, were submitted to the Government recommending various amendments to the draft bill analysed in last year's Survey. Several amendments to the draft bill were accepted by the Government after the receipt of the various representations and reference of the bill to a select committee. Only those aspects of the Act which represent changes from the original bill are detailed hereunder. For other details of the Act see Survey 1978 pp 403 to 404.

One of the changes is the earlier introduction of tuition in an official language. Whereas in terms of the draft bill this was to occur after standard four, the Act provides for tuition in an official language to be introduced after standard two. The Act also states the Government's intention to introduce free and compulsory education where the draft bill simply stated that it was to be compulsory.

The Act empowers the Minister to establish, disestablish, erect and maintain both state and community schools. In terms of the draft bill the Minister was not empowered to erect community schools.

Tuition fees for attending state schools, state-aided schools and community schools are not payable except where the Minister may determine fees at schools offering courses in advanced technical education or courses for the education of adults and in respect of children whose parents are not resident in the Republic.

Registration for state-aided and private schools is provided for in terms of Clause 8 of the Bill which states "Any person who wishes to provide education to a black person, except at a State school or a community school, shall apply to the
Department for the registration of a school, and he shall not provide such education before the school has been registered in terms of this section”.

Institutions which are exempted from this subsection are:
(i) correspondence colleges registered in terms of the Correspondence Colleges Act of 1965, and providing a course exclusively by means of correspondence;
(ii) schools, established or controlled by a church solely for the purpose of providing purely theological training to prospective ministers of religion or evangelists, and any school providing exclusively religious tuition;
(iii) any person providing without reward informal education which does not lead to the acquisition of any diploma, certificate or statement;
(iv) schools which are registered or approved by another education department and providing education to an African whose enrolment at the school has been approved by the Department.

Clause 22(f) has been altered to allow teachers to criticise the administration of the Department of Education and Training provided it is done at a meeting convened by a recognised teachers’ association. Previously if a teacher commented adversely in public on the administration of any department of state (including a provincial administration) he would have been guilty of misconduct.

The Act provides for the recognition, for the purpose of consultation, of associations of teachers at the discretion of the Minister. At the request of such an association the Minister may establish a Teachers’ Council for Black Teachers which will register all professionally qualified teachers and every African employed in a full-time permanent teaching post at a school and draw up a Code of Conduct. Should a teacher contravene the Code of Conduct he may be struck off. If a teacher’s name is removed from the register or if the Council refuses to register him, he will be deemed to have resigned.

Access to schools has been widened in that members of the community may attend a school activity at the invitation of the principal. Finally the Act provides for the Minister to have power to make regulations on a broad range of topics such as those relating to the control and treatment of pupils at state, state-aided and community schools, the medium of instruction in schools and the way in which parents are to be consulted about this, and the conditions and circumstances under which teachers employed at state schools, state-aided schools and community schools may be required to become and remain members of a medical aid fund or medical aid society.

Reaction to the Act

Reaction to the Act was mixed. While improvements to the draft bill, such as the commitment to free tuition and the establishment of a Teachers’ Council for Black Teachers only at the request of a recognised teachers’ association, were welcomed, reservations about other aspects of the Act were expressed. The African community, contending that separate facilities could not be equal, was greatly disappointed that once again the Government had failed to bring education for Africans under the Department of National Education and thus reaffirmed its commitment to separate educational systems for the country.
During the second reading debate on the bill, Mr Ray Swart, PFP, moved an amendment declining to pass the bill because it:
(a) perpetuates an educational system in the Republic which differentiates on the basis of race;
(b) fails to provide a positive programme for the elimination of the grave disparities in education and other school facilities available for white and black children respectively;
(c) fails to remove the basic causes of frustration and discontent expressed by blacks about the education of their children."
Nevertheless he praised the bill for the improvements contained in it and welcomed the provision exempting schools registered with

Statistics

According to the Report of the Department of Education and Training for 1978 the number of schools, teachers, pupils and population for the years 1974, 1976, and 1978 were as follows:"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% at school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>11 947 10986</td>
<td>62 480 63 342 66764 1975.</td>
<td>3 505 860 3 309 300</td>
<td>17745000</td>
<td>19.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>11 056 excluded from</td>
<td>3 247 292</td>
<td>3 247 292</td>
<td>16093000</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>11 1056 included from</td>
<td>3 309 300</td>
<td>3 309 300</td>
<td>15815000</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The departmental report gave the full-time pupils by area as:

'Common' Homelands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>6 383 4 673</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number and types of schools for Africans in the Republic (excluding the Transkei from 1977 and Bophuthatswana from 1978) in 1977 and 1978 were as follows:15

| Schools and Sections of Schools 1978 | Lower Primary (Sub A-Std 2) | Higher Primary (Std 3-Std 6) | Primary (Sub A-Std 6) | Junior Secondary (Std 6-Std 8) | Secondary (Std 6-Std 10) | Technical Secondary | Teacher Training | Advanced Technical Training | Vocational Training (Girls) | Theological Training | Special Schools | Night Schools | Technical Centres | ad hoc Industrial Schools | In-service Training Centres (Teachers) | Adult Education Centres |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11 422                              | 3 297                       | 713                           | 591                    | 7 941                         | 2 397                    | 13 591              | 442               | 1 917 941               | 27 713 591              | 493              | 27            | 10          | 73             | 11                | 7                       | 3                        | 52                       |

Totals may differ as one school may provide education of more than one type. The number of schools in Bophuthatswana in 1977 (figures for 1978 were not available) was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Schools by Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Territorial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community 927
Mine 2
Scheduled 4
Special 3
RC Church 12
Private 4
Night Schools and Continuation Classes 20
Hospital 2
Total 999

Schools and Sections of Schools (Bophuthatswana) Lower Primary
233
Higher Primary 97
Primary 439
Junior Secondary 163
Senior Secondary 34
Teacher Training 5
Trade Training (Boys) 1
Vocational Training (Girls) 4
Technical Education 2
Night Schools 20
Commercial Schools 1
Total 999

All schools in the Transkei in 1978 were government schools. The following information was given in the report but the total appears to be an error.

494 Schools and Sections of Schools 1978
Junior Primary 151
SePiAO WVCM 962
School Junior Secondary 142
Education Senior Secondary 110
Africans Vocational 4
Teacher Training 9
Technical Training 1
Total 2380

Government Policy on Building Schools
The chronic shortage of schools for African pupils was again highlighted in 1979. Replying to the second reading debate on the Education and Training Act, Mr Janson said that at least 7 000 additional classrooms at a cost of R10 000 each would have to be built just to eliminate double session teaching at African schools.

The Education and Training Act gave the Government authority to erect and maintain both state and community schools out of money appropriated by parliament for that purpose. Mr Janson promised that every effort would be made to eliminate the backlog but it would be foolish to set out a five or ten year plan to do this because of financial considerations." It was estimated that the cost of eliminating the backlog would be R50m.
The Department of Education and Training's public relations officer, Mr Gerhard Engelbrecht, said in April that the Department expected to be able to solve the shortage of school accommodation for Africans over the next five years. He said the Department envisaged building, among other schools, twenty-five senior secondary schools, two teacher training colleges and sixteen technical centres. The West Rand Administration Board had repaired 127 schools in Soweto and 33 in the West Rand which were damaged during 1976-41 and in June plans were announced to finish building an additional 392 classrooms in Soweto by the end of the year. In September Dr Hartzenburg announced that the Government had budgeted R24,8m for the erection of schools for Africans in the common area.

Voluntary Contributions

Various funds, in particular those established by newspapers in the main centres, continued to channel money collected from the public into African education. The Daily News' Learn Fund allocated over R87 000 for building schools in KwaZulu. The fund provides 50% of the cost of a school, the remainder coming from the local community. The Star's Teach Fund which had built 43 schools in Soweto, branched out and in collaboration with the Urban Foundation began building 18 new classrooms at three African high schools in Cape Town. The total cost of the venture was expected to be R124 000.

Various other organisations, both national and international, provided assistance to African education. The SA Co-operative Citrus Exchange commenced its programme to provide more schools for Africans by building a secondary school in Soweto. In line with Mr Janson's undertaking to do everything possible to eliminate the shortage of school accommodation various international bodies were approached to give assistance. Kodak announced in May that it was making a grant of R130 000 to further African education in SA and later in the same month the retiring British ambassador Sir David Scott, announced that the British Government would make R750 000 available for the same purpose in this financial year. It was expected that further amounts would be given in the future.

Double Sessions and Platoon System

During 1978 the following numbers of schools, teachers and pupils were involved in double sessions or the platoon system. Figures for 1977 are provided for comparative purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Double Sessions (Sub A - Sub B)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Schools</td>
<td>495</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pupils</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease over 1977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Platoon System (Sub A - Std 5)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pupils</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase over 1977</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School Education Africans

1978    1977
(excluding Bophuthatswana the Transkei)
and the Transkei)
4 556 Not available
8058 9411
636 423 784 733
1 353 teachers and 148 310 pupils.
1978 1977
(excluding (excluding the
Bophuthatswana Transkei)
and the Transkei)
652 Not available
2436 1798
126016 100477
636 teachers and 25 539 pupils.
The number of schools, teachers and pupils affected by double sessions and the
platoon system in Bophuthatswana in 1976 and 1977 were as follows:
Double Session (Sub A - Sub B)
No. of Schools: No. of Teachers: No. of Pupils:
1977
576
1158 114718
1976
644
1153 116200
496
School EducationAfricans: Enrolment
Platoon System (Sub A - Std 5)
No. of Schools: No. of Teachers: No. of Pupils:
1977
5
28
1 769
1976
Not available
Pupil Enrolment
Enrolment figures for 1978 were extracted from the Report of the Department of
Education and Training and exclude figures for Bophuthatswana and the
Transkei.
In reply to a question the Minister of Education and Training said that it was
estimated that 70,1 % of African children in the age group
7 to 15 years were enrolled at schools in the Republic in 1978.41
1977 Enrolment figures for Bophuthatswana were -extracted from the Report of
the Department of Education, Bophuthatswana, for that year. Later figures were
not available.
Sub A Sub B Std 1
Std 2
Total Lower Primary 230 305
Std 3 41 371
Std 4 33 609
Std 5 30 294
Total Higher Primary 105 274
Total Primary 335 579
Form 1 25 935
Form 2 22 954
Form 3 11 075
Form 4 3 129
Form 5 15 577
Total Secondary 64 650
Total Enrolment 400 229
1978 enrolment figures for the Transkei were extracted from the Report of the Department of Education for that year.

School Education Africans: Examinations

Sub A Sub B
Std 1 Std 2
Number
167 531 103045 89 147 72 874
24,58 15,12 13,08 10,69
Total Lower Primary 432 597 63,47
Std 3 63 919 9,38
Std 4 49 905 7,32
Std 5 38 218 5,61
Total Higher Primary 152 042 22,31
Total Primary 584 639 85,77
Std 6 32 662 4,79
Std 7 30 684 4,50
Std 8 21194 3,11
Std 9 7559 1,11
Std 10 4 883 0,23
Total Secondary 96 982 14,23
Total 681 621 100,00

There was a large increase in the numbers attending school in 1979. In Soweto alone there was a 130 % increase in the number admitted to school.48
Country-wide admissions were up 13 % over 1978 figures according to a spokesman for the Department of Education and Training.49 Despite the stated intention of the Department to have a maximum of 50 pupils to a classroom so an investigation found that some schools had in excess of 60 children per class. An admissions crisis in Soweto schools was attributed by Mr Jaap Strydom, regional director of the Department, to late applications by principals and parents of students.'

Examination Results
The results of examinations written at the end of 1977 were extracted from the 1978 report of the Department of Education and Training and exclude the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. (No figures for the latter were available for 1977.)
Higher Primary Certificate
No. of candidates First class pass Pass
Number
210975 11 513 157 924
5,4 74,9
Total 169437 80,3
Form 3
No. of candidates 59 801
Distinction 172 0,3
First class pass 4 654 7,8
Pass 32 220 53,8
Total 37046 61,9
Matriculation and Senior Certificate
Number %
No. of candidates 8 225
Matriculation exemption 2 294 27,9
School-leaving certificate 3 605 43,8
Total 5899 71,7

Although the full results of the 1978 Matriculation examinations were not
available, a departmental press release in January indicated 71 454 Africans wrote
the examination. The results of 12 927 candidates indicated 10 927 (78 %) passed.
Of these 4 395 (34 %) obtained matriculation exemption and 5 730 (44 %) school
leaving certificates.2 Replying to a question in the House of Assembly the
Minister of Education and Training said that 2 809 African pupils in the ‘white’
area of SA entered for the 1978 end of year matriculation examination. Of these
889 obtained a matriculation exemption and 1 273 school-leaving certificates13
Results of the 1977 and 1978 Junior Certificate and Matriculation examinations in
the Transkei were extracted from the departmental report:
Junior Certificate
499
School Education Africans: Examinations
No. of candidates Distinction First Class pass Second Class pass
1977 Number 19 132
450 7 006
1978
% Number
100 20412
2,35 36,62
8
558 9 827
Total passes 7 456 39,02 10 438 51,14
100 0,04 2,73 48,14

500 Matriculation
School Education Africans: Student Organisations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>2870</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3425</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation exemption</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>19.83</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>20.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-leaving certificate</td>
<td>1229</td>
<td>42.82</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>49.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total passes</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>65.09</td>
<td>2406</td>
<td>70.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Student Organisations

The debate on the question of whether students should return to school was continued at the start of 1979. The Soweto Students' League proposed that students should return to school while continuing the fight against Bantu education. Although the stand was opposed by various students, it was eventually decided to return to school.14

Opposition to the exiled leader of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council, Tsietsi Mashinini, became vocal in 1979. Attacking him for giving an interview to Pace, a magazine linked to the SA Government by the Information scandal disclosures, a fellow member of the SSRC, Majokatha Mokena, said that Mashinini had given the interview against the advice and without the consent of his exiled colleagues."

The discontent in exile circles over Mashinini's international role and his alleged distancing himself from his fellow exiles in Botswana led to his expulsion from the SSRC and its replacement by the Youth Revolutionary Council.6

The execution of Solomon Mahlangu in April was marked by a protest march by students through Atteridgeville and a memorial service organised by the Soweto Students' League. The harassment of the SSL by the security police continued and by May twenty-one members of the organisation had been detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.57 The trial of the Soweto Eleven on charges of sedition was concluded in May. Details on the trial and sentences are given in the chapter on Security.

In June a new student body, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was formed after a meeting in Roodepoort attended by delegates from the East and West Rand, Soweto, Pretoria, the Northern Transvaal, QwaQwa, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Natal. The delegates included students from secondary schools, high schools, technical colleges, centres for higher education (night schools), teachers' training colleges and correspondence colleges. A national executive was elected at the meeting.

The aims of Cosas are to normalise relationships between students and teachers; create a spirit of trust, responsibility and creative companionship among students; strive for an education for all that is dynamic, free and compulsory for the betterment of society; involve themselves practically in projects contributory to these aspirations; and impress on students the necessity of their being involved in the attainment of these aims even after completing their studies.

The president of Cosas, Mr Elp Mogale, described the organisation as one that was new and which had nothing to do with previous student bodies. It was formed, he said, to meet the needs and aspirations of the post-1976 situation.5"
The numbers of teachers employed in schools for Africans (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) were extracted from the departmental report.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans: Teachers</td>
<td>65 950</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66 764</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1977 the Transkei employed 13 124 teachers. Details of racial group were not supplied. Bophuthatswana, in 1977, employed 7 447 African and 160 white teachers. Later figures were not available.

Information regarding the remuneration of teachers excludes the Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61 951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualifications of Teachers (excluding the tswana)

(a) Professionally qualified with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paid By Private</th>
<th>% Privately</th>
<th>Paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,60 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei and Bophuthatswana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate Std 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical Certificate Matriculation or Senior Certificate with Primary Teachers Certificate Matriculation or Senior Certificate with Secondary Certificate Teachers Certificate Incomplete Degree Degree Special Teachers Certificate 

| Number 33 770 9 929 | 53 | 50,58 14,87 0,08 | 5434 8,14 | 2 027 1 087 1 359 | 3,04 1,63 2,04 | 207 0,31 | Total 53 866 80,68 |

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School EducationAfricans: Teachers
(b) No professional qualifications but:
Junior Certificate
  or lower
Technical Certificate
  Matriculation or
Senior Certificate
  Incomplete degree
Degree
  10757  16,11
  171   0,26
  1650
  131 189
Total  12898  19,32

Qualifications of teachers in Bophuthatswana in 1977 were as follows:
Professionally Qualified with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 6 503</td>
<td>1095</td>
<td>4 028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate Technical Certificate Matriculation or Senior Certificate with Primary Teachers Certificate Matriculation or Senior Certificate with Secondary Teachers Certificate Incomplete Degree Degree Special Teachers Certificate</td>
<td>52,95</td>
<td>0,07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 6 776</td>
<td>4,00</td>
<td>1,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or Senior Certificate</td>
<td>1,97</td>
<td>2,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>0,46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No professional qualifications but:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate or lower</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>10,44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Qualifications</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Certificate or Matriculation</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>2,62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete degree</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0,24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 051</td>
<td>13,82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7607</td>
<td>100,00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualifications of teachers in the Transkei in 1978 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 6 503</td>
<td>1 095</td>
<td>4 028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate Technical Certificate Matriculation or Senior Certificate with Primary Teachers Certificate Matriculation or Senior Certificate with Secondary Teachers Certificate Incomplete Degree Degree Special Teachers Certificate</td>
<td>52,95</td>
<td>0,07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 6 776</td>
<td>4,00</td>
<td>1,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or Senior Certificate</td>
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<td>2,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>0,46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No professional qualifications but:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate or lower</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Qualifications</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Certificate or Matriculation</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>2,62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete degree</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0,24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 051</td>
<td>13,82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7607</td>
<td>100,00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professional Qualification with:
Number % School
Lower than Matriculation Education or Equivalent
11 773 84,19 Africans:
Matriculation or Equivalent 1 938 13,86
University Degree 273 1,95
Total 13984 100,00
No figures for the number of teachers without professional qualifications were given. The report states that very few teachers are unqualified.

The suggestion that national servicemen be used to ease the shortage of secondary school teachers in Soweto met with mixed reaction. Making the suggestion Mr Jaap Strydom, Johannesburg Regional Director of Education and Training, said secondary schools in Soweto could be short of as many as 350 teachers next year. Both Cosas and the Black Academic Staff Association of the University of the North rejected the suggestion.62 Mr T.W. Kambule, an educationist, said the government could solve the teacher shortage by raising salaries for teachers thereby attracting back the "more than five hundred teachers, most of them highly qualified, (who) resigned during the unrest". A member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr D. Lolwane, also rejected the introduction of teachers who were national servicemen into African schools because he said they would be used as watchdogs for the Government in the schools. The chairman of the Soweto Community Council, Mr D. Thebehali, said said that Soweto parents should decide whether their children should be taught by national servicemen.63

Africans in Senior Educational Posts
The following number of Africans held senior posts in educational institutions in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) in 1978:6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directors/Secretaries for Education (homelands)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Secretaries for Education (homelands)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circuit Inspectors and Education Planners</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectors of Schools</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Principals</td>
<td>10834</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In-service training of teachers to improve their qualifications continued to be emphasised. Mr Janson said in January that it was his department's policy to encourage teachers to improve their qualifications.65 The Mamelodi In-service Training Centre again offered practical facilities for teachers studying biology, botany and zoology privately through Unisa. Teachers who attended courses held in August and September had to pay their own transport and general ex-

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School Education Africans: Teachers

Lecturers from the Mamelodi In-service Training Centre also conducted courses for teachers in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Bloemfontein. Plans for the new in-service training centre at Mabopane were completed at the end of 1978 and
building commenced in 1979. A number of teachers continued to attend adult education classes to improve their academic qualifications. Non-governmental bodies in the field of teacher up-grading continued to be active. English and mathematics teachers from the Cape Province and the Ciskei attended a four-day refresher course in Grahamstown in mid-1979. Arranged in collaboration with the Cape and Ciskeian Education Departments, the course was provided free of charge and was designed to improve the quality of teaching. The British Council provided study grants to nine African teachers to undergo a three-month course in teaching English as a foreign language in the United Kingdom and appealed for more applications for such grants. In March Mr A.N. Lubbe of the Department of Education and Training told the Transvaal United Teachers' Association that in future only matriculated students would be allowed to train as teachers.

Teachers' Associations

At a conference called to discuss the Education and Training Bill, the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee rejected the Bill because it did not provide for a unitary education system for all South Africans. At the same meeting the Action Committee decided to extend its activities and become a national body. Other organisations, such as the SA Council of Churches and the Institute of Race Relations were to be invited to participate in the drafting of the blueprint for an education system for SA. The Teachers' Action Committee is not recognised by the Department of Education and Training as a body representative of teachers' views. According to Mr G. Engelbrecht of the department it consists of ex-teachers who left pupils in the lurch after resigning from African education. Most of the resignations took place in the wake of the 1976 unrest. However, the department recognises bona fide teachers' associations such as the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TUATA) and the African Teachers' Association (ATASA) for the purpose of consultation. At TUATA'S annual conference appeals were made to the Government to close the gap between white and African teachers' salaries since this would have the effect of attracting better qualified people to serve and train as teachers. At the annual conference of the African Teachers' Association of SA in January, the organisation committed itself to working towards a uniform education system in SA. Delegates stressed the importance of the immediate introduction of free and compulsory education for Africans, equality of expenditure on education, and the need for a single teachers' association. However, ATASA welcomed the improvements contained in the Education and Training bill even though these did not fulfil their demands, viewing the bill as a move towards the attainment of their aims.

Student Teachers

Enrolment of Africans for teacher training courses in 1978 was as follows (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Primary Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Teachers Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Craft Teachers Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork Teachers Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Instructors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following number of students, enrolled at universities for Africans, were engaged in studies in the education faculties of the universities concerned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D Ed</th>
<th>M Ed</th>
<th>B Ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STD</td>
<td>SSTD</td>
<td>HSTD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following degrees and diplomas in education were awarded to students at the African universities in 1977: Fort Hare The North Zululand Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fort Hare</th>
<th>The North</th>
<th>Zululand</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degrees</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomas</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers Training Colleges

There were the following teacher training institutions in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) in 1978:

- 'White' area: 6
- Ciskei: 6
- Gazankulu: 2
- KaNgwane: 1 School
- KwaZulu: 7 Education
- Lebowa: 7 Africans
- QwaQwa: 2
- Venda: 2
- Total: 33

In addition the Mamelodi In-service Training Centre in Pretoria provided in-service training for teachers.

Curricula

At a conference, the theme of which was 'Education for Future Development', held at the University of the Witwatersrand in July, a number of speakers attacked the curriculum taught in African schools. Pointing out that little mathematics and science was taught, delegates said that this was because of the poor standards of training received by African teachers in the past.
In September Prof G.F. Jacobs of the University of the Witwatersrand Business School said that Bantu education was a totally inadequate preparation for entry into the country's schools of business administration. Prof Jacobs said black students would be totally embarrassed in the course because of their poor teaching and lack of background in mathematics and accounting.

Medium of Instruction
The Education and Training Act makes provision for the medium of instruction to be in the mother tongue up to and including Std 2. Thereafter pupils are to be instructed in an official language of the parents' choice. Most African parents apparently wish their children to be instructed in English. While welcoming the lowering of the standard when instruction in an official language would commence, various educationists argued against stipulating a time before which such instruction could not begin.

Special Education
The chronic shortage of educational facilities for mentally retarded African children came to the fore in 1979. A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training, Mr Dreyer, announced in February that in future special attention would be given to the provision of facilities for mentally retarded children and children who were slow to learn. He said that last year the Department had initiated special classes in several African schools in Pretoria. Mr Dreyer said that special classes needed specially trained teachers and the Department was not able to introduce a system of special education other than gradually but it hoped to be able to provide facilities on a countrywide basis by next year.

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School Education Africans: Adult Education

Adult Education
According to the departmental report there were 52 Adult Education Centres in operation in 1978. Divided by region the figures were:
Northern Transvaal Southern Transvaal Johannesburg Orange Free State Natal Cape

These centres employed 1 835 teachers whose as follows:

Professional qualification with:
Std 8 or lower Std 10
Incomplete degree Degree
6 8 6

Number
526 587 198 290
28,66
31,99 10,79 15,80

Total 1 601 87,25

No professional qualification but:
Number %
Std 8 or lower 52 2,83
Enrolment in courses provided by the centres was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>3768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>2567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course I (Std 3-4)</td>
<td>2 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course II (Std 5)</td>
<td>3 872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Primary</td>
<td>12423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course III (Std 8)</td>
<td>9 429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course V (Std 10)</td>
<td>9 731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Secondary</td>
<td>19 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were in addition 73 night schools employing 357 teachers with a total enrolment of 6 195. Student enrolment by course was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary</td>
<td>2408</td>
<td>38.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Primary</td>
<td>1 793</td>
<td>28.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>1 870</td>
<td>30.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6195</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pre-School Education

Mr F. Oosthuizen, education planner for the Department of Education and Training, said the shortage of pre-school facilities for African children was a matter of concern to the Department. To alleviate the problem twelve-week crash courses were to be introduced to provide a sound basis for children entering school proper and lacking the pre-school training normally done at nursery schools.

The shortage of pre-school institutions in the Cape was highlighted by a study conducted by the Athlone Early Learning Centre which estimated that only 15 such centres existed for nearly 20 000 African children in the greater Cape Town area.

The passage of the Education and Training Act raised hopes that greater attention would be paid to this area of education. In terms of the Act the State is to take control of pre-school education and according to Mr G. Rosseau of the Department of Education and Training the possibility exists that subsidies will be made available to nursery schools.

School Boards

The new Act makes provision for the Minister of Education and Training to establish councils, committees, boards and other such bodies so as to provide for the active involvement of both parents and the community in education. Mr C. Marivate, National Chairman of the School Boards Association, said that he
expected that school boards would be phased out and replaced by Parent-Teacher Associations.

Homeland Education System
Allegations of examination leakages in the Transkei had their sequel this year when the Transkei Education Department failed large numbers of matriculation candidates from schools affected by the allegations. Twenty-eight people appearing in court in connection with the allegations were charged with fraud and conspiracy to defraud. Allegations of leakages this year were given substance by the statement that papers were again being leaked, made by the Transkei’s Minister of Education, Mr Armstrong Jonas, in July.78

Education policy in the Transkei was reviewed during 1979 and it was decided to drop Afrikaans as a subject for primary school pupils. The Transkei Teachers' Association welcomed the decision at its 12th Annual Conference and said that from next year pupils in the Transkei

Coloured School Education
would be required to study English, Xhosa and Sotho, the territory's official languages.79 The decision to drop Afrikaans as a subject was taken after the Joint Matriculation Board agreed to recognise Transkei senior school certificates without Afrikaans as a subject and to consider such certificates for matriculation exemption.0

In February the Transkei Education Department decided to phase out Bantu education in the Transkei and adopt the Cape Provincial syllabus in Transkeian schools. Assistance in this project would be given by the Cape provincial education authorities. In May the Prime Minister of the Transkei announced that the schools run by the Cape Provincial Administration in the territory would in future be open to all races. Two of the three schools affected by the announcement had already admitted pupils of all races and the third was reportedly willing to do so.

Allegations of cheating in KwaZulu and the Ciskei were also made after last year's examinations. In KwaZulu those who were found to be cheating last year were barred from writing examinations for three years,8' while the Ciskei introduced legislation raising the penalties for those guilty of cheating in examinations to a fine of R500 or 12 months imprisonment.82

The KwaZulu syllabus was extended to include the compulsory instruction of Inkatha principles in all schools. Warning white teachers in KwaZulu to co-operate with the teaching of Inkatha, the KwaZulu Minister of Education said that if white teachers refused to co-operate, the KwaZulu administration would request the Government to withdraw them from KwaZulu.83 Resettlement of people in KwaZulu heightened an already serious problem for school authorities. Overcrowding in English-medium schools because of the desire of parents and pupils for English teaching was reported in January.” In April the Minister of Education, Mr O.D. Dlomo, called on the Department of Co-operation and Development to consult his department about the availability of education facilities when planning population resettlements since the influx of large numbers of people caused problems for his officials.”
COLOURED SCHOOL EDUCATION

Schools
The number of schools for coloured pupils in the Republic in 1978 and 1979 was as follows:\(^8\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State schools</th>
<th>State-aided schools</th>
<th>Private schools</th>
<th>Vocational schools</th>
<th>Technical colleges</th>
<th>Special schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>1 185</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>1 207</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1981 2002

Replying to a question in the House of Assembly the Minister said that there was a backlog of 1 981 classrooms for coloured pupils as at March 1979. To eliminate this would cost R33m. He was unable to say when the backlog would be eliminated since this depended to a large extent on the allocation of funds.\(^7\)

Overcrowding was prevalent in coloured schools throughout the country. At the end of the first term the Nantes Primary School near Pretoria still had 400 pupils over the limit\(^88\) while the principal of the Durban East High School said that his school was so cramped that it would run 28 double session classes during 1979.\(^89\)

In Kimberley two schools were forced to run 41 double session classes between them to accommodate pupils while other schools in the area had their limits raised by as many as 400 pupils to accommodate those attending school\(^Y^o\)

Double Sessions
The number of schools, pupils and teachers involved in double sessions in coloured schools (which work the same way as the platoon system in Indian and African schools) in the Republic in 1978 was as follows:\(^9^o\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes affected</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>No. of teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>2 390 688 75</td>
<td>390 2 390</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1979 1 943 teachers and 66 917 session/platoon system instruction.\(^9^2\)

Pupils
Enrolment in the Republic
The number of pupils enrolled at follows:\(^9^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>40 1 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>39 10 1 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVL</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
40
511
Coloured
School Education
Total
2 509 717 79 762 2 509
pupils were involved in double
coloured schools in 1978 was as
No. of Pupils
115 636 101 503 93 469 83 254 74 369 65 784 55 247
Total Primary 589 262 83,23
Standard
Sub A Sub B Std 1 Std 2 Std 3 Std 4 Std 5
16,33 14,34 13,20 11,76 10,51 9,29 7,80
512
Coloured School Education
Standard
Std 6 Std 7 Std 8 Std 9 Std 10
No. of Pupils
43 447 34 829 21 321 12 015
7 049
Total Secondary 118 661 16,77
Total 707 923 100,00
The number of pupils of other race groups attending schools for coloured people
in 1979 was supplied by the Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama
Relations: 94
African Asian
1 403 2 202
Total
3 605
Examination Results
The Minister of Coloured Relations examination results: 91
Junior Certificate
No. of candidates No. of passes Senior Certificate
No. of candidates Matriculation exemption School-leaving certificate
supplied information on 1978
% Passed
19934 14 379
6 891 1 062 3 461
73,13
15,41 % 50,22 %
Total Passes 4 523 65,64 %
Teachers
The Minister gave information in the Assembly about the qualifications of
coloured teachers in the Republic as at January 26: 9
Professionally qualified with:
A university degree A matriculation or equivalent certificate JC or equivalent
Other qualifications (e.g., technical)
Number
1,234 6418 15 339
71
5,00 26,01 62,16 0,29

No professional qualifications but with: A university degree Matriculation or equivalent Technical or vocational qualifications Less than matriculation
0,60 3,01 0,65 2,29
Total 24 676 100,01

In 1978 there were 1,055 white teachers employed at schools for coloured pupils in the Republic.

Coloured persons holding senior posts
Information about coloured persons holding senior educational posts was supplied by the Administration of Coloured Affairs:

Post
Inspectors of education Assistant or subject inspectors Professors
University lecturers Lecturers at technikons and technical colleges Principals of schools
513
Coloured
School Education
Number
34 15
2 53
48
1 812

Student Teachers
Enrolments of student teachers as at 31 December 1978 and the numbers of teachers qualifying at the end of 1978 were as follows:
Course
Junior Primary Teachers Certificate Primary Teachers Diploma Lower Primary Specialist Certificate Lower Secondary Teachers Diploma Secondary Teachers Diploma (nongraduate)
Secondary Teachers Diploma (graduate) Adaption Classes Teachers Diploma
Post-graduate Degree Courses in Education
Commercial Teachers Technical Teachers Diploma Lower Primary Teachers Certificate (Phased out- supplementary examination only)
In addition 556 student teachers Teachers Certificate at the end of 1978.
The number of student teachers enrolled as
5,803,100
Year of Study
2nd
861 786
74
Total
1 698 2 256 254 425
Qualified
1978
470 191
13
14 14 14
6 34 5
- - 173
qualified with the Primary
at June 1979 was
RRS - S

514 Adult Education
The number of adults attending part time academic primary and secondary classes
during 1979 was 12 569. Separate statistics for primary Indian and secondary
classes was not available.101
School
Education
INDIAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
Legislation
Indians Education Amendment Act No 39
This was the first piece of legislation since the original Act was passed in 1965. It
was a rationalisation measure designed to bring the position of Indian teachers, by
and large, into line with that of white teachers and was welcomed by the SA
Indian Council and all opposition parties in parliament.
Clause 9 provides that Indian teachers who are members of, office bearers in or
officers of organisations declared unlawful shall be deemed to be guilty of
misconduct. This would appear to bring legislation into line with existing
practice.
Clause 12(c) provides that teachers may take part in lawful political activities-be
members of political parties, attend public political meetings, etcetera. Teachers
who are nominated for election to the SA Indian Council will be deemed to have
relinquished their posts on the day of nomination. Again this would appear to be a
case of bringing
legislation into line with existing practice.
Schools
The number of schools for Indians in the Republic in 1979 was as follows: 102
Type of School Number
State schools 248
State-aided schools 132
Special schools 7
Private schools 4
Total 391
Platoon System
The platoon system continued to operate in Natal during 1978. Figures were extracted from the Departmental report:

- No. of schools: 51
- No. of classes: 318
- No. of teachers: 325
- No. of pupils: 11,579

Despite the expectation expressed in the Departmental report that the numbers affected by the platoon system would decline in 1979, reports in the press indicated dissatisfaction among members of the Indian community at the system’s continuation. An investigation conducted by the Sunday Tribune revealed that in Chatsworth and Pietermaritzburg 3,517 and 2,096 Indian pupils respectively received instruction under this system. The Director of Indian Education said that over-crowding in Indian schools in these areas would be solved by 1983 and 1981 respectively.

Compulsory Education
As at 1 January 1979 education for Indian children between the ages of 7 and 15 years was made compulsory. This was in line with the Minister's undertaking last year to introduce compulsory education in 1979.

Pupils
Enrolment
School enrolment of Indian children in 1978 and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Std 1</th>
<th>Std 2</th>
<th>Std 3</th>
<th>Std 4</th>
<th>Std 5</th>
<th>Special classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>23,057</td>
<td>22,572</td>
<td>22,885</td>
<td>20,483</td>
<td>20,838</td>
<td>19,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>23,057</td>
<td>22,572</td>
<td>22,885</td>
<td>20,483</td>
<td>20,838</td>
<td>19,874</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Primary: 146,229

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Std 6</th>
<th>Std 7</th>
<th>Std 8</th>
<th>Std 9</th>
<th>Std 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>16,046</td>
<td>14,987</td>
<td>12,850</td>
<td>9,731</td>
<td>5,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>17,007</td>
<td>15,464</td>
<td>14,719</td>
<td>9,620</td>
<td>7,538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compulsory Education
According to the Department's report an estimated 26.66% of the Indian population was at school in 1978. This included the number of pupils attending the ML Sultan Technical College and coloured schools.

1978
11.24 11.16 9.90 9.81
10.16 9.69 8.64 0.61
1979
10.52 11.01 10.07 9.63
9.79
9.47 8.80
0.69

516
Indian School Education: Teachers
Coloured children in Indian Schools
In areas where there are no schools for coloured pupils, they may attend schools for Indian pupils. In 1978 the number of coloured children at Indian schools was as follows:107
Transvaal Natal Cape Province
Total
1151

Examination Results
The results of the Senior Certificate examination written at the end of 1977 and the supplementary examination written in March 1978 were extracted from the Department's annual report.
No. of candidates Matriculation exemption Senior Certificate passes
1977 Number
4 871
1 557 2 758
Supplementary % Number %
838
31.96 209 24.94
56.63 514 61.34
Total 4 315 88.59 723 86.28
1978 Matriculation examination results were supplied by the Director of Indian Education:
Number %
No. of candidates 4 979
Matriculation exemption 1 645 33.04
Senior Certificate passes 2 840 57.04
Total Passes 4 485 90.08

Teachers
In 1978 qualifications of teaching staff education were as follows:1u
Professionally qualified with:
A university degree Std 10 or equivalent Std 8 or equivalent Technical qualifications in schools and colleges of
Number
1 452 4 685 944
19,00 61,30
12,35

No professional qualifications but: Number %
A university degree 29 0,38
Std 10 or equivalent 308 4,03
Std 8 or equivalent 197 2,58 Indian Technical qualifications 28 0,35 School
Total 7643 100,00

Of the teachers employed 51 were white and 23 were coloured.
The numbers of teachers employed in ordinary primary and secondary schools in 1979 were as follows: 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State schools</td>
<td>6712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State-aided schools</td>
<td>1 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private schools</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special schools</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8 266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Government's failure to make provision in the budget for salary increases for teachers during the 1979-80 financial year angered Indian teachers. The president of the SA Indian Teachers' Association, Mr Pat Samuels, described his members as being 'perturbed' over the failure to increase teachers' salaries and said that the proposed parity in salaries for black and white teachers in the higher echelons only served "to disguise the insults" to other teachers. 10
At the annual conference of SAITA in July a resolution calling for salary parity regardless of sex and race for all teachers was passed. The resolution also urged that a cost of living allowance with effect from 1 April 1979 payable to all teachers be introduced. The association also urged the Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, to apply immediately, with effect from 1 January 1978, the salary dispensation applicable to teachers of remedial and adjustment classes. 11

The SAITA conference also attacked the merit plan for teachers. In terms of this plan teachers are graded in terms of their curricular efficiency, personality, character and other qualities, and their professional attitude. According to Mr Pat Samuels only 50% of the points awarded in terms of the assessment went on a teacher's curricular efficiency. He believed that it should be at least 70%.
In a paper presented to the conference Dr Muthal Naidoo found that teachers were opposed to the system because of its stringent requirements, the evaluation of the teachers' standing in the community, the confidential nature of the ratings and their automatic application. Summing up, Dr Naidoo said "Perhaps there are some
who will score 180 out of 210 points, but the vast majority of us will not and the instrument will be turned against us to point out our inadequacies. Then we will discover it is not the average teacher against whom we are being measured at all—it is really the super teacher."

In January Mr C.A. Naguran was appointed chief planner (academic) in the Department’s Division of Education. This was the first Education:

Teachers

518

Indian School Education

time that an Indian had been appointed to such a post. Mr Naguran is responsible for planning the education of Indian children and is in charge of teacher training. Previously the most senior post held by an Indian educationist was that of Chief Inspector."3

In-service training of teachers

Since the introduction in April 1977 of the in-service training scheme for Indian teachers eight courses involving 120 teachers have been held.,14 The courses are held for teachers of subjects in which there is a shortage of teachers, eg Physical Science, Afrikaans and Mathematics.

Student Teachers

Enrolment of student teachers at the two colleges and the University of Durban-Westville in 1977 and 1978 from the Department’s report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Springfield College of Education</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>1624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal College of Education</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Durban-Westville</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>1552</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department expressed the hope that, should the increase in enrolment figures continue, sufficient teachers to eliminate the shortage of teachers would be trained over the next five years.

In January 1978 the Department awarded 1 091 bursaries to students enrolling at teacher training institutions.

Examination Results

The numbers of student teachers who qualified at the end of 1977 and the courses for which they qualified were extracted from the Department’s report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diploma</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Junior Primary Education Diploma</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Primary Education Diploma</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary Education Diploma</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Higher Diploma in Education</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Paedagogics</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 252
This represented an increase of 24 over the number who qualified at the end of 1976. In addition 35 serving teachers improved their qualifications during 1977 by study for degrees or teaching diplomas either full-time, part-time or through correspondence courses.

**Social Education**

Details of enrolment at special schools in 1978 were given in the departmental report:

1978 C Cruat
School for cerebral palsied 50 Education
School for the blind 96
School for the deaf 100
School of industries 82
Three training centres 138
Total 466

The department intended to expand the remedial service, designed to assist children of normal or above-normal intellectual ability who have study problems, at the rate of ten primary schools per year.

**Adult Education**

During 1978, 782 adults were attending part-time secondary courses at the ML Sultan Technical College. In addition 553 adults were attending part-time primary and secondary courses being held in three departmental schools.

**WHITE SCHOOL EDUCATION**

Schools

Statistics with regard to schools for white pupils in 1979 were as follows:

- Provincial schools 2 192
- Provincial-aided schools 77
- Private schools 142
- Special schools 147
- Hospital and Clinic schools 18

Total 2 576

**Pupils**

Enrolments for 1979

- Provincial 897 281
- Provincial-aided 16 590
- Private 39 555

Total 953 426

**Enrolment by Standard**

White School Education: Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Std 1</th>
<th>Std 2</th>
<th>Std 3</th>
<th>Std 4</th>
<th>Std 5</th>
<th>Special Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>11133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examination Results

According to the Minister of Statistics, 45,888 white pupils passed the matriculation or an equivalent examination at the end of 1977. Of these, 27,393 passed mathematics and 18,231 physical science. A total of 21,793 white pupils obtained a matriculation exemption pass in 1977. 1978 results were not available.

Teachers

The following numbers of teachers were employed in schools for white pupils during 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
<th>Provincial-aided Private</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44 552</td>
<td>1 235</td>
<td>48 639</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various organisations in the Transvaal expressed fears that the shortage of English-speaking teachers would adversely affect the standard of English education in the province. The issue was highlighted at a meeting of the SA Council for English Education in May and in an investigation earlier during the year which found that only 19% of teachers in the Transvaal were English-speaking. Prof A.N. Boyce, rector of the Johannesburg College of Education, said that English-speaking teachers did not see teaching as a profession totally lacking in status.

He saw the problem as being the concern with which the English-speaking teacher viewed his chances of promotion. Mr Jack Ballard, secretary of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, confirmed that English-speaking teachers felt that top level posts in education were closed to them and noted that only three such posts in Pretoria were held by English-speakers.

The countrywide shortage of white male teachers' led to renewed attacks on the quota system (in terms of which the TED, for example, reserves one-third of primary school and two-fifths of secondary school permanent posts for men). A sub-committee of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, the Women's Interests Group, challenged discrimination against female teachers early in the year. Attacking the quota system, Mr Joel Mervis, PFP MPC, said that because of it many women teachers could be employed only on a temporary basis and thus did
not get the same benefits as their colleagues. Defending the system, Mr David Brink MEC in charge of Education, said that education could not be left exclusively in the hands of women and asked "If the posts reserved for men were given permanently to women, which man will get into primary education?"

Teachers' Salaries
The Government's failure to announce new salaries for teachers caused dissatisfaction in the profession. Representations were made to the Government by organisations representing both English and Afrikaans-speaking teachers. Despite an admonishment by the Prime Minister, discontent continued. In Natal a merit award system for teachers was announced by Mr. R. Hoslam, MEC in charge of education.

In October the Prime Minister met with representatives of the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations to discuss salaries. Following the meeting improvements in the salaries and conditions of service of all public servants were announced. The move, of which teachers are also beneficiaries, apparently defused the issue. A spokesman for the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations said that teachers would wait to see the details of the new salary structure.

SA Teachers' Council for Whites
Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of National Education said that 51,175 teachers had registered by 31 December 1978. Evidence of the Broederbond's influence in the Council was given in a book published in late 1978, The super-Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond. According to the authors seven members of the Council were Broederbonders as was the Council's chairman, Mr. J.D.V. Terblanche.29

Attacking the idea of the Teachers' Council for Whites Mr. Paddy Kearney, Organiser of the Diakonia Organisation in Durban, said that the Council, far from bringing teachers into line with other professions, in fact placed them further out of line and had caused a further loss of esteem for teachers because the Council was not open to all races. Criticising other aspects Mr. Kearney said that the insistence on teachers using the correct channels to air complaints was clearly designed to prevent teachers from complaining. Finally Mr. Kearney observed that the code of conduct, described in last year's Survey on pages 433-4, further limits the professionalism of teachers in

White School Education: Teachers

522

White School Education: Teachers

that it states that the teacher "accepts that a school serves the community and respects the customs and codes of the community as far as this is educationally justifiable". Mr. Kearney said that such a clause can be interpreted so as to lead to the downfall of any teacher who "interprets her task as one of assisting young people to become critical and compassionate citizens".

Teachers' Association
At the jubilee conference of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, Mrs H. Gluckman, head of the Association's sub-committee on Christian National Education, said CNE was being abused. She suggested that an alternative education philosophy should be drawn up by English-speaking teachers. The association accepted the document drawn up by Mrs Gluckman's committee, entitled 'Philosophy of Education for South Africans', as a working document for discussion by interested parties. The conference adopted a resolution calling for the youth preparedness and guidance curricula in SA schools to pay particular attention to the development of sound race relations.

Criticism of Youth Preparedness Programmes
The Transvaal Education Department came under attack during the year for its running of the province's veld schools. According to Mr Peter Nixon, PFP provincial spokesman on education, the indoctrination of children at the veld schools was an attempt "to break down the confidence of young people and make them fear everything not condoned by teachers or the church". According to an exposé published in the press pupils were allegedly told, among other things, that whites were more intelligent than Africans and that "the 'Natives' (sic) live for today, they do not consider the future." The TED denied the allegations contained in the report. According to the Department's statement this view had been expressed by pupils attending the school. The head of the school had corrected the pupils telling them that Africans "were not on the same level of development as whites".

Questioned on the allegations in the Provincial Council, the MEC in charge of education, Mr David van der Merwe Brink, rejected criticism of the schools and said that they would continue preparing pupils to be properly equipped as South Africans.

Student Teachers
According to the Department of Statistics the following numbers of students were enrolled at teachers' training colleges during 1979. (Figures for students of education enrolled at universities were not available.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3717</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3846</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Mr P.H. Mundell, vice-president of the Transvaal Teachers' Association and Prof A.N. Boyce, rector of the Johannesburg College of Education, appealed for more English-speaking men to enrol for teacher training. The TED reduced the number of first year primary schoolteacher trainees at JCE and other education colleges again this year by approximately 13%. Despite this reduction, JCE did not turn any prospective students away as the number of applications was below the quota of 520.

In February the Director of Education in the Transvaal, Prof J.H. Jooste, announced that university training for teachers was to be replaced by a four-year program.
integrated course at training colleges. He also said that in future only students with matriculation exemptions would be allowed to train as teachers.19

Fears that the Government was clamping down on English teacher training institutions, voiced by Prof Boyce among others, which were first raised by the announcement that an English teacher training college was to be built in Pretoria, were fueled by the announcement in March that building would start later this year. Prof Boyce said at a conference organised by the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of the Witwatersrand that he believed that the building of the new college was unnecessary and part of the Government's plan to reduce the liberalising influence which close contact with the University of the Witwatersrand had on English-speaking student teachers in the Transvaal.

Curricula

The curriculum in the Transvaal came under attack early in the year following allegations of 'cramming' by pupils. Dr Isaac Kriel, headmaster of Damelin, a private college in Johannesburg, said that the syllabus was too large and the matriculation system outdated, outmoded and sterile. He suggested that schooling should be more widely based and relevant to present day needs and that pupils wishing to go on to university should, as in Britain, undergo a further two years of schooling during which the student would study a language and three courses relevant to his chosen university career.1

A pilot scheme to investigate the feasibility of teaching Portuguese in primary schools was started in the Transvaal in January. With the backing of the Portuguese community and the TED, the language was introduced in schools in areas which have a high ratio of Portuguesespeaking children. The initial success of the plan led to suggestions that it be made more widespread next year.

African languages in white schools

The number of schools offering an African language increased during 1979. Unlike the Transvaal the subject is not compulsory in Natal and the Cape where schools generally teach Zulu and Xhosa respectively. Courses in African languages in the Transvaal are taught in Standards 3, 4 and 5. The success of these courses led to a decision to investigate the possibility of introducing further courses at high school level, at least in Standard 6 and 7 according to the Director of Education in the Transvaal.'
9 Figures given by the Administration of Coloured Affairs, 17 October
9 Hansard 4 Q col 272 10 Financial Mail 23 March * Hansard 4 Q col 235 12
Hansard 9 Q col 624 13 Hansard 5 Q col 302, Hansard 4 Q col 234, Hansard 3 Q
col 162, Hansard 13 col 800 14 Information supplied by Dept of Statistics, 31
August, s Eastern Province Herald 19 May * Argus 17 January 17 Natal Mercury
16 January 1 Rand Daily Mail 21 March, 9 Star 7 June Sunday Times 29 April 21
Post 24 January 22 Rand Daily Mail 1 May 23 Natal Mercury 4 September
Sunday Post 23 September 23 Sunday Times I April 26 Natal Mercury 24 March
27 Die Burger 16 January
1 Hansard 14 col 6636 29 Star 17 January 10 Citizen 28 February 31 Rand Daily
Mail 14 May 32 Citizen 16 June 31 Hansard 17 col 8151
the Department of Education, Transkei, 1978 s1 Rand Daily Mail 9 June 19 Star
13 March 40 Rand Daily Mail 3 April
1 Ibid 20 March 42 Sunday Post 24 June 41 Rand Daily Mail 6 September Cape
Herald 3 March 41 Dept of Education and Training op cit 46 Op cit
47 Hansard 4 Q col 229
4 Post 26 April 49 Star 16 April 11 Ibid 6 March 11 Post 8 March 32 Rand Daily
Mail 16 January, Argus 27 February s1 Hansard 10 Q cols 661-662. No reason
could be ascertained for the apprently irreconcilable figures
14 Rand Daily Mail 2 January 11 Post 8 February 36 Voice 8 to 15 July 11 Rand
Daily Mail 4 May 11 Post 4 June, 11 June 11 Dept of Education and Training, op
cit
6 Dept of Education, Bophutatswana, op cit 1 Department of Education, Transkei, op cit
62 Voice 23 to 29 September 63 Rand Daily Mail 13 September

Dept of Education and Training, op cit " Citizen 20 January Educamus, February
67 Daily Dispatch Indaba 16 March Post 12 March Sunday Post 7 January 70 Post
23 June 7* Dept of Education and Training, op cit n Ibid
Star 12 September
" Rand Daily Mail 28 February " Post 14 February Argus 1 March
Sunday Post 24 June
Rand Daily Mail 13 July Daily Dispatch Indaba 13 July
Daily Dispatch 27 July * Natal Witness 22 March Daily Dispatch 24 May Natal
Mercury 12 June Natal Witness 27 January Rand Daily Mail 6 April Dept of
Statistics, Educational Statistics 1978 and 1979 Hansard 5 Q col 341
* Rand Daily Mail 29 May
* Daily News 9 January 9o Diamond Fields Advertiser 29 March "Information
supplied by Administration of Coloured Affairs 17 October '3 Figures supplied by
Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations 17 August '3 Hansard 5 Q
col 331
Figures supplied by Secretary for Coloured Relations 17 August 95 Hansard 5 Q
col 345 16 Hansard 4 Q cols 255-256 91 Hansard 8 Q col 586
* Information supplied by Administration of Coloured Affairs 17 October
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Introduction

The Commission of Enquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilisation of Manpower (Riekert Commission) observed that the educational level of the SA labour force was very low. Defining the necessary level of functional literacy as "a person's ability to read, write, speak, listen, calculate, bargain and spend" so as to be "able to handle everyday transactions with ease" the commission found that 39.9% of the male African work force and 22.6% of the female African work
force in urban areas had no educational qualifications. In rural areas 65.4% of male African employees and 60.5% of female African employees had no educational qualifications.
The corresponding figures for coloured people were 24.7% of the male employed population and 18.11% of the female employed population. 6.7% of male Asian employees and 16.1% of female Asian employees had no educational qualifications whatsoever and the corresponding percentage for white employees was 1.1% respectively.

The commission found that because of their low educational level a large percentage of the SA work force was unable to function effectively in the economy. The commission recommended that a comprehensive employment and training act be passed by Parliament. The provisions of the Black Employees In-Service Training Act 1976 should be included within the proposed act so as to make for a more rational administration of training opportunities for employees of all races.

In the White Paper on the Riekert Commission's report, the Government accepted that legislation providing for the training of all races should be passed. However, the Government stated that it was not necessary for there to be one act for all races; what was necessary was that the act or acts regulating training functions "should not differentiate between population groups".

The Government also accepted the recommendation that the training of black workers in terms of the Black Employees In-service Training Act be transferred to the Department of Labour. It agreed to the recommendation that advice on the act's administration should be furnished by a National Co-ordinating Council of Manpower Matters which is intended to replace the existing Co-ordinating Council for Inservice Training of Black Workers and the Economic Advisory Council's Committee for the Better Utilisation of Manpower.

528

Riekert Commission
Legislation providing for the in-service training of white, coloured and Indian employees, the In-Service Training Act No 95, was passed during the year.
The purpose of the Act is to provide for the promotion and regulation of training of certain classes of employees in industry, to provide for the establishment of a council, the registration of training schemes and private training centres, the inspection of such schemes and centres, and for matters connected therewith. The Minister of Labour is empowered to establish a Council for Inservice Training which will consist of five representatives each of employers' and employee interests, two officers of the Department of Labour who will be chairperson and vice-chairperson of Council, and one officer of the Department of Inland Revenue.
The Council is empowered inter alia to:
(i) advise the Minister of Labour on matters of policy arising out of or connected with the Act's provisions; the promulgation of any regulation the Minister may make and on any other matter relating to the training of employees which the Minister may refer to
(ii) appoint committees subject to the Minister's approval to investigate and report to the Council on matters in respect of which the Council may exercise power.

The Minister may appoint a Registrar and an Assistant-Registrar of Training Schemes. Employers who conduct training schemes may apply for the registration of such schemes. Registration may be granted if the schemes comply with conditions deemed fit by the Registrar. The Registrar may withdraw a scheme's registration and may also provide assistance, except financial assistance, to training centres and schemes. The Minister may appoint inspectors to periodically inspect the schemes and centres.

The Act is the counterpart of the Black Employees In-Service Training Act 1976 which deals with the training of African employees. The PFP opposed the bill in principle on the grounds that it went against the Riekert Commission's recommendations and provided for two separate in-service training schemes.

Training for Coloured People

Technical Education at School Level

According to the Administration of Coloured Affairs there were five technical secondary schools for coloured people in 1979. Enrolment in technical secondary courses in March 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Std 6</th>
<th>Std 7</th>
<th>Std 8</th>
<th>Std 9</th>
<th>Std 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>1,387</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,263</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical Colleges

The primary function of the five technical colleges is to provide training up to the NTC III level for apprentices. Nevertheless some tertiary training is given at technical colleges.
Enrolment statistics at technical colleges were supplied by the Administration of Coloured Affairs:

Athlone Technical College 574
LC Johnson Technical College 229
Highveld Technical College 124
RC Elliot Technical College 59
Bethelsdorp Technical College 266
Total 1 252

The following numbers of students passed National Technical Certificate examinations in 1978 and April 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NTC I</th>
<th>NTC II</th>
<th>NTC III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>518</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Advanced Technical Education

Technical training at a tertiary level was provided at the Peninsula Technikon. In 1979 enrolments totalled 519 full-time and 541 part-time students. The Minister of Coloured Relations supplied information about students who passed courses offered at the technikon at the end of 1978:

Course

Institute of Admin and Commerce/ Chartered Institute of Secretaries (IAC/CIS)
National Diploma in Public Administration
National Diploma in State Finance and Accounts
National Secretarial Certificate National Diploma in Shipping and Forwarding Administration
National Diploma in Industrial Administration
National Diploma in Printing Management
National Diploma in Organisation and Work Study
National Diploma in Public Health Nursing
National Diploma in Public Health (fulltime)
National Diploma in Public Health (parttime)
National Diploma for Technicians (Analytic Chemistry)
T1 T2
National Certificate for Technicians (fulltime)
T1
T2 T3
National Higher Certificate for Technicians (T4)
National Diploma for Surveyors and Draughtsmen
National Certificate for Technicians (T1T4 part-time)
White Technical Education
In accordance with the recommendation submitted to the Department of National Education legislation was passed in 1979 which changed the names of Colleges of Advanced Technical Education to Technikons. There are currently five technikons, 22 technical colleges and 35 technical institutes for whites in SAY. Extension of the technikons' facilities continued to be planned during 1978 and 1979 in accordance with the Director of Education for the Department of National Education's recommendation that technikons should replace universities as suppliers of the country's practical engineers and high grade technicians. In July a dispute arose over the reported decision of the Cape technikon to expand into District Subject Successes.

Six rather than on the site of the Old Drill Hall in Cape Town as was the original plan.

Students of other race groups continued to attend technikons for whites for certain courses. Numbers are still low. The whole question of the provision of tertiary education facilities for Africans is currently being investigated by a Government-appointed committee of enquiry."

Details of 1977 enrolments at institutions for technical and vocational training have been extracted from the latest report of the Department of National Education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Technikons</th>
<th>Technical Colleges</th>
<th>Technical Institutes</th>
<th>Training Colleges and Colleges of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post Std 10</td>
<td>15966 2</td>
<td>885 467</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Std 6-10</td>
<td>145 858 145</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices</td>
<td>3 827 12668</td>
<td>1 468</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Std 10</td>
<td>13 323 2 000</td>
<td>892</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>Std 6-10</td>
<td>2 097 2 518 2 089</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>531</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

White Technical Education
Apprentices 5 471 3 648 1 124
Arti - - - L -
Total 19793 1148 17963 16217 6704 10243
In addition the following numbers of occasional students were registered for courses or subjects for which certificates or diplomas were not issued by the Department of National Education or any other recognised examining bodies: Technikons Technical Colleges Technical Institutes Training Colleges and Colleges of Art.

Total
15 786 16 445 4 153 88
36 472

There were 670 applications for admission to the Westlake Trade Training Centre for Adults for the course commencing May 1978. Owing to the unsuitability of the applicants only 153 were accepted.

Examination results for the period November 1977 to October 1978 were as follows:

Electrical Engineering Telecommunication Civil Engineering and Building Mining
Physical Sciences Biological Sciences Agriculture Supplementary Health Services Engineering (New Trimester from 1972) Other
Commerce, Management and Administration

Certificates
393
16 10
323 735
146

Diplomas
5
55 10 60
173
21 250 573 580
22
2 003

532
African Technical Education
Teacher Training Apprentices:
NTC I NTC II NTC III

Certificates
Diplomas
163 155
4 008 4 536 3 829

Training for Africans

In 1978 there were eleven trade schools providing instruction to African boys in the Republic.1 In 1977 there were two in the Transkei and two in Bophuthatswana.2

Enrolment for each course in the Republic in 1978 was as follows:

Course
Concreting, bricklaying and
Enrolment in trade training courses in Bophuthatswana in 1977 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>1st yr</th>
<th>2nd yr</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concreting, bricklaying and plastering</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding and metalwork Motor mechanics</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing, drainlaying and sheetmetalwork</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorbody repairmen Electricians Tailoring</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholstery and Trimming</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 13 students were enrolled for a trade-instructors' course.
Similar statistics for the Transkei were not available.

Examination Results
The results of examinations in 1977 in the Republic (excluding Bophuthatswana, for which statistics were not available, and the Transkei) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Passed</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concreting, bricklaying and plastering</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor body repairmen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholstery and motortrimming</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>66.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platerwork, drainlaying and sheetmetal work</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Std VIII Motor mechanics</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concreting, bricklaying and plastering, carpentry joinery and cabinet-making</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing, drainlaying and sheetmetal work</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in 1978 in the Transkei were as fol-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Candidates</th>
<th>No. of Passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vocational Training

Enrolment for vocational training courses available for girls in the Republic in 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Assistants in pre-school institutions</th>
<th>Dressmaking</th>
<th>Dressmaking (4 short courses)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of study</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st yr</td>
<td>2nd yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistics for Bophuthatswana in 1977 were as follows:

African Technical Education

Course

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dressmaking (short courses)</th>
<th>Assistants in pre-school institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination Results

Results of 1977 examinations (excluding Bophuthatswana and the Transkei) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Home management</th>
<th>Assistants in pre-school institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Candidates</td>
<td>No. of Passes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical and Commercial Secondary Courses

In 1978 there were five technical high schools in the Republic and one in Bophuthatswana (statistics for the Transkei were not available). The new Buchule Technical High School at Mdantsane financed by the CS Barlow Foundation opened at the beginning of 1979.

In January tenders were called for the construction of the New Brighton Technical Institute at Port Elizabeth. Building commenced later in the year. The project was funded by the Urban Foundation which obtained sponsorship of just over R1m.
Enrolments for technical secondary courses in 1978 (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>iota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building construction</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding and metalwork</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricians</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical drawing</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(compulsory)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information about commercial secondary courses was extracted from the departmental report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>iota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountancy</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>534</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Arithmetic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics Mercantile Law Typing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools Offering Junior</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Level</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolment by Form</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>523</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4426</td>
<td>2057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>883</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>346</td>
<td></td>
<td>346</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departmental Training Centres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enrolment at these centres, which provide practical training in technical subjects to pupils from surrounding schools which do not have facilities for such training, in 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>iota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical drawing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(compulsory)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolment by Form</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 5</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>1242</td>
<td>2242</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>346</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>955</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>963</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Advanced Technical Education

Enrolment in 1978 for advanced technical training was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Year of Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Public Health</td>
<td>1st 2nd 3rd 4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Health Nursing Science</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental Therapy Medical Laboratory Technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Intermediate Certificate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Purification Workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Purification Operators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Technicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey Technicians Geology Technicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecommunication Technicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television Technicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Assistants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Inspectors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>262 81 47 7 397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 096 7 366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>2 943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>2 963 1 317 2 519 2 965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination Results

The results of examinations written in 1977 were extracted from the Departmental report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee Of Enquiry</th>
<th>Course</th>
<th>No. of Candidates</th>
<th>No. Passed</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Assistants</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>97,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Public Health</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>85,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Health Nursing</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Facilities for advanced technical education for Africans continued to be very limited in 1979. In 1978 there were only two institutions for advanced technical education for Africans in South Africa.24 In February the Mangosuthu College of Technology admitted its first 16 students. By 1981 it is expected that at least 400 students will be enrolled at the college.

Viljoen Committee

The Government acknowledged that greater tertiary education facilities for Africans were necessary and appointed a Committee of Enquiry into University and Related Training of Africans in the White area of South Africa (Viljoen Committee). Among the areas in which the committee requested information were the following:

(a) potential of Africans to undergo post-secondary training;
(b) problems that Africans experience in seeking admission to existing universities;
(c) career orientation and fields of interest of African university students, teachers and products of colleges for advanced technical education;
(d) availability of careers and work opportunities for Africans who have successfully completed post-secondary education;
(e) is there a manpower shortage that could be filled by Africans with university and post-secondary training?
(f) are there fields of study that require particular attention to provide manpower?

(g) is there a need for post-secondary education during and/or after normal working hours?

(h) what encouragement could employers and others give their African workers to permit them to take part in post-secondary education?

The SA Institute of Race Relations submitted memoranda to the Viljoen Committee. The Institute's memoranda concentrated on the Pretoria-
Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) and the Cape Town areas because of the urgent need for greater tertiary education facilities in those areas. The Institute stated that as a general principle it believed that institutions of tertiary education in urban areas should exist to serve all the inhabitants of those areas, with the choice of which institution is to be attended resting with the individual student.

Its analysis of the provision of facilities for tertiary education in the PWV area indicated a considerable imbalance between facilities available for Africans and whites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in Tertiary Education Age Group</th>
<th>PWV Population of area (20-24)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1414315</td>
<td>107488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016729</td>
<td>176779</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Committee Of Enquiry:
Evidence 7, 6, 8, 77

The black age group of 176,779 (in 1970) is served by four tertiary institutions:
(i) Medunsa
(ii) Soweto Teacher Training College
(iii) Transvaal Teacher Training College
(iv) Vlakfontein Technical College
In addition, there are four technical colleges and five technical schools, some of whose students could be regarded as undergoing tertiary education. Apart from Unisa, there is no university serving non-medical students.

The white tertiary education age group of 107,488 (in 1970) is served by nine tertiary institutions:
(i)
(ii) (iii)
(iv)
(v)
(vi) (vii) (viii)
(ix)

Pretoria University University of the Witwatersrand Rand Afrikaans University Goudstad Teachers' College Johannesburg College of Education Pretoria Teachers' College Wits Technikon Pretoria Technikon Vaal Triangle Technikon
In addition, there are 15 technical colleges in the PWV area, some of whose students could be regarded as undergoing tertiary education. Few of the institutions for Africans are comparable in size to those provided for whites.

African Technical Education
The Institute stated its belief that education facilities should be provided as close as possible to areas in which people live and work and that educational
institutions at all levels should be integrated. It recommended that the process should begin in tertiary education facilities, particularly universities. For this reason it recommended that existing universities in 'white' areas with large concentrations of population should be expanded to meet the needs of the increased numbers of students from all local population groups. However, the decision as to whether such expansion should take place on the university’s present site or at a decentralised venue (eg as a satellite campus) should be made by the university concerned.

The Institute expressed the opinion that the opening of tertiary educational institutions to people of all races would not significantly affect the position of the existing institutions because of the increasing number of matriculants and the growing lag in the number of places available to those wishing to further their education.

The Institute stated that considerable socio-educational differences existed between secondary schooling for Africans and whites. It therefore recommended:
(a) that secondary schooling for Africans be improved in quality;
(b) that pre-university enrichment (or bridging) courses be introduced where there is a need.

The Institute stressed the need for the introduction of career counselling in secondary schools as quickly as possible.

Industrial Training

Public in-service training courses
The eight public centres continued in existence in 1978. The number of trainees attending courses at these centres rose from 3759 in 1977 to 7,014 in 1978. Satellite centres have been established and 417 trainees underwent training at those centres.

Extensions to existing training facilities were undertaken at several centres, among them the Waltloo and Sebokeng centres where driver training courses for upgrading heavy and extra-heavy truck drivers were established.

Levies imposed on employers in certain industries in areas surrounding the training centres during 1977 stimulated interest in the centres. This has resulted in the number of trainees at the Boithusong centre, the first in respect of which levies were imposed, almost trebling in comparison with the previous year.

Of 45 syllabi submitted for approval during 1978, 20 were approved by the Co-ordinating Council for In-service Training of Black Employees. To date the Council has approved 95 syllabii for use in training centres.

Private in-service training centres and schemes
Two private centres exist. These are the Luipaardsvlei Driver Training Centre which provides training for drivers in various categories of the transport and allied industries during the year 549 drivers received training—and the Sabie Training Centre of the Forestry Council. The latter trained 513 employees in 13 different courses designed for the forestry industry and also undertook this training on an ad hoc basis in 1978.

Private in-service training schemes continued to play a Indian role in the training of African employees. To date 326 such schemes...
by the Council. However, the departmental report notes that a number of firms with private training facilities have Education preferred to make use of the courses run by public centres.

Ad Hoc Border Industrial Schools

According to the department's report six state-funded industrial schools for adults who are not in possession of the minimum educational requirements for admission to trade or vocational schools were in existence in 1978. They were situated at Mdantsane (East London), Ezakheni (Ladysmith), Ntuzuma (Durban), Isithebe (Mandini), Enseleni (Richards Bay) and Witsieshoek (QwaQwa). The schools offer practical courses of 13 weeks' duration in bricklaying, plastering, metalwork, carpentry, welding and motor repair work. In addition the department subsidised the salaries of full-time instructors employed at a number of privately run ad hoc border industrial schools.

Training for Indians

Secondary Technical Education

The Department does not operate exclusively technical secondary schools. Technical education for Indian pupils at a secondary level is provided by the department either through offering technically orientated subjects (eg technical drawing, woodwork etc) at ordinary secondary schools or through a technical study direction in which trade subjects (eg workshop theory and practice, fitting and turning etc) are offered. Three schools all in Natal offer the technical study direction. The department intends to introduce it to the MH Joosub High School in the Transvaal in the near future.30

Enrolment for technical courses in 1979 were supplied by the Director of Indian Education (figures include ordinary and practical classes)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Std 8</th>
<th>Std 9</th>
<th>Std 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radiotricians work</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricians work</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitting and turning</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorbody repairing</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying and plastering</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalwork</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing and sheetmetalwork</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indian Technical Education
ML Sultan (Pietermaritzburg)
Motor mechanics Woodwork
Welding and metalworking theory and practice
Woodworking theory and practice

Std 8

23
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Std 8</th>
<th>Std 9</th>
<th>Std 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML Sultan (Stanger)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor mechanics theory and practice</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding and metalworking theory</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking theory and practice</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results of the technical senior certificate examination written at the end of 1978 were supplied by the Director of Indian Education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Matriculation Exemption</th>
<th>Senior Certificate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>% passes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,39</td>
<td>62,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Passes</strong></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>78,69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ML Sultan Technikon

Training for Indians at a tertiary level continued to be provided by the ML Sultan Technikon in Durban or at its branches in Natal. Details of the divisions of the technikon and the courses it offers were given in the 1977 and 1978 Surveys. Plans for the technikon's expansion received a boost in March when it was announced that the historic Sastri College would be taken over by the Technikon.

Full-time and part-time enrolments at the Technikon during 1978 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post-Secondary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Special</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 056</td>
<td>1 889</td>
<td>2 639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 584</td>
<td>7 584</td>
<td>7 584</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these students 2 071 were full-time.

Full results of examinations written at the end of 1977 and in April 1978 were extracted from the Department's report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>N1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>541</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Technical
Diplomas and Certificates Awarded: Education
National Diplomas
Civil Engineering 3
Electrical Engineering (Light Current) 2
Analytical Chemistry 11
Agricultural Extension Officers 7
Horticulture 2
Sugar Technology 5
Medical Laboratory Technology 7
Clinical Pathology 4
Haematology 1
Histopathology 5
Microbiology 1
Community Health Nursing 10
Health Inspectors 1
Public Health 5
Intermediate Diplomas
National Intermediate Diploma for
Technicians Civil Engineering 9
Electrical Engineering (Light Current) 4
National Higher Certificates
National Higher Certificate for Technicians Building 3
Civil Engineering 5
Electrical Engineering (Light Current) 3
National Certificates
Mechanical and Structural Draughtmanship 5
Mechanical Engineering 1
Electrical Engineering (Light Current) 1
Electrical Engineering (Heavy Current) 3
Civil Engineering 2
Building 18
Architectural Draughtsmanship 7
References
Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilisation of Manpower (excluding the Legislation administered by the Department of Labour and Mines), Chapter 3, Para 3.359 p 83
2 Ibid, Chap 2, Para 2.77-2.78 p 20
Ibid, Chap 4, Para 4.158 p 158
See 1976 Survey, p 359-60
Op cit Chap 4, Para 4.478 p 219

542
Education
6 White Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilisation of Manpower (excluding the Legislation administered by the Departments of Labour and Mines), p 12-13 All information provided by Administration of Coloured Affairs, 17 October
Information provided by Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, 17 August
All information extracted from Department of National Education Report 1978 See section on African technical education
Op cit Op cit Op cit,
6 Department of Education Report, Transkei, 1978
Op cit
Op cit
Op cit
2o Daily Dispatch 2 February
Ibid
24 Ibid
11 South African Institute of Race Relations, RR 36/79 21 All figures from 1970 census
Excluding the homelands adjacent to Pretoria
26 Regarded as universities, teacher training colleges, and Colleges of Advanced Technical Education as per Information Pamphlet, Para 5(c)
Department of Education and Training Report, op cit
Information supplied by Director of Indian Education, 16 November
Ibid
72 Ibid
The Leader 2 March
M L Sultan Technical College, Annual Report 1978

UNIVERSITIES
Legislation
Universities For Blacks Amendment Act, No 52
The Act is an uncontentious measure which was welcomed as an improvement by both opposition parties although the NRP opposed it at the second reading. It provides for the opening of Fort Hare, Zululand and Turfloop Universities to 'every person who is a Black as defined in Section 1 of the Population Registration Act, 1950'. Persons other than Blacks may be admitted to the universities to study for a degree, diploma or certificate provided the Minister of Education and Training grants permission for such a person to study at one of the universities and the University Council approves the application.
The Act was in line with the undertaking, given last year by the Minister of Bantu Education, to do away with the legislative emphasis on ethnicity governing admission to the African universities.

Committee of Enquiry

Early in the year the Government appointed a Committee of Enquiry into University and Related Training for Africans in the White Areas of SA. The terms of reference were such that hopes were raised among various educationists that the admission of Africans to white universities would now be a matter for the universities themselves to decide. The committee, headed by Prof G. Viljoen, rector of the Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit and head of the Broederbond, was to report by the end of the year. (See chapter on Technical Training for further details.)

Expenditure

Per capita expenditure

Per capita expenditure by the State on students at the various universities for 1978 was supplied by the ministers and secretaries of the departments concerned.2

R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unisa (correspondence-multi-racial)</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities for Africans Fort Hare</td>
<td>2708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North (Turfloop)</td>
<td>3227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zululand (Ngoye)</td>
<td>3496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medunsa</td>
<td>Not Calculated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban-Westville</td>
<td>1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

544 Universities for whites

Cape Town                  | 2263 |
Natal                      | 2390 |
Orange Free State          | 2360 |
University of Western Cape | 1113876 |
Capital expenditure

Capital expenditure on universities for the different race groups during the 1977-1978 financial year was as follows:3

R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universities for Africans</td>
<td>11495050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of the Western Cape</td>
<td>1113876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Durban-Westville</td>
<td>100000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities for whites</td>
<td>41700000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the Minister of National Education a total loan authority of R45m was granted to white universities. It was, however, impossible to say what amount was actually spent since a loan authority may be taken up and spent in subsequent years.4

**Staff**

The number of lecturers at universities in 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universities for Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6070</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>323</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U NISA</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salary scales for university lecturers were revised in April. Prof Gideon Jacobs of the Graduate School of Business at the University of the Witwatersrand said that the new scales were not a sufficient inducement either to attract top people to academic life or to encourage those already in the academic world to remain in it.6 Dissatisfaction was expressed that academics received increases sixteen months after their colleagues at colleges of education who had done so in January 1978. Protests at the increases were country-wide. The Senate of the University of Cape Town issued a statement welcoming the announcement of the new scales but described it as 'unfortunate' that the increase in the cost of living over the past fifteen months had eroded the value of the increases.7

Salary scales for lecturing staff of different races still have not been equalised. Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of National Education said that parity existed only in respect of the maximum notches of the various salary scales. Differences in the means of various salary scales for lecturers and senior lecturers respectively were given as 2.15 o/o and 2.27 %.8

**Students**

Enrolment figures universities: for 1979 were supplied by the registrars of the Universities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town Durban-Westville</td>
<td>8 935 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare Medunsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Turfloop) OFS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth Potchefstroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria RAU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei UNISA Western</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Witwatersrand Zululand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comprehensive information about degrees awarded by white universities was not available. The Minister gave information regarding the degrees and diplomas awarded at the Universities of the North, Zululand and Fort Hare in 1978:

University:
The North Zululand
Degrees: 203
Diplomas: 153

Fort Hare
Degrees: 268
Diplomas: 82

Total
Degrees: 624
Diplomas: 241

Admission of Students to Universities for Other Race Groups
The Minister of Education and Training was unable to give the exact number of applications received by his department from Africans who wished to study at universities other than those for Africans. Replying to a question in the Assembly he estimated that in the period 1 March 1978 to 20 April 1979 1 700 applications were received. Of these 347 were granted.
Universities: Student Organisations
According to the Minister of Coloured Relations, 644 coloured students applied for permission to enrol at universities other than the University of the Western Cape. Of these applications 592 were granted."

Student Organisations
In November a national organisation representing the interests of black university students, the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), was formed. During the year an organisation representing students at pre-University level, the Congress of South African Students'' was formed.

The two major white student unions, the National Union of SA Students (NUSAS) and the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), continued to represent the interests of the majority of English- and Afrikaans-speaking students.

Once more a large number of student publications were banned including Varsity, the UCT student newspaper, and National Student, the NUSAS newspaper, which were both banned in perpetuity. Security police also raided the NUSAS offices in Cape Town as well as the SRC offices of various English-language universities, usually questioning staff and confiscating printed material. In a statement drawn up by its Academic Freedom Committee, the Council of the University of Cape Town expressed its concern at the number of student publications being banned. The statement pledged the University's continued support of the free expression of opinion by the University's members, even if neither the University, nor the majority of its members, agreed with the views expressed.

Nusas
Nusas continued to maintain a low profile and emphasise an educative role for the organisation in terms of the organisation's decision last year. Nusas broadly continued its 1978 theme of 'Education for an African Future' in 1979. However, the focus was narrowed so as to encourage students to question the relevance of the courses they were studying in the context of a developing country's needs. In addition the Nusas executive decided to examine the control aspects of SA society and investigate issues such as the Broederbond, censorship, school cadets and the pass laws.
Explaining this Mr Auret van Heerden, Nusas president, said that 'the average SA student is conditioned throughout his life and when he gets to university we must strip away this conditioning which has blunted his critical faculties and restricted his ability to independently assess any situation.'

Following the interest in Nusas expressed by some students at the University of Stellenbosch, the body held a meeting at the university. According to the meeting's organiser, Mr W. Lategan, the aim was to establish a group which would then affiliate itself to Nusas. The attempt failed due to the meeting being disrupted.

In May Nusas announced that it was attempting to win Government approval of an alternative to military service. Mr Andrew Boraine, the UCT organiser of the campaign, said that it had grown out of Nusas's Africanisation programme. Nusas had become concerned at the number of young white graduates who left the country to avoid military service and wished to encourage them to stay.

Suggestions for the alternative programme, which Mr E. Angless, UCT co-ordinator of the plan, stressed would be longer than the two year period required by the military, included farm work, labouring, working as firemen, and medical work. The idea would utilise in a constructive way the skills of people opting for the alternative.'

In July Nusas's journal, National Student, was banned as were all future issues. The order was issued because of articles which dealt with the question of military service. These articles were allegedly 'calculated to discourage South Africans from doing military service and demoralise the SA Defence Force, to cast doubt on the cause for which SA soldiers were fighting and harm SA morale, and undermine the SA defence effort'. Yet another article which was found undesirable dealt with the allegation by the University of Stellenbosch that the University of Cape Town was anti-Afrikaans.

Commenting on the banning Mr C. Goldsmith, president of the University of the Witwatersrand SRC, said that it should be seen as a success since, in the SA context, it meant that 'we have got to the roots of SA's problems, that we have been presenting viable alternatives and in a way that most people understand. Banning means our ideas are a real threat to the status quo.'

During the year the ASB published studies on racism, urban Africans, homelands, Afrikaner identity and Crossroads. The studies were nearly all controversial in that they advocated the retention of Crossroads, greater economic development for the homelands so as to provide work opportunities and that Afrikaans children should be taught to respect blacks. The study on racism was particularly controversial. The authors, two Potchefstroom University theology students, defined racism as 'a sinful egotistical attitude of racial superiority and prejudice which can take the form of discrimination and apartheid.' The authors went on to say that Afrikaners were also guilty of racism.
The report on urban Africans recommended that their permanence in SA be recognised although political participation was still to be exercised within the homelands. The annual congress of the ASB rejected this because 'apartism' could never provide a total solution for SA since it contained inconsistencies and unworkable elements.

The organisation's annual congress was held at Stellenbosch in July and upheld many of the conclusions and recommendations reached in the various studies. However, the body again failed to take a definite stand against either the Immorality or the Mixed Marriages Acts. A study commissioned by the ASB had rejected both the laws and their motivation by Government ministers on the grounds that the reason for the laws' existence was 'the maintenance of the racial purity' and that 'this distinction made on the grounds of skin-pigmentation alone and not on the grounds of religious belief is pure discrimination'.

Sharp differences of opinion emerged when the issue was discussed as had been the case when outgoing ASB president, Mr Theuns Eloff, addressed a meeting at Goudstad Teachers College in Johannesburg. The issue was allowed to stand over once again.

Universities:
Student Organisations

The decision by 1978-79 president, Mr Theuns Eloff, not to stand again led to the election of the University of Pretoria's SRC president, Mr Chris Vismer. Although Mr Vismer and the Pretoria University SRC were regarded as conservatives, they supported the opening of ASB Student membership to coloured students. It was expected, however, that Mr Vismer's period of office would be marked by a period of consolidation following the initiatives undertaken during the leadership of Mr Eloff.

Conservative Student Organisations
The Conservative Student Alliance, formed recently and based largely at the University of Cape Town, underwent a number of setbacks during the year. Accusations that the student newspaper, Campus Independent, which supported the Alliance, was financed by secret funds from the Department of Information continued to be made throughout the year despite denials from Government sources.

The arrest of CSA president, Mr Bryan Hack, in connection with the shots fired at the leader of the opposition Mr Colin Eglin's home in Sea Point, shocked the organisation's members. Mr Hack who founded the CSA at the UCT was a well known right-wing figure in student politics and had appeared on the same platform as ex-Minister of Justice, Mr J. Kruger. (For further details on the shooting see action on rightwing intimidation.)

The CSA was uncertain about its future in the wake of Mr Hack's arrest. Chairman of the organisation, Mr Gareth Griffiths, said that the executive would discuss the matter at an emergency meeting before issuing a statement. However,
fears were expressed that the publicity surrounding the attack would prove to be a significant setback for the conservative movement on English-speaking campuses.

Conference of SRCs
The three-day conference attended by representatives of SRC's was held at Stellenbosch University in July. The aim was to discuss how to improve relationships between English, Afrikaans and dual medium universities. When the conference opened the Universities of Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Natal (Pietermaritzburg) were not present. Their SRC's had declined the invitations because of the Stellenbosch SRC's decision to submit Varsity, the UCT student newspaper, and Wits Student, the University of the Witwatersrand student newspaper, to the Publications Control Board. The newspapers were banned as a result. 4

The conference rejected the present political dispensation, characterised by the domination of one race group by another, and resolved that a new national body should be set up, falling somewhere between Nusas and the ASB, which would allow English and Afrikaans students to adopt a common approach. The conference also called for greater contact and exchanges of opinion with black students, a call which was rejected by black student leaders who expressed the opinion that white students 'should be calling on the Government to change the system, to lift the ban on the South African Students' Organisation and to release SASO students from gaol'.25

Events at Individual Universities
African Universities
University of Fort Hare
Despite the representations made to the Minister of Education and Training by the Ciskei government re the appointment of an African rector at Fort Hare, and the undertaking by the Minister in this regard," Prof J.M. de Wet remained rector. The Zwelitsha branch of the university opened in January. While most of the courses were taught by Fort Hare staff, a few full-time appointments were made. Lectures are after hours thus providing a tertiary education facility for people in full-time employment.

The death of Mr Theodore Mhaga, a post-graduate UED student at the university, sparked off a boycott of classes. Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Education and Training said that Mr Mhaga was allegedly shot by a member of the university's security guard, Mr Kolesky, while he was apparently attempting to burglar the guard's house. The house was approximately two kilometres from the campus.27

Students at the university were dissatisfied with the reported reasons for the shooting and alleged that Mr Mhaga was not shot in Mr Kolesky's house but that Mr Kolesky had shot him elsewhere and taken him into the house before informing the police.28
Police investigation revealed that Mr Mhaga's fingerprints were in the house and the inquest into Mr Mhaga's death found that Mr Kolesky could not be held criminally responsible for the shooting. Despite the inquest finding, the boycott of classes was continued by the students. At a ten hour mass meeting called by the students with the permission of the rector, the students demanded that the security section at the university be abolished, that R1 000 from student council funds be donated to Mr Mhaga's family and that the SRC be mandated to obtain an interdict to prevent the rector from closing the university.

Reacting to these demands the rector announced he was prepared to consider the donation favourably, that the closing of the university depended on the students' behaviour and that, although the necessity for a security service at the university was non-negotiable, he would be prepared to discuss the application of security measures and the conduct of officials with the SRC.

Following a second mass meeting addressed by the university's black staff association and representatives of parents of students at the university at which complaints of harassment of students in the vicinity of the hostels by security guards were made, the rector announced that security guards were to be removed from the vicinity of the hostels provided that students accepted the responsibility for the enforcement of hostel rules and regulations. Despite these concessions the students resolved at another mass meeting to continue the boycott of classes until the security system at the university was abolished in toto. At a meeting of the university's Council in July, the recommendation of the African Advisory Council that the security system be reinstated around the hostels was adopted. The Council deplored the continuing boycott of classes by students.

African Universities

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African Universities

and urged students to return to their studies at the beginning of the third term, warning that those who did not write the examinations set down for the first 10 days of the third term would not be allowed to write the final examinations at the end of the year.30

When students returned from the winter vacation classes were resumed as usual despite an earlier decision to continue the boycott. According to the vice-rector of the university, Prof A. Coetzee, students had returned to classes and were writing examinations. In September it became known that Mr Kolesky had left the university. Prof de Wet said he had resigned.

In August a dispute arose over the university's requirement that staff members who lived on the campus carry identity cards. Because white staff members lived in Alice and were only on campus after 8.00 am they were not required to carry the cards. Prof de Wet said that the identification system was necessary to prevent thefts which had cost the university thousands of rands last year and that the stolen materials were presumably taken by black people passing through the
However, a spokesman for the black staff members of Fort Hare reacted angrily to the requirement.

University of the North (Turfloop)

The expulsion of Mr Moako Ramatlhodi, a third year law student at the university, for allegedly contravening the conditions of his admission sparked off a boycott of classes at Turfloop in May. Mr Ramatlhodi was re-admitted to the university on condition he did not take any part in student politics. Following on his alleged involvement in the organisation of the March 21 Sharpeville commemoration meeting, Prof William Kgware, the university's rector, ordered his expulsion.

Following the walkout of students from classes on Wednesday 2 May, riot police were called to the campus on Thursday to guard the administrative block of the university. On Friday the rector issued a written instruction that students who had not returned to classes by 11.00 am were to leave the campus by 2.00 pm that afternoon and the vast majority of students returned to classes.

Mr Ramatlhodi's expulsion had a court sequel when he won an action in the Pretoria Supreme Court for his reinstatement. The judge found that the university had wrongfully expelled Mr Ramatlhodi because the university authorities had not complied with the regulations.

Three newspapers were prevented from covering the university's graduation ceremony in May this year. The newspapers, the Rand Daily Mail, Post and the Pietermaritzburg-based African Mirror, were banned because they wrote 'false and harmful reports' about the university. Replying to the Rand Daily Mail's questions as to the reasons for the ban, Prof J.C. Steenkamp, the academic registrar at the university, singled out the newspaper's reporting on the boycott of classes staged because of the expulsion of Mr Ramatlhodi.

Disputes also arose among students over reports that the university's sports teams had been playing against teams connected with the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) and a Defence Force basketball team in contravention of the SA Black Intervarsity Committee's, and an earlier SASO, recommendation against such contacts. Following the game against the University of the Witwatersrand the students decided at a mass meeting to ban all further such games until a new SRC had been elected.

Tension also arose over a decision to hold a beauty contest at the university on 16 June. Students were upset because it coincided with the planned commemoration ceremony on that day. The announcement that the contest would be held a week later defused the issue but the contest was disrupted by a march by almost all the students (approximately 2 000) calling for the election of a SRC.

The announcement that the university administrator had no objection to the election of an SRC was severely watered down by the amendments to the existing SRC constitution. The amendments remove the SRC's financial independence, provide that mass meetings may be called only with the approval of the rector, curb the voting power of students and limit the areas of SRC authority." Strong opposition to the amended constitution from sections of the student body emerged
at a mass meeting called to ratify its adoption and no agreement could be reached.3
As a result of the disagreement a secret ballot on the desirability of the new constitution was held. Only 16 per cent of those students entitled to vote cast their votes. Over 61 per cent voted against electing an SRC under the amended constitution.39 The low poll was attributed to the exclusion of first year students who were not allowed to vote and the apathy of other students.
In August the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA), banned from the campus in 1977 after refusing to renounce 'Turfloop Testimony', their memorandum to the Snyman Commission which was investigating campus unrest, resolved not to reapply for recognition by the University Council.
Earlier in the year reports indicated that the university had received too many applications for the number of places available. Reports indicated that Turfloop had received 6,741 applications for the available 2,300 places.
University of Zululand (Ngoye)
In May Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was installed as the university's chancellor. Speaking at the ceremony Chief Buthelezi said that there was nothing wrong with the principle of all-black universities.4 However, Chief Buthelezi said that opposition to the black universities stemmed from the motives of those who established them. These motives were the balkanization of SA and its peoples.41 Earlier reports had indicated that the university had received too many applications for the number of places available. According to the Natal Witness over 2,600 applications had been received while the university had places for only 1,480 students.42
University of Transkei
In April the university's first graduates were awarded their degrees by the university's chancellor and the Transkei's State President, Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Altogether seventeen degrees were awarded.
Work on the university's permanent campus (it is at present housed in prefabricated buildings) was on schedule and it was expected to provide initial accommodation for 600 students when it opened in January 1980. Total expenditure was expected to be R34m.

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African Universities

552 Critics said that the money could be more realistically spent on providing more secondary school facilities in the country.43
Black Bophuthatswana Universities The university was scheduled to open on 1 January 1980 in accordance with the recommendations of the Lekhele Commission. The university's first rector, Dr J.C. Kriel, Bophuthatswana's Minister of Health and Social Welfare, took up his position on 1 August. Commenting on how he saw the role of the university Dr Kriel said that education was a priority in the territory.
University of the Western Cape
A row erupted over reports that five white professors at UWC were involved in a plot to oust the university's rector, Prof R. van der Ross, and replace him with a white. Allegedly hatched by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), the aim to oust Prof van der Ross came about because his appointment in 1973 was considered to be 'solely because of political considerations and the political climate prevailing at the time.' SABRA allegedly believed that since Prof van der Ross's appointment discipline at the university had been weakened and a more favourable climate for 'agitation and violence' had emerged.4

The university's council, consisting of ten coloured members and ten whites,41 investigated the allegations but failed to resolve the controversy which emerged again later in the year.46 A special committee to investigate the allegations was appointed and five professors, Profs C.J. Kriel, P. Pretorius, P.P. Kirstein, G.R. Delpiere and E.H. Halzapfel, were found guilty of reprehensible conduct. They were also found to be harming race relations on the campus and causing tension between staff and students. Because of the seriousness of the matter, the university council decided that a sub-committee appointed by it would make recommendations on the future of the five professors at the university.47

Dissatisfaction among students with the quality of the food served in the university's hostels resulted in a boycott of hostel food.

University of Durban-Westville (UDW)

In April Ms Bulekwa Mengezeli, one of four African students at the university, alleged that she had been refused accommodation at the university residences because Indian women students 'would object to her presence', that she would find the food unsuitable and that she would have problems mixing with hostel students.4 Responding to the allegations the rector, Prof S.P. Oliver, said that Ms Mengezeli's permit to attend UDW did not allow her hostel accommodation and that she had never applied for such accommodation. Prof Olivier said that the university only had limited hostel accommodation but despite this had gone out of its way to find accommodation for Ms Mengezeli who had rejected all such attempts with disdain.4 An attempt by students sympathetic to Ms Mengezeli's situation to organise a boycott of classes failed.

The University of Durban-Westville was the first 'black university' to award a doctorate to a white. Dr Carel Folscher was awarded a doctorate in commerce at the university's graduation ceremony this year.

White Universities

University of Cape Town

The banning of the UCT newspaper, Varsity, following the Stellenbosch SRC's attacks on the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand for 'the persistent incitement of anti-Afrikaner sentiment',0 according to the vice-president of the Stellenbosch SRC, led to a decision by the UCT SRC to cut all ties with the Stellenbosch SRC. Mr Dave Hill, president of the UCT SRC said that 'as far as this SRC is concerned, I do not see any prospect of the situation changing'.
The application by former Security Police member, Mr Michael Morris, for admission as a doctoral student at UCT raised a storm of protest. Mr Morris, who was an undercover agent on the campus during the early 1960's, applied for admission to the Faculty of Social Science and, when this application was rejected, to the Faculty of Arts. His application was approved by Prof A. de Crespigny, head of the Department of Political Science and, despite the recommendation by the Arts Faculty Council that he be refused admission, was approved by the university Senate. Opposition to Mr Morris' admission rested on the grounds that his activities as an undercover security police agent in the early 1960's would discourage free and open teaching and discussion at the university.

The university celebrated its 150th anniversary during the year. A group of students led by SRC president, Mr Tony Weaver, protested against the celebration because the university was honouring 'five men who together symbolise the cornerstones of white minority rule'. The students demonstrated against the awarding of five of the eight honorary doctorates to people who, they claimed, represented 'the Broederbond, the Nationalist regime, the bantustans, nuclear technology, arms manufacture and research and the active suppression of student thought'. The five who received the honorary doctorates to which students objected were, Mr Anton Rupert, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Mr C.P. van der Merwe Brink, Mr Niko Stutterheim and Prof Richard van der Ross.

University of Natal

The decision by the UCT and University of the Witwatersrand SRC's to sever ties with Stellenbosch University's SRC was supported by the Pietermaritzburg campus SRC. The president, Mr Alan Velich, said that his SRC found it deplorable that fellow students could collaborate with the 'State's intimidation of the student press by submitting newspapers to the Publications Control Board.' He said his SRC was 'forced to terminate contact with that body as such contact would be futile'.

A statement by Mr A. Graham of the management of Fedics, the university catering service, that the presence of black students in the Pietermaritzburg campus's refectory had resulted in a drop in takings at the refectory, led to a call by the Black Students' Society to fellow students to boycott the refectory. According to Mr S. Govender, a member of the Black Students' Society, Mr Graham had also alleged that the foul state of toilets in the students' union was due to blacks and that blacks sat in the refectory without buying the day's meal. The chairman of the BSS, Mr Faisal Ismail, said that Mr Graham's remarks had a strong flavour of racism and that the boycott would be ended only after he had apologised. The president of the SRC said that the SRC had been asked to mediate in the dispute by the university's vice-principal, Prof P. Booysen, and it was attempting to set up a meeting between the black students...
and Mr Graham with a view to getting the latter to apologise. He said that it appeared that the BSS was justified in calling the boycott.

In March the Pietermaritzburg student newspaper, Nux, revealed the names of one member of the university staff and one council member, Mr B. Cilliers and Mr J.H. Stander respectively, as alleged members of the Broederbond. Mr Stander declined to comment on the allegations but Mr Cilliers, declining an invitation from the SRC to debate the influence of the Broederbond in academic life, implicitly acknowledged his membership of the organisation when he said 'I will definitely not stand on a public platform and discuss the Broederbond's influence in academic affairs. The Broederbond is a confidential organisation and does not allow such things to take place'.

The Durban campus's SRC split and collapsed following the resignations of some of its members and the adoption of a motion of censure against its president, Mr Stuart Davis. The resignations were occasioned by SRC member, Mr Nigel Bristow, submitting a copy of the campus newspaper, Dome, to the Publications Control Board because of an allegedly offensive cartoon strip on the subject of sex-education. The vote of no-confidence in Mr Davis followed an attack by him on the Rag committee alleging wasting of funds.

University of Port Elizabeth (UPE)

Black undergraduates enrolled at UPE for the first time during the year. Thirty-nine black primary and secondary school teachers enrolled as part-time students for BA and BSc degrees. The university's principal, Prof E.J. Marais, said that there were insufficient numbers to warrant offering the full range of BA and BSc subjects but it was hoped that more would be offered next year. At present courses are being offered in English, Afrikaans, history and mathematics.

In March it was announced that UPE would award an honorary doctorate to Mr Ian Smith, ex-Prime Minister of the rebel Rhodesian regime. Mr Smith was awarded an honorary doctorate in philosophy at the university's graduation ceremony.

Pretoria University

Coloured and Indian students were permitted to study at Pretoria University for the first time in 1979. Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of National Education said that two coloured and five Indian students applied for admission to the Faculty of Veterinary Science in 1979 but were unacceptable on academic grounds. The Minister also said that Africans would not be permitted to study Veterinary Science at Pretoria because provision would be made at Medunsa for them.16

There are no black veterinary surgeons in SA. Pretoria University is the only university in the country offering a course in veterinary science and until this year provision had not been made for the admission of black students to the faculty.57

Rand Afrikaans University (RAU)

The announcement last year that RAU was to establish an Institute for American Studies to be partly financed by Mr John McGoff appeared to be premature. A year later the proposed institute still had no staff, students or director.8 When approached to comment on the matter, the vice-rector, Prof J. Poolman, said that
it was hoped that the university council would ratify a recommendation for the
director before the end of March.
The president of the incoming SRC, Mr Cobus Bekker, announced his intention to
establish a student parliament, along the lines of those at Stellenbosch and the
OFS. The aim of this plan was to develop awareness of student and external
political issues. He also stated his belief in the necessity for contact with other
race groups. This would take place first at professional and later at student level
and was a priority, he said.
Rhodes University
Long-standing plans to extend the university's activities through the establishment
of an East London campus received impetus during the year. The Rhodes
University (Private) Amendment Act was unanimously passed by Parliament and
support was expressed for the idea of establishing a veterinary faculty at the
university.
A demonstration in favour of more Africa-orientated courses was held at Rhodes
in May. Designed to highlight the problems facing squatters, about forty students
erected corrugated-iron shelters on the university grounds. The demonstration was
described by participants as 'quite effective'.
Stellenbosch University
The cover of the UCT student newspaper, Varsity, depicting a SA soldier imposed
over a list of names of people who had died on military service entitled 'Some
People are not Dying for Change' angered Stellenbosch students. The SRC
described the cover as 'insensitive (and) callous' and said it was anti-Afrikaans
and outraged them as Afrikaners. At the same meeting of the Stellenbosch SRC it
was decided to submit a copy of Wits Student, the University of the
Witwatersrand student newspaper, to the Publications Control Board. The UCT
and University of the Witwatersrand SRC's attacked the vice-president of the
Stellenbosch SRC Mr Frans Roelofse, for 'meddling in the affairs of other
campuses' and 'using the State's censorship organ for silencing a viewpoint not
conforming to their own' and broke off relations with the Stellenbosch SRC. Mr
Roelofse said that Stellenbosch students were infuriated by the persistent
incitement of anti-Afrikaner feeling by UCT students.9
In May students at the Helshoogte Hostel voted to accept a motion proposing that
students of other races should be allowed to stay in the hostel subject to the
university council's approval.
University of the Witwatersrand
In May the vice-chancellor, Prof D.J. du Plessis, announced that the university
was embarking on an expansion programme and a drive to increase the number of
black students at Wits. At present approximately 8/o of the university's students
are black. As a part of this
drive the university will spend R2m on the extension of programmes
for underprivileged students and pre-university training. The plan was announced after the Government had given its approval of the university's planned physical expansion into the Rand show grounds. To finance this expansion a fundraising campaign which hopes to raise R12.5m over the next five years and R25m eventually was begun in June.

Various suggestions as how best to bridge the education backlog were made. The Centre For Continuing Education began a scheme, directed initially at prospective commerce and engineering students, which provided a pre-university year for black matriculants who wished to enter these faculties. Plans were also advanced to take merits other than matriculation results into account when considering applications for admission to the university. However, racial quotas, as applied under the US positive action scheme, were rejected.

The serious accommodation problem faced by black students at the university received attention during the year. As a temporary measure Anglo-American donated R50 000 to renovate the Salvation Army Youth Hostel in Soweto to house African students. The university approached the Government for permission to accommodate its black students on the campus.

The decision by the Stellenbosch SRC to submit an issue of Wits Student to the Publications Control Board and to call for its banning was condemned by Mr Clifford Goldsmith, president of the University of the Witwatersrand's SRC, as 'unwarranted interference' in the university's affairs. The University of the Witwatersrand's student representatives decided to sever all ties with the Stellenbosch SRC.

In June the Brakpan Town Council called on the university's vicechancellor, council and senate to dissociate themselves from a poster published by Wits Student. The poster, which referred to the resignation of Mr B.J. Vorster, offended Brakpan Town Councillors who passed a resolution withholding the university's annual grant of R400 until the university's governing bodies dissociated themselves from the poster.

Earlier in the year the student newspaper, Wits Student, attempted to publish the names of members of the Broederbond on the university's council. The article was censored on the instructions of Prof du Plessis. Prof du Plessis was criticised for 'doing the Government's work in helping indirectly to prop up the status quo' by angry students at a mass meeting on the campus.

Potchefstroom University

The Government came under sharp attack from students at the university over its handling of the Information scandal. The SRC protested to the NP branch on the campus about the suspension of Dr Connie Mulder who, they felt, had not been permitted to put his case to the Transvaal caucus. Later approximately 120 students at the university led by SRC president Mr Theuns Eloff attended a NP meeting and were asked to leave after charges that they had behaved in an undisciplined manner. According to Mr Jan du Plooy, deputy-chairman of the
SRC, the students had gone to the meeting to express a 'spirit of growing pessimism and mistrust we feel about Government actions'.

Earlier in the year plans had been announced to make the university international. The university's Institute for the Promotion of Calvinism recommended the development because it felt 'we have the opportunity to spread Calvinism from Potchefstroom and SA far beyond Universities our borders.'

Academic Isolation

The SA political system continued to cause severe problems for SA universities. English language universities in particular have suffered as a result of the growing shortage of foreign academics who are prepared to come and teach in SA. While financial considerations are a factor in the increasing difficulty experienced in the recruitment of foreign academics (SA universities cannot offer competitive salaries) the international disapproval with which SA's political system is viewed and the possible effects on an academic's future career should he/she accept a teaching appointment in a SA university also discourages the acceptance of an academic post in SA.

Overseas universities, too, continued to cut links with their SA counterparts leading to a delay in the exchange of the most up to date information, concepts, etc. Dutch universities continued to take the lead in this respect. Following the decisions last year by the University of Leyden and the Amsterdam Free University to sever ties, the University of Utrecht announced in May that its ties with SA universities would also be cut. The move was undertaken as a result of the request of a number of members of the Faculty of Physics and Astronomy who said that it would be a 'notable protest against the co-operation of SA scientists in the development of SA atomic weapons'.

The concern of overseas students with the political situation in SA was manifested on a number of occasions throughout the year. According to Prof Gwendolyn Carter the antagonism of students in the United States to the SA political system and United States involvement in SA could be likened to the earlier opposition expressed by American students to the Vietnam War. According to Prof Carter the student movement was focussing on bringing pressure to bear on universities to withdraw their investments from companies which operated in SA. Prof Carter attributed the fact that the student movement had achieved only limited results to date to the fact that many of the biggest American corporations were operating in SA. The universities could not afford to forfeit revenue they obtained from these sources. However, Prof Carter said that as the pressure for disinvestment increased, more universities would bow to it.

References
See Section on African technical education
2 Hansard 11 Q col 756
Hansard 4 Q col 229; Hansard 5 Q col 312
4 Hansard 4 Q col 235
Educational Statistics 1979 Dept of Statistics
6 Star 14 April
Argus 14 April
BURSARIES AND SCHOLARSHIPS

Bursaries Awarded by the State

African Students

The following bursaries were awarded by cation and Training in 1978:

- School Pupils
- Technical Pupils (Stds 9 and 10) Students at Teachers' Training Colleges
- University Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of Edu-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of bursaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 667 2 467</td>
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</table>

Total Value

R
Coloured Students
The Administration of Coloured Affairs awarded 3,639 bursaries to students at Teacher Training Colleges and 119 to university students in 1978. These were non-repayable.

Indian Students
The following bursaries were awarded Indian Affairs in 1978.

Students at Teacher Training Colleges
School Pupils (boarding and transport allowances)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of bursaries</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
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<tr>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>R366,358</td>
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<td>15,313</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R not available</td>
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Privately Sponsored Bursaries
The number of bursary funds listed by the Education Information Centre of the SAIRR in 1979 and the courses for which they were awarded was as follows:

Primary education: 5
Forms I-III: 30
Forms IV and V: 36
University study: 42
Teaching:
Primary Teachers’ Certificate: 17
Post-Matric Diploma: 28

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Technical and Vocational Training:
Pre-Matric Post-matric Nursing Commercial and Secretarial Courses:
Pre-Matric Post-Matric
Correspondence Studies:
Pre-matric Post-matric
Lists of bursaries are available on request. (It is probable, however, that there are more private bursary schemes operating.)
The annual report of the Department of Education and Training for 1978 gave information about bursaries made available by individuals and non-departmental bodies to African students (excluding university students)."

These statistics exclude bursaries awarded to scholars and students in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. Bursaries Awarded to:
Primary pupils Junior Secondary pupils Senior Secondary pupils Students in Teacher Training Schools Theological students Students in Trade and Technical Training Schools
No. of Bursaries
1 594
2 742 1 582 853
136
Total Value
Rc
6641,10 227 519,42 526 098,45
94 023,00
14 537,00
Total 6 907 868 818,97

Bursaries Administered by the SA Institute of Race Relations
The SAIRR administers a large number of bursaries on behalf of various companies and also a large number of trust funds which are education-orientated and which, in addition to other projects, provide bursaries for black students. The number of bursaries awarded for 1979 was as follows:
Area
Johannesburg
Natal
Cape Town
Bursary for
University Teacher Training Technical and Vocational Training School
University School Teacher Training Technical and Vocational Training
University School
Number
198
26
80 349
Bursaries
Area Bursary for Number 561
Teacher Training 9
Technical and Vocational Training 12
East London School 173 Bursaries
Teacher Training 6
Technical and Vocational Training 9
The total value of the bursaries administered by the Institute amounted to R256 152.
References
Hansard 13 Q col 799
2 Hansard 6 Q col 463
Hansard 5 Q col 341
HEALTH

The re-orientation of policy towards preventive and promotive health care was stressed by the Minister of Health, Dr S.W. van der Merwe, when, opening the Universitas Hospital in Bloemfontein, he said that very large luxurious hospitals could no longer be justified in SA. Describing hospitals which devoted their time to curative medicine as 'disease palaces', the Minister said that hospitals were just part of the provision of comprehensive health services.

Outlining health policy, he said that preventative health services, promotive healing and rehabilitative services should be made available to all. Because of this, future health services would be characterised by public participation and to this end the private sector had a particular responsibility through the provision of housing, sport and recreation facilities, and transport for its employees as well as services for the aged and handicapped. 'Primary health care facilities, closed in a number of urban areas in 1976, were reopened during the year and new facilities constructed.

At a conference in October 1978 organised by the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit, the theme of which was 'The Economics of Health Care in Southern Africa', delegates identified the socio-political-economic structure of the Republic as being the major cause of the discrepancies in the provision of health services between the different racial groups and urban and rural areas.2 Five aspects of the SA situation—the neglect of preventive medicine, the maldistribution of doctors and health services, the inappropriate nature of health institutions, the weak development of ancillary services and the deep permeation of SA medicine by the structure of apartheid, were identified as the root causes of the unacceptably high rate of morbidity in SA.3 Delegates agreed that the almost total lack of political and economic power of the vast majority of the SA population was a causal factor.

Internationally SA health services were also attacked by both agencies and individuals. An article published in World Medicine stated that the SA political system prevented SA doctors from being good doctors, that black infant mortality rates were as high as 40 %, and attacked the University of Natal medical school for racism. The allegations were refuted. Prof Sarkin, Dean of the University of Natal medical school, denied that one of the article's co-authors, Nkosazana Dlamini, had been expelled from the school and defended it against the allegations of racism in staff appointments. An article in the SA Medical Journal4 rejected the claims on black infant mortality rates arguing that if this was the case the black population would not grow at its present rate. At the SALDRU conference it was estimated that in some rural areas 250 per thousand babies died in their first year of life5 and David Bourne and Bruce Dick of the university of Cape Town, at the same conference estimated that in 1974 the maximum rate of Afri-

The Medical University of SA (Medunsa) was attacked in the British Medical Journal on the grounds that it was situated in an undeveloped area of
Bophuthatswana and provided a lower standard of education than other medical schools in SA. The SA Medical Journal replied that Medunsa had a 2 000 bed teaching hospital with full facilities and was linked to an extensive community clinic system.

The Department of Health continued its efforts to eradicate various diseases in SA. While no end was in sight to the problem of tuberculosis, the department expressed its belief that it was overcoming poliomyelitis as only 50 cases of the disease were notified during 1978. The department undertook to make an all-out effort to eradicate the disease as had been done with smallpox.

During 1979 the department conducted a campaign to promote health in conjunction with other events, arranged by private organizations, to mark ‘Health Year’.

Tuberculosis

The number of newly diagnosed cases of TB in 1978 was 45 000. This figure excludes the number of cases diagnosed in Transkei. Figures for the number of newly diagnosed cases per racial group were not given. The number of cases per race group diagnosed in 1976 and 1977 were given in the 1978 Survey (p 467). In 1976 84,71% of the 56 308 diagnosed cases and in 1977 82,25% of the 50 850 diagnosed cases were African. There is no reason to believe that the percentage distribution of newly diagnosed cases changed greatly in 1978.

The department's report estimated that the incidence of infectious TB cases in SA is about three times as high as the number of reported cases (approximately 135 000) and that the pool of infected persons is as high as ten million, approximately 41,85% of the total SA population excluding Bophuthatswana and the Transkei. Since between 10% and 15% of all infected persons will develop tuberculosis at some time in their life, the department estimates that at any point in time there are between 100 000 and 150 000 infectious cases in circulation. The department adopted a policy in 1978 to reduce the risk of infection to the internationally accepted limit of 0,3% and below for all races in SA and to ensure effective treatment of all cases that are diagnosed.

To achieve this the department is following a four point plan. First, the department and others involved in prevention (eg SANTA) plan to educate the population concerning the dangers of TB, its signs and symptoms. Secondly, case-finding will be intensified. The department expects there to be a steep rise in the number of notified cases over the next three years because of this. Thirdly, treatment, including follow-up treatment, is to be provided to ensure that the disease is cured. Finally, a massive vaccination programme is planned including all new-born babies in maternity homes, babies attending clinics,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>No. of beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital White Coloured Asian African Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State 116 788 114 2553 3571</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTA 4562</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of beds available to TB sufferers in 1978 was as follows:

564 school-beginners and school-leavers. In a study conducted on the mines, the vaccine was found to be 80% effective.
Because of the shortage of beds only those who request hospitalisation and those who are too ill for out-patient treatment or cannot be treated on an ambulatory basis will be hospitalised over the next five years. This decision, in addition to the intention to extend out-patient treatment, is in line with the decision, early last year, to improve primary health care facilities.

Malnutrition
Numerous reports during the year indicated that malnutrition remains a serious problem. Various studies conducted showed that the infant mortality rate of African and coloured children which gives a good indication of general living was very much higher than that of whites.

In a paper presented to the conference on the Economics of Health Care in Southern Africa, it was estimated that the minimum infant mortality rate per thousand population of African children was approximately 220. A study conducted by Drs C.H. Wyndham and L.H. Irwig of the SA Medical Research Council in Johannesburg found 50% of deaths among Africans and coloured people occurred in the under five age group. The corresponding figure for whites was 7%. They estimated the national average infant mortality rate to be 133.6 per thousand for coloureds and 123.9 per thousand for Africans. Discussing their findings the doctors said that 60% (3 in 5 deaths) were caused by gastro-enteritis and pneumonia. Malnutrition lowers the resistance to both these diseases.

A study conducted by Prof A Moosa of the Department of Paediatrics at the University of Natal medical school said that of the approximately 8 000 children admitted annually to King Edward VIII hospital almost half were found to be suffering from one of the severe forms of malnutrition, kwashiorkor or marasmus. The majority of children admitted to the hospital severely ill because of a bad diet were under the age of two. Discussing the extent of malnourishment, Prof Moosa said that in a study of 6 000 apparently healthy children conducted in the Umlazi area various significant aspects were found. At birth the babies weighed on average the same as well-nourished white American babies—the international standard of measurement. By age four, approximately half were stunted in growth, judging by the American standard and by age 12 up to 40% were lighter than the average American white child of the same age.

The high infant mortality rate in the country as a whole was exceeded in Grahamstown. According to the Grahamstown municipal health report for 1977, the last year for which figures were available, the African Policy infant mortality rate was 378 per thousand live births. The corresponding figures for white and coloured were 27 and 145 respectively.

Opening a nation-wide drive for funds to combat malnutrition the Rev R. Brautseth, executive director of World Vision of Southern Africa, said that there
was evidence that 25% of babies in Soweto could be suffering from malnutrition and that 20% of the children admitted to hospitals throughout the country for curative medicine died as a result of malnutrition. Official statistics on a country-wide basis are not available as malnutrition is not a notifiable condition. Replying to a question in the Assembly on the enrichment of maize to combat pellagra, the Minister said that the plan would be instituted as soon as possible but was dependent on the availability of funds; however he said that this did not prevent private enterprise from going ahead with the scheme.

Other Diseases
The increase in the incidence of malaria caused the disease to reemerge as a threat to public health in particular areas of the country. Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister said that during 1978 6,125 cases of malaria had been reported to the department. The figure for 1977 was 3,512.18 This represented an increase of 74%.

The areas affected were those in the North-Eastern Transvaal, bordering on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Mozambique, and Northern Natal and KwaZulu. Probably the most important reason for the increase in the incidence of malaria was the reported breakdown of the control programmes in neighbouring countries. The incidence reached such levels in an area of Northern Natal and KwaZulu that the Government considered declaring the Hlabisa district an endemic area.

During July there were reports of an outbreak of bubonic plague in the North-Western Cape. Writing in the July issue of Health News, the Department of Health's monthly bulletin an ecologist, Dr E.K. Hartwig, warned of the danger of the disease spreading 'like wildfire' in the Republic. Commenting on the report Dr Margaret Isaacson of the SA Institute of Medical Research said that while she agreed with Dr Hartwig's findings, the SA plague control system was equal to those anywhere in the world. Both doctors said that the outbreak could be as a result of the intensified war on the border of Namibia and the absence of basic health control in SA's northern neighbours. Health authorities said that SA had always been regarded as one of the plague endemic areas of the world. Dr James Gilliland, co-ordinating director of the Department of Health, supported this view saying 'We know that there is a belt of potential plague area running right up to South West Africa/Namibia.'

The danger of measles was highlighted again during the year. Although the number of cases is not known because it is not a notifiable disease the number of African children admitted to the CMR Hospital, Mental the fever hospital for Africans on the Reef, with complications arising from the ailment almost doubled in 1978 to nearly 1,000. It was reported that in 1978 22 Africans and one coloured person died from it in Johannesburg. Dr Max Klein, senior lecturer in paediatrics at UCT, estimated that as many as 11 people a day died from measles in SA. Addressing a congress of the SA Paediatric Association he said that more SA children died of the disease in a week than American children in a year. Estimating that the death rate among SA
children was 30 times as high as among US children-the risk for black children is much higher-Dr Klein described it as 'grossly excessive'.

Mental Health

The debate on the quality of mental health care and services provided to blacks in SA was resumed during the year. Responding to a challenge issued by the Minister of Health, Dr van der Merwe, to any established organisation to visit the country and investigate conditions in mental hospitals, a team of American psychiatrists spent 17 days investigating conditions in mental hospitals for black patients. Their report, published in May, found that apartheid was damaging to the mental health of all races in SA, a conclusion supported by Prof H.I.J. van der Spuy in a new book entitled 'The Psychology of Apartheid',

that there was "a high number of needless deaths", neglect and abuse of black patients at some of the psychiatric institutions they investigated. Dismissing the findings as being apparently politically motivated, Dr P. Henning, chief of psychiatric services of the Department of Health, said that the team members were involved in an informal connection with various international anti-apartheid groups. He said that the American team had accepted the reports of psychotic and demented patients while ignoring those of the hospitals' staff.

The problems facing psychologists attempting to treat the mentally disturbed in SA were highlighted by Mrs C.C. Pretorius, the country's first African woman psychologist. Mrs Pretorius called for the adaptation of psychometric and therapeutic tests to the needs of Africans. She said that Africans faced special problems because the transition from a traditional culture to a Western-orientated culture was especially disturbing. This view was supported by Dr Paul Kapapa, a Malawian psychiatrist, in a paper delivered to the SA Medical Congress in Durban in July. He questioned the relevance of Freudian theory in the treatment of mentally disturbed Africans because psychological disturbances in Africans stemmed from fears and anxieties which had no relation to those of Westerners.

According to the Minister no new psychiatric institutions had been built. The years in which the building of new institutions would commence were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hospital</th>
<th>Race Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mitchells Plain</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verulam</td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soweto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamelodi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vereeniging</td>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daveyton Secunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The number of patients for which given in the 1978 Survey p 469.
The Minister gave information in beds, the average occupation of beds for each race group in the Republic.
White 9038
Coloured 3119
Asian 383
African 10 537
*Calculated average for all hospitals.

Tender date
1979-80
1983
1983-84

each hospital was planned was

the Assembly on the number of and the cost per patient per day

Average Occupancy Cost* - R
8403 8.35
2883 6.34
356 6.52
10 576 6.96

A number of hospitals had a larger average number of occupied beds than the
total number of beds in the institution. These were:

Hospital Province
Stikland Cape
Komani Cape
Tower Cape
Alexandra Cape
Weskoppies Transvaal
Oranje OFS
Umgeni
Waterfall Natal

All the above are state hospitals.

The number of mental December 1978 was:

Dept of Health Other Agencies
White 7 676 1 630
Race Coloured African African White African African
White
No. of beds
152 526
967
834
1 580
230
444
Average occupied
172
595 1181 869 1 627 308
529

patients in each race group as at 31

Coloured
The total cost to the State of these institutions in 1978 was R33 606 837. Of this R27 287 320 was spent on departmental institutions and R6 319 517 on institutions administered by other agencies.3

The Minister estimated that private hospitals would be replaced by State hospitals in the Cape Province, Natal and the Orange Free State by 1985. In the Transvaal the process would take place between 1985 and 1990.13

Mental Health

568 Health Services
Primary Health Care
Health The importance of primary health care was again stressed during Services 1979. Dr R.L.M. Kotze, Cape Director of Hospital Services, said that more emphasis should be placed on primary health care which involved timely diagnosis and preventive measures. Advocating greater community involvement in health care, Dr Kotze said that although his department intended to erect six community health centres in country towns during 1979 "it would be wrong to leave all aspects of health services, the doing as well as the paying, to the Government".34

Since January 1977 eight clinics in Soweto which were abandoned in 1976 have re-opened, treating as at May 1979 up to 4 000 people a week. When Baragwanath Hospital closed its outpatient department in August for renovations clinic attendance rose further. Primary health care nursing sisters receive training at Baragwanath Hospital for 3 months in how to examine, diagnose, prescribe and dispense for common ailments thereby relieving doctors of approximately half their work load. Since training commenced in 1976 some forty nurses have qualified and are working in the Diepkloof, Meadowlands, Orlando and Sernoane areas.5 Of the 8 055 patients treated by the PHC nurses in May, 81 % were dealt with by the nurses themselves, 17 % were referred to a doctor and 2 % to hospital. This is indicative of their role as foreseen by Dr Lucy Wagstaff.16

Family Planning
The aims and objectives of the family planning programme of the State Department of Health were outlines in last year's Survey.37 The goal to protect, by medical methods, at least 50 % of all women who are exposed to the risk of conception by 1980 appears to be within reach.
The number of women protected between 1974 and 1978 was as follows:38
1974 437 000
1975 686 200
1976 905 400
1977 954 300
1978 990 410

The total percentage of women at risk who were protected in 1978 was 48%.

Percentage protection by racial group in 1978 was as follows:
Whites 58
Coloured 55
Asian 48
African 43

Average monthly attendance figures for the second quarter of the years 1976-78 at family planning clinics were as follows:

1976 1977 1978 569
Whites 17 200 21 420 23 880
Coloured 45350 51820 53850
Asian 11240 11000 12340
Hospitals
African 130 850 145 990 151 210
Total 204 640 230 230 241 280

In July 1978 there were 7 716 family planning service points in SA.

In 1978 the following personnel were employed in family planning services:

Doctors:
Full Time 23
Part Time 176

Registered Nurses:
Full Time 491
Part Time 93

In addition 941 family planning advisers were employed.

Hospital Services

Following calls last year for the appointment of blacks to the boards of hospitals serving their racial group, Mr K.S. de Haas, MEC in charge of hospitals in the Transvaal, announced the first all-African hospital board for Kalafong Hospital in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, and that an African board would run Baragwanath from 31 March. Plans to extend hospital services for Africans were also announced. Four new hospitals for blacks in the Transvaal are planned. Two of these are in the Johannesburg area, one in Soweto, which will have a nursing college attached to it, and one in Lenasia. The other two hospitals are planned for Volksrust and Pholosong. A second nursing college is planned at Natalspruit near Germiston.

In June Dr P. Beukes, superintendent of Baragwanath Hospital, announced that the hospital was to be rebuilt. The renovations would be carried out piecemeal so that the hospital would not be closed.

Access of members of other race groups to hospitals for whites was eased during the year. The Minister of Community Development said in July that all that was
required was that the doctor treating the patient telephone his department and request permission. A spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development said that Government policy remained that Africans should be treated at hospitals provided for them in their own areas but that in the event of an emergency they could be treated at hospitals in white areas.4' According to Prof C. Barnard the wards at Groote Schuur Hospital had been mixed for some time. Numerous appeals were made to allow Africans to utilise the old Johannesburg General Hospital, vacated when a new hospital for whites was built. Mr F. Oberholzer said that there were 5 800 beds for 480 000 whites in Johannesburg and only 2 700 for 758 000 Africans in the city and that 9 500 Africans lived within a five kilometre radius of the General Hospital and could make use of it. Arguing against opening the hospital to Africans Mr T. Martins MEC asked: "What of the 570 visitors who will stream to the General in their hundreds?"42 Rejecting the appeal Mr De Haas said that his department also had to make provision for the needs of the white private patient. It was intended to Doctors utilise the old General Hospital for this purpose.43

Appeals for more hospital services for Africans in rural areas were made on a number of occasions during the year. In the Ciskei legislative assembly Mr B.D. Myataza called on the SA Government to provide funds so that a hospital for the 90 000 residents of the Newuzweledinga-Ntabethemba area could be built." Mr Myataza was responding to the announcement the previous day by the Ciskei Minister of Health, Dr B.R. Maku, that although his department was keen to take over the McVicar and Victoria Hospitals at Lovedale, "it will not be feasible for my department to assume responsibility for these hospitals without the necessary funds to run them and that lack of funds restricted the building of any new hospitals".41

A shortage of funds also plagued the KwaZulu health services. Although the largest part of the territory's budget (almost R77 million) was allocated to health and welfare services, the ambulance service provided by Edendale Hospital which caters for most of the area's African residents, was in danger of being abandoned through lack of funds. Twenty ambulances were handed over when the KwaZulu Department of Health assumed responsibility for the hospital in 1977. Since then seven had been written off and the remainder were in a state of ill-repair so that at times the hospital was left with two serviceable vehicles to serve an area extending from the Transkei in the south, Vryheid in the north and the Lesotho border in the west, according to Dr M. Adams, medical superintendent of the hospital. The KwaZulu government said that it was unable to provide more funds for the service because of the limited allocation it received from the Republican Government."

In September the quality of all ambulance services came under attack. A CSIR study found that while ambulance services in Johannesburg and Cape Town were reasonably good, those in Pretoria, Durban and Kimberley were particularly
inefficient. All the country's ambulance services, except those operated by private organisations, were criticised because of lack of training of ambulance personnel, poor wages and working conditions and the long hours worked. Various suggestions were made as to how to improve the situation, one of them being that the Provinces take over the ambulance services and standardise the type of equipment used.41

The number of beds for sufferers from leprosy in 1978 was given in last year's Survey, p 474.

Medical Personnel

Doctors

There were 14 526 medical practitioners and 3 567 medical specialists registered with the South African Medical and Dental Council as at 31 December 1978.48 The Council which is a non-racial body does not keep separate statistics for different race groups. District surgeons continued to play a vital role in the provision of health services to the country's population. According to the Minister of Health an* estimated 6m patients were treated by district surgeons in 1978.49

The number of district surgeons employed by the State in 1978 was 571 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full-Time</th>
<th>Part-Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Doctors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>391</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of vacancies for district surgeons in each province in 1979 was as follows:50

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Full-Time</th>
<th>Part-Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondment of Medical and Para-Medical Staff

The number of doctors, dentists, nurses, para-medical personnel, pharmacists and health inspectors seconded to health administrations in the homelands was extracted from the Department of Health Report for 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Para-Dental</th>
<th>Pharma-Nurses</th>
<th>Health-Medical</th>
<th>cists</th>
<th>Inspectors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The growing shortage in the number of African doctors qualifying each year was outlined by Prof Philip Tobias, head of the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand. Prof Tobias said that since the introduction of apartheid not only had medical education for Africans failed to keep pace with one of the world's fastest growing populations but that there was now a decline in the absolute numbers of African doctors who qualified annually. To illustrate this, Prof Tobias produced figures showing the proportion of new doctors per million members of each racial group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>8,9</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emigration of Doctors

205 medical doctors left SA during the period January to November 1978.52 Figures for December 1978 were not available. The attacks on emigrating doctors and allegations by the Minister of Health that 90% of them were trained at either the Universities of Cape Town or the Witwatersrand resulted in an effort by the University of the Witwatersrand to encourage prospective medical students to stay in the country once they qualified. In a letter accompanying each application form the vice-chancellor, Prof du Plessis, urged prospective students in the medical faculty to consider their social responsibility as doctors in SA and not leave the country.

The question of doctors emigrating from the country received further prominence as a result of two press reports. In April the Cape Times reported that approximately 200 SA doctors had taken advantage of the automatic registration in almost all of Australia's states to register as doctors while on holiday in the country. The New South Wales Health Commission said SA doctors were registering in Australia because of SA's uncertain future. In July an American hospital management company visited SA to recruit doctors for work in American hospitals. Approximately 100 SA doctors answered the group's advertisement. Commenting on the Americas' recruiting mission, Prof H.W. Snyman, president of the SA Medical and Dental Council, said there was nothing his body could do about "this type of recruiting".

Doctors' Salaries

The Minister supplied information about salary scales for doctors in State and Provincial hospital services as at 1 February 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured and African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Specialist/</td>
<td>17490</td>
<td>14850 12870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information regarding the salary scales of interns was not supplied. New salary scales for doctors employed in State and Provincial hospitals were announced in July. They were retrospective to April. The scales given opposite are incomplete as enquiries regarding the complete salary structure for doctors failed to elicit a response.

R per annum 573
Rank White Coloured and African
Indian Chief Specialist/ Doctors
Professor 21 300 21 300 19 500
Principal Specialist 19 500 19 500 18 000
Senior Specialist 18 000 18 000 16 800
Specialist - Not Available
Chief Medical Officer 17400 17400 16200
Principal Medical Officer - Not Available
Opening the 52nd congress of the Medical Association of SA, the Secretary for Health, Dr J. de Beer, said that all senior doctors in the public service would receive equal pay. The new salary dispensation will apply to doctors in the grades of senior medical officer and above. Dr De Beer promised that 'the entry grade of a medical officer will receive similar consideration at the next opportunity'. The announcement followed the announcement of revised salary scales at the beginning of the month and was generally welcomed although it applied, according to Mr Sam Moss, PFP MPC, to 'not more than a dozen doctors in the Transvaal'.

In August it was announced that doctors' fees would rise overall by 52,4 % and that dentists' fees would increase by 33,3 %. From 1 November general practitioners' fees would rise by 64 %. This would mean an increase of as much as R7 per month for those who were members of medical aid funds. Doctors had been agitating for an increase in fees for some time. Earlier in the year the Medical and Dental Council had shelved a proposal to increase fees on an interim basis by 25 % after threats of court action by medical aid schemes. The public outcry as a result of the increases led the newly appointed Minister of Health, Dr L.A.P.A. Munnik, to request the Medical and Dental Council to reconsider the increases. After a meeting with Dr Munnik in late October, the Council announced that the increases would remain in force.
The Council's refusal to agree to Dr Munnik's plea to increase doctors' fees less drastically provoked speculation that the body would be stripped of its power to set doctors' fees. Dr Munnik was reported to be considering introducing legislation next year enabling the Government to have some control over increases in doctors' fees. In December Dr Munnik announced legislation would be passed in 1980 enabling the Minister to have final authority to fix doctor's fees.

Ethical Conduct in the Biko Case

The out of court settlement awarded to the Biko family in July (see chapter on Security Legislation) finally opened the way for the SA Medical and Dental Council to initiate a full enquiry into the conduct of the doctors who treated black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, before his death. Earlier in the year the State Attorney had obtained an interdict on behalf of the doctors requiring the Council to furnish further details of the complaint brought against them in December 1977 by Mr Eugene Roelofse, ombudsman of the SACC.

Medical Personnel

The Council chairman, Prof H. Snyman, said that he was unable to say when and if the Council would initiate action against the three doctors. The Council was awaiting the doctors' reply to the further details furnished them in terms of the interdict obtained on their behalf. Only when these explanations had been received would the Council be able to decide whether a prima facie case had been made out for hearing by its disciplinary committee.

In August Mr Roelofse urged the Council to initiate an inquiry soon and added: "Our view is that there was no reason for the unprecedented delay in getting to grips with something which is so serious that it has aroused unusual international interest".

Medical Students

Enrolment of undergraduate students in 1979 and the numbers who qualified at the end of 1978 were supplied by the registrars of the universities concerned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>Qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>1 055 867</td>
<td>9 1176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>1 151 170</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>1 519 170</td>
<td>1 519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>243 640</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medunsa</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>515 515</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>97 369 38</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 151 170</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Students at Medunsa are still required to complete their first year courses at one of the other universities. Medunsa will produce its first graduates in 1982.

Dentists and Dental Students
According to the Medical and Dental Council there were 2,369 dentists registered in SA as at 31 December 1978.

Enrolment figures of undergraduate dental students in 1979 were provided by the registrars of the universities concerned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>521</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seven coloured and one Indian student were engaged in postgraduate study at the University of Stellenbosch.

Nurses
The SA Nursing Council provided details of the number of registered nursing personnel and student and pupil nurses as at 31 December 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medical Personnel</th>
<th>Registered Nurses</th>
<th>Student pupil Nurses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>28 318</td>
<td>7 705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>3 602</td>
<td>2 075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>18 821</td>
<td>8 389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51 522</td>
<td>18 654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nurses Salaries
Salary scales for all nurses were due to be revised during the year. However, details of the new scales and whether they had been set were not available.

Dissatisfaction among nurses over low salaries and poor conditions of work was rife. In October it was reported that approximately 200 nurses employed at the old and new Johannesburg General Hospitals had resigned because of low salaries, late pay cheques and poor working conditions. The report was denied by the hospital's authorities but nurses interviewed the following day said that the reported figure was correct.63

In November it was reported that the question of nurses' salaries would be referred to the Government for action. Commenting on the report Dr Munnik said that the question of nurses' salaries would be considered by the Treasury when it considered salary increases for all public servants.6

References
Citizen 5 March
2 Social Dynamics 4 (2) p 116. The economics of health care: a review article
Ibid
SA Medical Journal 7 April SOp cit p 110
SALDRU Conference, September 1978 Hansard 12 col 5266 Department of
" Op cit
10 Ibid
12 Rand Daily Mail 21 May 11 Sunday Times 13 May 14 Daily News 10 April "1
Eastern Province Herald 29 June Natal Mercury 5 July Hansard 15 Q col 918 '8
Hansard 6 Q col 426 Hansard 12 Q col 759 20 Citizen 25 July 21 Rand Daily
Mail 25 July 22 Ibid 11 July
21 Cape Times 16 January

576 1. University Press of America, reviewed in Rand Daily Mail 9 July
11 Sunday Tribune 3 June 26 Post 17 May 27 Sunday Express 24 June Health.
28 Citizen 7 June
29 Hansard 3 Q col 164 30 Hansard 18 Q cols 1007-10 11 Hansard 8 Q col 549
12 Hansard 8 Q col 550 11 Hansard 18 Q col 1009 14 Eastern Province Herald 15
11 Dept of Health Op cit 19 Rand Daily Mail 28 March 40 Ibid 11 May 41 Star 6
July
42 Ibid 23 May 13 Beeld 30 May Daily Dispatch 19 May 41 Ibid 18 May 46
Sunday Post 20 May, Sunday Tribune 3 June 41 SABC, Radio Today Interview,
26 September 48 Letter from the Council's registrar, 17 July. This does not mean
that they are necessarily all in practice. 49 Hansard 3 Q col 97 10 Hansard 3 Q
cols 96-98 11 Sunday Express 1 July 32 Hansard 3 Q col 169-70 11 Cape Times
17 April 14 Sunday Express 29 July 11 Hansard 3 Q col 169-70 56 Post 4 July.
Despite enquiries to the director of hospital services in the Transvaal no further
information was forthcoming 11 Rand Daily Mail 17 July 78 Ibid 29 August 19
Sunday Times 6 May 60 Rand Daily Mail 2 November 61 Star 30 July 62 Rand
Daily Mail 7 August 63 Star 31 October, 1 November I Rand Daily Mail 13
November

SOCIAL WELFARE
Dr S.W. van der Merwe was appointed Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions
at the beginning of the year. The linking of the two portfolios of Health and Social
Welfare and Pensions was welcomed since it was felt that they were
complementary to each other. In June when the cabinet was reshuffled Dr van der
Merwe was succeeded as Minister of Health and Social Welfare and Pensions by
Dr L.A.P.A. Munnik, ex-administrator of the Cape Province.
Legislation
The General Pensions Act, No 29, was passed in April. The Act's purpose was to
consolidate certain laws relating to pensions generally and to provide for some
incidental matters. In all the Act repealed 20 Acts totally and sections of 22 others.

National Welfare Act No 100 of 1978
The Act was promulgated in terms of Proclamation R182 of 1979, and came into effect on 1 September 1979. The Social and Associated Workers Act, No 110 of 1978 and the Fund-Raising Act, No 107 of 1978 were gazetted at the same time. They were analysed in last year's Survey.'

CRC Enquiry into Welfare Institutions
The committee of enquiry into welfare institutions under the Administration of Coloured Affairs completed its investigations and submitted its report in September. The Chairman of the Committee of Enquiry, Mr L. Adams, said that as a result of his committee's investigations three youth camps, Weltevrede at Wellington, Kruisfontein at Humansdorp and Keimoes near Upington, had been closed down. (See Section on Coloured Politics for further details.)

Children
According to the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions R31 767 734 was spent by his department on child welfare services during the 1977-78 financial year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>1 001</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RRS - U

Statistics for coloured children were not available.
The following number of children were placed in registered adoption in 1978 in terms of the Children's Act. Welfare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td>549</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following number of children were in foster care in 1978 in terms of the Children's Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6838</td>
<td>14458</td>
<td>2386</td>
<td>2 563</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As at 31 December 1977 there were 82 children's homes for whites" and six for Indian children." In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Co-operation and Development said that his department subsidised six orphanages for African children in the 'white' areas of SA. Total accommodation available in these orphanages was 620.'

Concern over conditions in places of safety for African children was expressed during the year. In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Co-operation and Development said that no new places of safety had been erected and no extensions to existing places of safety for African children had been undertaken during 1978.
This concern received attention following the escape of 71 children from the Van Ryan Deep place of safety in the Transvaal in the space of a week. According to a report in the Sunday Post, 97 children escaped from Van Ryan Deep in the first three months of 1979. Plans to renovate the institution were abandoned after (according to Mr F. du Randt, Chief Commissioner for Johannesburg) the Department of Public Works decided it was not economic to effect the necessary improvements to the institution." It was therefore decided to close the institution. According to the Sunday Post report the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions had been trying to close it for some years.

In accordance with the Government's decision not to take part officially in United Nations' programmes, the U.N.'s International Year of the Child did not receive overt Government sponsorship. However, the SA National Council for Child and Family Welfare was given permission to organise meetings with interested bodies with a view to planning the Year. Addressing a symposium on the Year of the Child, Mr R.L. Piteni, president of the African Teachers' Association of SA, appealed to adults to 'pay more attention to their (children's) needs and desires even though these may not be well articulated'. A number of organisations around the country took part in various activities to commemorate and publicise the event.

The Aged

Facilities for the care of aged Africans remained inadequate. Government policy is that facilities for the care of aged Africans should exist in the homelands and that the first priority in the provision of care Welfare: for the aged of all racial groups should lie with their relatives. Voluntary, self-help and church organisations continue to be active in the provision of services for the aged. In November the Johannesburg North Central Rotary Club announced that, in conjunction with the Johannesburg Council for the Care of the Aged, it had received permission to erect an old-age home to provide permanent accommodation for African aged in Soweto.

Social Pensions

As from 1 October maximum pensions were increased by R9 (10.2%) for whites, R6.25 (13.1%) for coloured and Indians and R3.75 (15.8%) for Africans. The Minister of Finance, announcing the increases, said that they would further narrow the pension differentials among the various population groups. Senator Horwood also announced that the differences between pensions payable in terms of the Military Pensions Act, 1978 would be phased out gradually.
pensions were also increased. Subject to a minimum increase of R25 per month for whites, R17 per month for Coloured and Asians and R14 per month for Africans, civil pensions rose by 10%. Increases of military and civil pensions were effective from 1 April. The means test has remained unchanged since 1 October 1972. In December the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, Dr L.A.P.A. Munnik, announced that pensioners already receiving government pensions would no longer be subject to the means test. Dr Munnik said that anyone receiving a government pension on 1 December would continue to receive his pension if his private sources of income exceeded the ceiling of the means test. The announcement affected approximately 10% of white pensioners and an indeterminate number of black pensioners.

The following number of persons were in receipt of pensions in 1978 (for whites as at 28 February 1979):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pension</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Age</td>
<td>139 416</td>
<td>84 307</td>
<td>16 318</td>
<td>188 541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1 651</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>4 762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability</td>
<td>25 363</td>
<td>50 616</td>
<td>14 462</td>
<td>83 598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Veteran</td>
<td>13 965</td>
<td>7 647</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

580 Delays in the pay-out of pensions for Africans again occurred. Frequent reports in the press described incidents where pensioners had been turned away because there was no more money or because the Welfare money had been stolen. Many African pensioners spent the night at the pay out points to ensure that they were among the first to arrive and would thus receive their pensions.

Alcoholism and Drug Addiction

Warnings were issued in the press about the increase of alcohol abuse among young people. Dr Sylvain de Miranda, head of the clinical services of the SA National Council on Alcoholism (Johannesburg), said that the number of people in the 15-29 year age group abusing alcohol had almost doubled over the 1977 figures during 1979. He said that there was no reason to believe that the trend which was well researched and proved in Western European countries was not occurring in SA.

During 1978 119 whites were committed to rehabilitation centres for treatment for drug addiction while 431 entered such centres voluntarily. 907 whites were committed to rehabilitation centres for treatment for alcohol dependence and 5 577 underwent treatment of dependence on alcohol in voluntary rehabilitation centres. The Department of Co-operation and Development runs one institution for Africans dependent on alcohol or dependence-producing drugs. Situated at Madadeni near Newcastle, it currently has 52 inmates. During 1978 29 Africans were committed for alcoholism and seven for addiction to dependence-producing substances. There is no similar institution for Asians.

References
See p 480
2 Hansard 5 Q col 383
SPORT

Government Policy

During the year, the Government announced that the Department of Sport and Recreation would now be a service department for all races, ending the racial division of Government sports administration. It also simplified the procedure required for permits for matches between schoolchildren of different races and outlined a yet to be implemented system for clubs to be given 'inter-club' status in terms of which they would not require permits for racially mixed sport.

But laws, such as the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Liquor Act, all have direct application to racially mixed events and sports authorities are still required to obtain permits in terms of these laws for any event involving participants of more than one race, unless the event is a private one. This system has been strongly criticised by SACOS, the PFP and international critics.

In Parliament the Minister of Sport defended the permit system against attacks by Mr Dalling (PFP) by arguing that these laws did not apply specifically to sport but...
were intended to defuse the potential for conflict in SA and to maintain law and order.'

In effect, the Minister was arguing, as does SACOS, that sport cannot be totally isolated from society, while Mr Dalling, reflecting the views of many white sports administrators and some newspapers, argued the case for sport to be treated as a special category for total deracialisation.

It is this issue which dominates Government policy on sport and which remains the outstanding limiting factor in the desegregation of sport.

In October, the Minister of Sport announced that the permit system as applied to sporting events would disappear and that the question of liquor permits for all races at club meetings was under investigation.' It was not clear how the Government intended ending the permit requirements or whether the laws affecting sport would be amended to give sport a special status.

The Minister said in Parliament that officially Government policy remained the same as formulated at NP congresses in 1976.1 The Minister stressed, however, that it was not regarded as being in the interests of sport or SA for these guidelines to be enforced by means of legislation; autonomy of sports bodies was recognised as long as good order was maintained and the laws of the country obeyed. However, this autonomy was not a blank cheque as it was limited by the duty of sport bodies towards society and by the autonomy of other institutions and organisations in other spheres. He also said the autonomy of owners of facilities with regard to availability was recognised and where existing facilities were not suitable for utilisation within the framework of the guidelines it was desirable that suitable facilities be created or existing facilities adopted.4

Sports

In February the Minister said that Government policy was that the Policy different racial groups should not be members of the same sports club. They should be encouraged to form their own clubs and to play against one another in the same league. Speaking at a NP meeting in Westonaria in May, he said that the Government did not support integration and that there should be separate leagues.5

However, the Government has often emphasised its belief in the autonomy of sporting bodies. This was underlined by the Deputy Minister of Environment Planning and Energy when he replied to a question in Parliament. He said that black membership of a white club was not determined by any laws as clubs were autonomous bodies which could decide their own membership.6

Nevertheless, in making two changes to Government policy during the year, the Minister found it necessary to warn against abuses and threatened to re-introduce legal controls if the changes were exploited. He said that sporting authorities which wanted to have their facilities declared 'inter club' stadiums were free to decide for themselves whether to extend or accept invitations from clubs of other race groups and it would be unnecessary to apply for permits in each case. He warned, however, that anyone wishing to misuse the privilege for his own ends would have his privilege withdrawn.7 He also announced that the Government
was investigating the possibility of declaring certain sports stadiums to be international to allow for mixed seating facilities for spectators. However, consideration had to be given to the maintenance of law and order in situations involving large numbers of people and to the fact that the decision rested with the owners of the facilities.

The creation of one department of sport for all races, which some observers believed could pave the way for similar moves in other departments, was desirable the Minister said, because his department had qualified technical staff who in the past had rendered services to whites and as black people had been deprived of intensive expert assistance, they were in a backward position in regard to the standard of sport in comparison to whites. The centralisation of services in one department would eliminate duplication and confusion as well as resulting in greater uniformity. Attention would be given to the achievement of acceptable structures in the different sports to ensure co-operation between the different racial controlling bodies.

In August the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, became the first member of the cabinet to admit publicly that SA had adopted a policy of integration in sport. 'It has only been to our advantage' he said and then told a rowdy public meeting in Potchefstroom that it would not lead to other forms of integration."

The president of the SA Olympic and National Games Association, Mr Rudolph Opperman, said in August that the process of modernisation had been taken as far as it could by sportsmen and that the Government should establish a commission of inquiry to review existing iniquities, the lack of proper facilities, legal obstacles relating to the permit and liquor control systems, discrepancies in funding and other discriminatory aspects which fell outside the domain and powers of sportsmen. Shortly afterwards the Minister said he intended calling a conference of the executive members of all sporting bodies (except Sports SACOS which was not invited) to consider the position of sport in SAY Policy. The conference took place at the end of October and the Minister said a full investigation into sport in SA would be carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council. He also revealed more changes in the permit system, namely that liquor permits for mixed club sporting events and the permits required in terms of the Group Areas Act for white and black players and spectators to visit areas other than their own group areas would be abolished. Spectators would however require admission tickets or membership cards. Local authorities would be able to apply for interclub status for sports grounds which would then be open to all races and no permits would be required.

Mr Dalling, the PFP spokesman on sport, proposed the establishment of a sports council for all South Africans regardless of race which would operate autonomously, would be financed by money allocated by Parliament and which would take over all the functions of the existing Department of Sport. This would, he felt, depoliticise sport and grant sportsmen total autonomy in the promotion, administration and co-ordination of sport.
During 1978 a total of 2,615 multi-national events were played, 2,325 at club level, 178 at provincial level, 68 at national level and 44 at international level. In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Sport said that white spectators wishing to attend soccer matches in black townships had to obtain permission in advance and had to leave the residential area before 6 pm. Mr Dalling, PFP spokesman on sport, said that this contradicted the assurance given by the Minister in 1978 that national and provincial governing bodies could by arrangement with the Department of Sport get an annual clearance for their full programme.8

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister of Community Development said that during 1978 nineteen applications had been received for permits for coloured people to make use of sporting facilities in white group areas in the Cape Peninsula. None was refused.). The Minister of Sport in reply to a question in Parliament said that in 1978 the Administration Board had refused the use of the Thabong Stadium to the Welkom City soccer club on the grounds that the application did not comply with requirements in that the stadium was required as permanent headquarters for the club and this conflicted with the (Black) Urban Areas Consolidation Act 1945.

The use of the Langa Stadium was refused to the Western Province Rugby Union (WPRU-SACOS) as it had already been granted to the Western Province Rugby Board (WPRB). Later the WPRU was allowed to use the stadium on Saturdays and the WPRB which apparently had the majority of support of local clubs was granted the use of the stadium on Sundays and weekdays.20

In February the Johannesburg city council on two consecutive occasions refused the use of the Rand Stadium for the BP Soccer cup final match between two black teams on the grounds that games between black professional sides attracted little white support and that they should be played in the townships both for the convenience of black soccer fans and for the maintenance of peace in white residential areas situated near the Rand Stadium. The use of the stadium would be justified if at least 25% of spectators were white. This decision met with Sports widespread opposition from the black press and the community, which Policy interpreted it as being racially discriminatory. The National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) executive committee decided to boycott the venue and to use the facilities in the townships. Negotiations between the council and the Football Council of South Africa over the decision and the conditions under which the NPSL teams could use the stadium continued until finally in June, after a boycott of two months, a new lease for the use of the stadium was signed. Councillor Oberholzer said that the council would prefer additional security measures to being implicated in the return of racialism to sport. The council later decided in principle to allow mixed audiences to watch boxing matches at Rand Stadium and Ellis Park."

In November, conflict arose again over the Rand Stadium when the council tried to force a Mainstay Cup Final match, the premier knockout soccer competition, to be held at noon (1.30 am was subsequently suggested) in the middle of the week.
on the ground that it would disrupt peak hour traffic if held at a later hour. A black team, Kaiser Chiefs, which had won through to the final refused to play at that time because it said every black man in SA would be insulted and, with the agreement of their opponents, a white team, the final was played at Orlando Stadium in Soweto later in the day. It was alleged that the council had concealed the real reason for its decision. This was 'the fear of residents in the area of black fans terrorising them at night'.

During February the Pretoria city council refused to allow the finish of a marathon race to take place at the (white) Fountains recreation centre because several black athletes were competing together with whites.

The Loftus Versveld stadium was opened to all race groups for the Tate-Coetzee boxing match. Subsequently the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union (NTRU) which controls the stadium suggested to the Pretoria city council that this should be a permanent arrangement. At a meeting, held in August, between the city council, the Minister of Sport, and other government representatives it was decided that provided Loftus Versveld remained in white control, it could be used by persons of all races if the NTRU so wished.

The Amanzimtoti city council decided that sportsmen of other race groups could not join white sports clubs and would therefore not be able to use their facilities. The Vereeniging city council stipulated in May that only 50 blacks including players, officials and spectators could attend matches at the Dick Fourie Stadium because it was situated in the white residential area. In June the Krugersdorp town council decided that Indians, though not permitted as members of the Krugersdorp Squash Club, would be allowed to use the facilities. In August the Witbank town council refused the application by the Witbank Black Aces to use the Jan Van Riebeeck Rugby Stadium ostensibly on the grounds that the stadium was used for rugby only and that there were existing facilities for soccer in the townships. In October the Kempton Park town council reaffirmed its decision to ban blacks from the local squash complex.

In December the chairman of the management committee of the Sports Bloemfontein city council said that no coloured people would be allowed to use a municipal swimming pool even if they were members of a white swimming club. In Johannesburg, after it had been strongly criticised for excluding black swimmers from municipal pools, the city council announced that the Ellis Park pool would be open to all races on four days a week for training purposes. This followed a meeting with the Minister of Sport.

In May Mr Hassan Howa of SACOS accused the Cape Town city council of favouring multinational sports and hampering non-racial sports bodies through its control of sports bodies. As regards permits, Mr 'Cheeky' Watson, a white member of a mainly black rugby union, KWARU, in Port Elizabeth, said that he and his brother were still being refused permits to enter New Brighton African township to play with their team and had to do so illegally. He appealed against a conviction for entering the
township but it was rejected. Mr Ebrahim Patel, secretary of the non-racial SA Rugby Union said that permits for rugby players to enter the areas of other racial groups continued to be refused.26
In September, it was revealed that the Committee for Fairness in Sport, which allegedly had the support of key businessmen and which placed advertisements throughout the world promoting the Government's sports policies, had in fact been a front for the Department of Information and its head, Mr Gert Wolmarans, had been paid between R14 000 and R18 000 a year to run it.27

Finance

According to the estimates of expenditure the following amount was budgeted by the Government for sport and recreation:28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Sport and Recreation</td>
<td>R2,570,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Plural Relations and Development</td>
<td>154,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Coloured Relations</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Defence</td>
<td>486,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further amount</td>
<td>804,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>R4,022,100</td>
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</table>

A further amount was added to the appropriation for the Department of Sport and Recreation as a result of a cabinet decision to restructure the department to cater for all racial groups.29

In reply to questions in Parliament the Minister said that during the financial year 1977-1978 R966,724 had been spent on the furtherance of white sport (excluding school children) and in addition R620,000 had been spent for research, facilities, a sports magazine (Topsport) and world congresses.0 The number of whites actively involved in 90 kinds of sport during 1978 was 691,390.31 During the financial year 1977-1978 R130,420 was spent on furthering sport amongst

the coloured population (excluding school children). An additional 587 amount of R57,000 was spent by the department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations.2 There were 90,160 coloured people involved in 31 kinds of sport during 1978.13

During the same period R40,378 was spent from public funds and Sool R157,000 from the SA Development Trust Fund to further sport among Sport the African population. In addition the Sports and Recreation Fund spent R140,866 on sports facilities in urban residential areas and independent homelands and R197,528 in the non-independent homelands.14 There were 180,306 Africans (excluding school children) involved in sport during 1978.35

In reply to a question in Parliament the Minister said that the costs of maintaining the ten regional offices of the department which employed a total of 56 people was R451,061. The administrative costs of head office which employed 42 people amounted to R401,519. Regional offices, among other things, had to give technical advice, plan projects, determine sports needs, liaise with sports bodies, arrange for grants-in-aid, attend sports meetings, handle departmental promotion, compile reports and statistics and assist with the application and issue of permits.16
School Sport
The controlling bodies in the different sports continued to provide training and to organise sporting events for school children during the year. In August the Minister of Sport, in announcing general changes in the sports policy, said that school principals in consultation with parent-teacher associations and school boards would be able to decide for themselves whether they wanted to play sport against schools of other races. Mixed teams would not be allowed. The permission of the Department of Sport would not be required, though control of school sport would remain in the hands of the Department of National Education and the provincial administrations which must ensure that 'white identity' was not endangered. He said that the purpose was to eliminate unnecessary bureaucracy. The authorities concerned with education and school sport had already laid down procedures which had to be followed and had acted responsibly in applying them.7
The reaction of the principals of schools in the Transvaal and the Cape were mostly guarded although a number publicly welcomed the changes. Some Afrikaans school principals felt, however, that their communities were not ready for mixed sport in schools.8 The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Dr Treurnicht, said that the changes should not be seen as encouragement to practice mixed sport.9 The Minister of Sport later said the changes did not mean that integration would be forced on schools.40 On the same day a member of the cabinet, Mr Louis Le Grange, said he disagreed with Government policy on mixed sport in schools.41
The Western Province Senior Sports Union which controls most sporting activities in Indian and coloured schools in the Cape and which supports SACOS policy of 'no normal sport in an abnormal society' expressed disinterest in the new policy.

University Sport
In June the Transvaal Education Department refused a request by the coloured Transvaal Rugby Association for coloured and white primary schools to play rugby against one another on the grounds that this was against its policy. In August the Administrator of the Transvaal announced that provincial and subsidised schools could play matches against teams from private schools which included Indian, coloured or African pupils. No permission would be required. The MEC for Education, Mr D.S. van der Merwe Brink, said that the Transvaal Department of Education was not in favour of mixed sport and its policy in the future as in the past would be directed against it.
By June nine applications in the Cape for mixed sports had been received. White headmasters wishing to organise matches with an African or coloured school had to ask the school committee, which had to ask the school board, which had to ask the provincial department of education, which arranged the matches in consultation with the Minister of Community Development. Mr Roger Hulley PFP MPC for Constantia said that this 'jungle of red tape' explained the small number of applications made. Mr Loots, MEC for Education, said that the
explanation lay rather in the fact that no one wanted mixed sport. He said in August that in future Cape schools would be able to decide for themselves on inter-school sports between racial groups. The Director of Education and the MEC for Education said that the Natal Provincial council had no objection to non-racial sport at school level as long as approval from the lowest level of the decision making hierarchy was given.

In September Mr Jan Preuys, chairman to the SA Schools Rugby Association, said that SA schools were 'not ready' for inter-racial matches. Black school rugby players would continue to be barred from the Craven Rugby Week which was organised for white schools only. In October Dr A. Bacher, chairman of the Transvaal Cricket Council, announced that black high school boys would be able to participate in Nuffield Week and those in primary schools in the Ken Viljoen Week. Five black school children were selected for Nuffield trials in East London while a coloured school boy was selected for the Western Province primary school team.

University Sport
Conflict erupted in June at the University of the North (Turfloop) after the university's soccer team played against white students of the University of the Witwatersrand. A students' meeting was held at which it was decided to suspend all cultural, sporting and entertainment activities until the formation of a Students' Representative Council which would formulate a policy in regard to inter-racial sport. The students had rejected amendments to the SRC constitution made by the university administration which gave sports committees autonomy in sporting matters. The soccer team was also criticised for being affiliated to the SA National Football Association (SANFA). After ignoring the ban on sporting activities for a while, the soccer team decided to withdraw its affiliation to SANFA. Fort Hare and Ngoye universities indicated that they would boycott the 1979 inter-varsity games at Turfloop because of the soccer game with Wits. The SA Black Inter-varsity Committee (SABIC) which co-ordinates sporting activities at all black universities accused Turfloop of 'fraternising with the oppressors' and was considering its suspension.

A week after the soccer game with Wits, the basketball team at Turfloop was reported to have played against the SA Defence Force in Pretoria and though this was denied, conflict again erupted.

Boycotts
In February, the Stellenbosch University Rugby club, a member of the Western Province Rugby Union (white), decided to admit members of all races and the Vice-Rector of the University said that there was no obstacle to people of all racial groups representing the university.

National Colours
At a meeting in Worcester in February deputy leader of the Labour Party, Mr Norman Middleton, said that Springbok colours were a symbol of oppression and suggested that a new badge be created which could be awarded to outstanding...
Criticism was expressed by several black people of the award of Springbok colours to the African athlete Sydney Maree for his athletic performance in the United States on the grounds that the authorities were using him 'to whitewash SA's tarnished image abroad'.

Mr Hannes Pretorius, chairman of the Western Province Rugby Board, said that as a result of overseas pressure that SA teams represent all races, Springbok colours were not being awarded on merit. This meant that blacks who were not fully deserving of them received the awards.

In April Harry Ramroop became the first Indian for many years to be awarded Springbok colours when he was selected to represent SA in the Olympic Paralympic Games. In September athlete John Halberstadt refused to accept Springbok colours on the grounds that a fellow Springbok athlete, Mathews Matshwarateu, had had difficulty getting a SA passport because of his official status as a Bophuthatswana citizen, and also because there were many black athletes who had never received Springbok colours due to racism. In September Rogers Mbantsa was refused Springbok colours because he was regarded as a Transkei citizen.

During 1978 eighteen people were awarded the State President's Award, and 75 white sportsmen and women and nineteen white coaches received sports merit awards. In reply to a criticism by Mr Dalling, PFP spokesman on sport, that merit awards were presented at separate functions, the Minister of Sport said that there was no discrimination in the kind of awards granted but awards were handed out at racially segregated functions because recognition had to be given to the ethnic reality of SA.

International State of Play

SA's international position deteriorated considerably when it was decided to hold the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. The threatened expulsion from the games forced several countries into adopting a more hostile attitude towards sporting links with SA. The most significant aspect of attitudes towards SA was the conflict between certain overseas sporting bodies, which to some extent supported contact with SA and opposed political decisions in sport, and the governments of those countries which adopted a more hostile attitude towards such Sport contact. One of the means by which these governments enforced their Boycotts policy was by refusing visas to SA sportsmen.

During 1978 SA was not excluded or suspended from any international sporting association. The Masters Athletics Association was admitted as a member of the International Masters Athletics Association. Fifty-seven sporting bodies have full membership of international associations and enjoy participation in international events unless visas are refused. The prevailing situation in 1978 was that SA was excluded, banned or suspended from 25 international sporting associations and was banned from participation in or had invitations withdrawn to 36 international sporting events. In 1978 60 international sports meetings representing 34 countries were held in SA and SA participated in 65 international meetings in 30 countries abroad."
During 1978 R126 300 was spent by the Department of Sport in assisting individuals and teams to visit SAY. The Minister of Sport speaking in the Assembly said that a high premium was placed on SA’s sporting relations with the outside world and everything possible would be done to attract sportsmen and women to SA. However, SA would not allow itself to be blackmailed and if it was necessary to sacrifice sports ties for the sake of the political system, this would be done. It was also necessary to devote more energy, skills and money to developing opportunities in SA and Southern Africa in order to overcome the disadvantages of a shortage of international competition.

An International Liaison Committee, established by the SA Olympic and National Games Association, visited several countries during the year to promote SA’s image abroad.

On the other hand, anti-apartheid groups in several countries intensified the campaign against international participation in sport by SA. The SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) in line with its policy decision taken in 1978 to isolate individual sportsmen, together with the anti-apartheid movements, was influential in preventing Kallie Knoetze from fighting in the US. (See section on boxing.) SANROC also claimed victory in Mohammed Ali’s refusal to fight Knoetze in SA. Several rugby teams from England and Wales visited SA during the year despite opposition by the British Minister of Sport who outlined five conditions for the renewal of sporting links with SA, namely: that the constitution of the governing sporting body and its affiliated clubs be truly non-racial; that the development policy of the sport must be non-racial; that quality coaching must be available to all levels without regard to race or colour; that facilities and opportunities in clubs affiliated to the governing body must be genuinely non-racial; and that there must be a complete absence of racial discrimination in the arrangements for spectators at sporting events. He later said that the British government might be forced to intervene if the governing bodies of sport gave respectability to SA’s apartheid system by accepting invitations to play against SA teams. As a result of tours of SA by British teams in different sports, Britain was threatened with expulsion from the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. The British, Welsh, Irish and Scottish rugby unions invited the SA Barbarians team to visit their countries in October. "SANROC, Stop All Racist Tours (SART) and anti-apartheid groups mounted a campaign to protest against the tour. The Irish government prevented the tour by demanding that the SA team apply for visas, but the British government decided against enforcing its will on the rugby authorities who had Sport been requested by the British Minister of Sport to withdraw the invitation. The unions refused saying that the changes made in SA rugby had been the result of continued contact. The tour went ahead and demonstrations at the matches occurred. The British government persuaded the organisers of a cricket tour of SA in 1980 to cancel it.
In June a joint press conference between SART and SANROC, noting the increase of sports tours between SA and Britain, announced that in future action would be taken not only against national SA sides but also against club sides.

In October it was announced that the British Sports Council would be sending a fact-finding mission to SA to investigate the sports situation. It would be led by the Council chairman, Mr Dickie Jeeps, and would include as an adviser the former South African, Mr Basil D'Oliviera, whose selection for an MCC cricket team to tour SA some years ago caused the then Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to cancel the tour.

In December British and Irish surfers decided to defy government pressure to prevent their participation in the world surfing championships in France because of the inclusion of South Africans. Both governments warned that grants to surfers would be jeopardised should they participate in championships including an official SA team. The Supreme Council of Sport in Africa decided that sporting relations with Britain on the part of its member countries would be banned because of the former's relations with SA.

In January the Israeli Olympic Committee announced that Israel would no longer maintain sporting ties with SA in Olympic sports so as not to jeopardise Israel's entry for the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. After the Israeli government expressed disapproval of this policy the committee retracted the statement as having been a mistake, saying that Israel would continue relations with SA within the rules of the international sporting federations. If SA was not banned from the governing body of a sport or suspended from playing, Israelis would not be banned from competing against SA at international level.

Controversy arose over the planned tours of France by Transvaal and Springbok rugby teams. Protests were launched against the tour by organisations in several countries and in April the International Olympic Committee threatened to suspend France from the Olympic movement and not to invite her to the Olympic Games. In February the French government announced that it would not intervene to stop the tour but after considerable pressure it said in April that in view of the apartheid policy, visits to France by SA teams were inopportune and would be cancelled. At the same time the government ordered the cancellation of a French women's golf tour of SA planned for May and of a tour of France by a SA golf team in April.

The tour by the Transvaal team was cancelled in April after the withdrawal of two coloured players as one of the conditions laid down by the French Rugby Federation was that the team be non-wcial. Although the French government threatened to ban the Springbok tour, the French National and Olympic Sports Committee and the French Rugby Federation supported it on the grounds of keeping politics out of sport.

In September the French government announced that South AfriBodies cans wishing to enter France would require visas and that the SA rugby
team’s applications for visas would be refused. After a meeting with the French Foreign Minister the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs told the SA Rugby Board that there was no possibility of contact with the French rugby team in the near future, at least until after the 1980 Olympic Games as all countries were extremely sensitive about receiving SA teams. He expressed the hope that in future sports authorities would act in concert with the Government in arranging tours so that the interests of the country could be considered.16 Despite the disapproval of the French government the French Rugby Federation decided to accept an invitation from the SA Rugby Board to tour SA in 1980 and to send a fact-finding mission to SA.

In May the Dutch Olympic Committee decided that SA would be welcome to attend the Paraplegic Olympic Games in Holland in 1980. As a result of pressure by the Dutch anti-apartheid movements, the Dutch government decided in October to ban a visit by SA paraplegics, against the advice of the Dutch cabinet.

In August the International Tennis Federation decided to retain SA as a member but asked SA not to enter team competitions because its presence would lead to the disruption of the main international events.

In June the head of the Supreme Soviet Praesdium said that no country would be banned from the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games for maintaining sports contacts with SA.

National Sports Bodies

Although the Government has had no direct contact with the SA Council of Sport (SACOS), as the Minister of Sport confirmed in reply to a question in Parliament," the non-racial body, which is still the only organisation recognised by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, holds the key to SA’s possible readmittance to international sport. All sports bodies opposed to co-operation with white-controlled sport until all racial laws affecting sport have been repealed are affiliated to SACOS. During 1979 they co-operated openly in consumer boycotts of items such as Simba chips and products of Fattis and Monis. The increasingly tough stand by SACOS, namely that there can be ‘no normal sport in an abnormal society’, led to direct conflict with the Government. The Minister of Sport made a strong attack on SACOS in Parliament, the president of this body, Mr Hassan Howa, was refused a passport for the fifth time and it was reported that an investigation ‘at a high level’ had been instituted to examine the manner in which SACOS had obtained sponsorships and had threatened boycotts.

The Minister refused to initiate discussions with SACOS, as suggested by Mr Dalling (PFP) to overcome the impasse between it and the Government. The Secretary of SACOS, Mr M.N. Pather, said a condition for SACOS meeting the Minister was that the abolition of laws preventing all sportsmen from playing together be discussed?9 Later, speaking in the Assembly, the Minister of Sport described SACOS as an
unholy, rebel organisation intent on undermining SA in the inter-
national field and which operated in SA by intimidating players and
administrators and denying sportsfields and facilities to sportsmen by means of
pressure exerted particularly on coloured management com-
mittees controlling these facilities. SACOS, he said, insulted inter-
Bodies national fact finding commissions visiting SA and refused to negotiate with
recognised sports bodies or with the department. There was no place in SA's
sports dispensation for political activists.60 Mr Hassan Howa described the
Minister's attack as a blatant attempt to find a scapegoat for the Government's
failure to get SA back into international sport.
In February Mr Howa reiterated SACOS's policy of attempting to prevent any
international recognition until all forms of apartheid had been abolished. Despite
reports overseas by SA sportsmen to the contrary, the sports situation had not
changed. SACOS continued to liaise with international organisations fighting
against SA's participation in international sport, and condemned the visits to SA
by overseas teams.
Dissatisfaction arose amongst several affiliates of SACOS over its policy on
permits and double standards (described below) and meetings were held by some
of the regional branches to explain. SACOS was accused of victimising sportsmen
who played 'racial sport' by denying them the use of sports fields or by denying
them participation in a certain sport if they disobeyed SACOS rules in another
sport. At a meeting in East London the president of the Border Golf Union said
that SACOS's policy on permits made things difficult in a situation where there
was a lack of facilities. As there were no golf courses for blacks in East London,
use had to be made of white facilities and this required
permits, Mr Howa said
that it was preferable for facilities to be created than to submit to the indignity of
entering sport on unequal terms. Acceptance of the following resolution, he said,
was the condition of membership of SACOS: 'Any person whether he is a player,
administrator or spectator committed to the non-racial principles in sport shall not
participate in or be associated with any other code of sport which practises,
perpetuates or condones racialism or multi-nationalism. Players and
administrators disregarding these rules shall be guilty of practising double
standards and cannot be members of any organisation affiliated to SA COS'. Mr
Howa said that SACOS was withholding collaboration with racists in order to
create a non-racial society.
At the biennial conference of SACOS in September the president of the SA
Amateur Boxing Association which was applying for affiliation was ordered to
leave because he was connected with multinational professional boxing and as
such had no place in SACOS. The application for affiliation was postponed
pending a further meeting between SACOS and SAABA officials. The
Conference resolved that no member of SACOS or any individuals associated
with it should in any way condone, encourage, foster or advocate racism or
discrimination in any way whatsoever. This would be deemed to have been done
by those participating in or associating with or supporting any government bodies
designed to entrench and promote the separateness of peoples, for example the
Coloured Representative Council, the SA Indian Representative Council and local affairs committees such as the

594 community councils and management committees. (For the implications of this resolution for the SA Soccer Federation see Section on Soccer.) The Western Areas Table Tennis Association pledged to align itself with the principles of SACOS and the Tennis Association of SA applied for membership. The SA Softball Federation rescinded its decision to apply for membership because the policies of SACOS were considered to be too difficult to implement.

In May a Border Council of Sport (BOCOS) was formed. No agreement was reached during the year between SACOS and the SA Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA). SAONGA approached SACOS in June for a meeting to discuss the situation regarding sport but SACOS replied that any such discussion would have to take cognisance of the racial policies of the Government within which sport had to operate. There was also disagreement over relations with the Government, as in February SAONGA expressed its faith in the Department of Sport and expressed its willingness to cooperate in overcoming obstacles.

Codes of Sport
There was no unification of the controlling bodies in the different sports codes during the year, but a black and a non-racial body merged in tennis with most black tennis players under its auspices.

Rugby
The SA Rugby Board (SARB) and the SA Rugby Union (SARU, affiliated to SACOS) failed to reach any agreement during the year. In April SARB president Danie Craven expressed the wish to open discussions with SARU president Abdul Abass and for national selectors to look at SARU’s top players. Nothing however materialised as SARU did not support mixed trials while there were four controlling bodies in the country, its standpoint being that there should be one national body with mixed rugby bodies affiliated with SARB. The SA Rugby Federation (SARF, Coloured) and the SA Rugby Association (SARA, African) would remain separate. Dr Craven said in April that SARU would have to take the initiative in any discussions and that if SARU wished to join SARB it would be afforded the same status as SARF and SARA.

SARU would have to join SARB on the latter’s terms. No players of SARU heeded the appeal made by SARF in January to participate in the trials for the Springbok tour of France. SARB's policy on mixed rugby was criticised as being expedient in that it only wanted black players in order to be able to participate internationally, for example in the Transvaal team tour of France (see section on the international state of play).

In April, in reply to accusations of this nature, Dr Craven outlined SARB’s policy namely: 1) that SARB left it to clubs and unions to decide whether to accept blacks as members; 2) that national teams, including Springbok teams would be
selected on merit from all races at mixed trials by a national selection committee composed of representatives of all races; 3) that all races could participate in the Currie Cup, board, national and club competitions; 4) that the principle of the autonomy of clubs and unions was accepted; 5) that no permit or other legal permission should be needed by a player to play on any sportsground or to join any club; 6) that joint coaching courses for all races would be organised; 7) that equal facilities and opportunities for players and spectators would be created, and 8) that the Liquor Act made provision for licences to provide liquor to all participating sportsmen irrespective of colour, race or creed. The Minister of Sport said that this policy statement was not in conflict with Government policy.

Although SARB has persisted with its policy of racially segregated units, Mr Abass said in April that he would be willing to have further discussions with the SARB. He also disclosed that the then Minister of Sport, Dr Koornhof, had in 1977 vetoed an agreement to introduce mixed rugby at all levels. SARU later said that unless the Government acted to open sport and remove all political hindrances the rugby associations could do nothing and further negotiations were pointless.61 Thereafter relations deteriorated further with Dr Craven accusing Mr Abass of widening the gap between the bodies and of playing a big role in causing the cancellation of overseas tours. Dr Craven said that politics and sport were intertwined and that he felt everyone should co-operate with the Prime Minister. The view of Mr Abass was that the Prime Minister should be responsible for furthering non-racialism in rugby. Dr Craven also said that black rugby players were only eligible to play Currie Cup rugby if they were members of white clubs. In June the Transvaal Rugby Football Union accepted three black teams to play in its leagues. The Northern Transvaal Rugby Union during the year launched the first non-racial rugby league, the Presidents' Cup, and in May the SA Rugby Football Federation announced plans for a non-racial club competition, the SA Breweries Silver Trophy Competition involving eighteen clubs from the Federation and two from the SA Rugby Association. A coloured team, Stellenbosch Federation, was invited to participate in the annual Toyota National Club Championship: the tournament had previously been open to whites only. In February Africans applied to join a white rugby club, Mtubatuba, in Zululand. The Natal Rugby Football Union said that it had no objection as long as other clubs in the Zululand sub-union did not object. Four clubs did object. After attacks by the president of the SA Rugby Federation against the Western Province Rugby Union for allowing spectator segregation at Newlands grounds, the latter decided in June to open its bars to all races. The segregation had been applied because the stadium at the time did not have international status and could not serve liquor to blacks seated in the special seats.

In October, the SARF president, Mr Cuthbert Loriston, said it was no good amending certain laws for the sake of rugby as the Immorality Act, the Liquor Act and the Group Areas Act affected the everyday lives of the players.62 He pointedly dissociated himself from the views expressed by Dr Craven in a letter to The Guardian in which he said that the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities
Act and the Liquor Act did not apply to sport. The next month, Mr Loriston caused a stir at a SARB meeting when he accused fellow members of racism, saying that he was most perturbed at the treatment some of his players had received in the Sport Pienaar trophy.63

The Barbarians tour of Britain was greeted as a major breakthrough in certain sections of the media. The team, consisting of six whites, six coloureds and six Africans, was described in one headline as

5% making apartheid 'dead as a dodo for Baabaas'." In spite of the optimism some reports stated that some of the black players were not up to standard,65 and the tour was rejected by SARU as tokenism and winCricket dow-dressing.

Cricket
Disagreement continued during the year between the two cricket controlling bodies, the SA Cricket Union (SACU) and the SA Cricket Board (SACB affiliated to SACOS). The latter accused the former of playing multi-national rather than non-racial cricket.

In January relations between the Western Province Cricket Board (SACOS) and the Western Province Cricket Union (SACU) deteriorated when the WPCC accused the WPCU of attempting to woo away its black cricketers by inviting two clubs to attend a Currie Cup match.

As this was against the policy of the WCPB, abrogations of which could result in expulsion, the effect of the invitation would be the enforced affiliation of the clubs to the WCPU which was the only other existing alternative. The WPCB felt that such action prevented any progress towards unity between the two bodies.

In April the SA African Cricket Board (SAACB) decided to disband and to join SACU. Its controlling body, the Cricket Council of SA, was also dissolved and its funds transferred to SACU. Mr Hassan Howa, president of SACB, said that this did not mean that all black cricketers were members of SACU as the SAACB was almost defunct by the time it disbanded. The SA Cricket Development Fund with initial assets of R75 000 was established by SACU, with the objective of developing cricket in less privileged areas and among all sections of the community.

At the annual meeting of SACU in September, the president, Mr Rachid Varachia, urged the Government to eliminate or suspend racial laws affecting sport. The lack of concrete evidence that apartheid in sport had been eliminated undermined efforts to obtain international recognition, be said.

An ICC fact-finding mission consisting of representatives from Bermuda, US, England, Australia and New Zealand toured SA in March at the invitation of SACU in order to investigate the progress made in non-racial sport. India, Pakistan and the West Indies refused to send representatives on the grounds that the continued existence of apartheid made any investigation futile. SANROC criticised the mission for being biased because the delegation had failed to include
in its itinerary a meeting with Mr Hassan Howa. A meeting did finally take place although the delegation was not able to meet with the provincial units of SACB.

In its memorandum to the ICC delegation SACOS said that the Government's new sports policy was adopted to make white SA more acceptable internationally. It called on the ICC to express its solidarity with non-racial sporting principles by not recognising SACU which it said was insincere in its claims that it had fulfilled the requirements of the ICC and said that a unified, non-racial cricket body should apply for membership of the ICC only when the law made it possible for nonracial sports to be played without restriction and free of Government interference.

The report of the delegation presented at the annual conference 597 of the ICC in June said that non-racial cricket was played at club and provincial level. Selection was entirely on merit, an increase in quantity and quality of black cricketers was likely and SACU represented the Soccer view of the majority of cricketers and was non-racial in every respect. The report recommended that the ICC recognise SACU, that everything possible be done to assist it and that a strong team, representative of as many ICC countries as possible, should tour SA during the 1979-1980 season, the profits from the tour being devoted to furthering the cause of non-racial cricket. However, despite the fact that the conditions laid down in 1974 by the ICC for the readmission of SA into international cricket had been met, the report recommended against this as it would create division within the ranks of the ICC, many countries not regarding the report as representative of ICC opinion.

The SACB president, Mr Hassan Howa, predicted that SACU's attempts to get back into the ICC would fail as merely having a black stooge at the top of a white organisation did not mean the organisation was non-racial.66

Soccer

In January the SA National Football Association (SANFA) met the Football Association of SA (FASA, predominantly white) at which meeting a decision was taken to amalgamate. A committee was appointed to draw up a new constitution and to consider the structure, aims and objectives of the controlling body. In April FASA joined the Football Council of SA (FCOSA) of which SANFA was also an affiliate, and agreed to withdraw from such bodies as SAONGA and the SA Federation of Sport. SANFA recognised that the NPSL was the only body governing professional soccer.

The SA Soccer Federation (SASF) was not present at the unity talks as it was necessary first to rescind a previous decision not to engage in dialogue. The Natal Soccer Board, an influential body within the Federation which supported the principles and policies of SACOS threatened the SASF with a court interdict if it collaborated with racially constituted bodies and threatened to withdraw from the SASF. SANFA and FASA decided to leave the doors open to SASF.

In February the SASF decided to concentrate on consolidating its links with SANFA. It felt that whites were not ready for integration and that there was no point in meeting with FASA because its claims of non-racialism lacked
foundation. It was also not interested in affiliating to the FCOSA as this would be furthering the Government policy of multi-national sport. However, while SASF was opposed to unity with whites, SANFA was concerned to conduct dialogue with all races. A meeting was held between SANFA and SASF in March. The President of SANFA, Mr Thabe, said that while SANFA supported non-racial sport, the laws of apartheid made it impossible to play non-racial soccer and therefore SANFA was prepared to compromise by playing multi-national soccer. He accused SASF of racialism and tokenism for not having included more than two Africans on its executive for the last 25 years. He said SANFA was not prepared to stop negotiating with FASA for the sake of maintaining dialogue with SASF which would have to submit to SANFA's terms. SANFA and SASF agreed to report back to their respective organisations and to conduct further discussions in the future.

In March the SASF also met with SACOS with a view to affiliation Athletics to that body. The SASF was split between those favouring unity with SANFA and those favouring affiliation to SACOS. SACOS was opposed to any collaboration with SANFA. The SASF was told by SACOS that it must get its house in order with respect to the use of double standards by September when the issue of its admission would be discussed. In April Mr Hassan Howa, president of SACOS, launched a new amateur body which would attract players from SASF if the latter did not join SACOS. This move met with the criticism that it was furthering the division in the ranks of soccer. On the other hand several teams from the SASF professional league left to join the NPSL as they were dissatisfied with the SASF's lack of progress in negotiations with SANFA. The SASF was readmitted into SACOS at the meeting but it was made clear that Norman Middleton, president of SASF, was not acceptable to SACOS as he was an executive member of the Coloured Representative Council and that the double standards policy would have to be implemented immediately in this regard by forcing Mr Middleton to resign either from the CRC or as president. Mr Middleton offered to resign if he was asked to do so but had not done so by December.

At the quarterly meeting of SACOS in March the withdrawal of sponsorship from non-racial sporting bodies was discussed. Sponsorships were being offered by companies with conditions attached, compliance with which would have entailed compromising SACOS principles on non-racial sport. In January the predominantly white National Football League under the chairmanship of Vivien Granger was revived with the intention of incorporating the overflow of clubs at the lower level that could not be accommodated in the NPSL because of insufficient organisation and facilities. It adopted a policy of cooperation towards the NPSL and the SASF. In November, the Minister of Sport said the Government would intervene in the administration of soccer if violence at matches did not end. Hooliganism on the
scale that existed at present in soccer matches could not be tolerated, he said. He hoped the Government would not have to intervene and that the problem could be solved by negotiation. He made this stand after a number of violent incidents at professional soccer matches where referees and players as well as spectators were assaulted.

In April Zimbabwe-Rhodesia was accepted back into the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) on condition that its links with SA were terminated. General Manager of NPSL, Tso Modise said after a visit overseas in May that SA would only be readmitted into FIFA after soccer was integrated at school and amateur levels.

The NPSL also investigated the position of seven players who played for the Bophuthatswana National team against a West German touring team.

**Athletics**

Several outstanding SA athletes left the country during the year because of the absence of international competition. Some took up sports scholarships at US universities while others settled in countries where they might be able to obtain foreign passports. In September the president of the South African Amateur Athletics Union, Professor Charles Nieuwoudt, said he was convinced that SA would not be readmitted to international sport in the foreseeable future.

One of SA's outstanding athletes, middle distance runner Sydney Maree who was studying in the US, was prevented from participating in international meetings in the US and was only allowed to represent his university because of a ban imposed by the US Amateur Athletics Association. He was awarded Springbok colours while on a visit to SA and said he was proud to wear them. Maree's first visit to the US was sponsored by the Information Department front, the Committee for Fairness in Sport, and this exacerbated problems in regard to his international status amongst the anti-apartheid movement. Maree said he was considering taking out US citizenship to be able to compete in the Olympic Games.

In April an attempt by five top marathon runners to compete in the famous Boston Marathon under flags of other countries failed and they were barred from running. Africans continued to participate in provincial competitions but in August there was a furore when the Eastern Transvaal Cross-Country Association attempted to transport its team in racially segregated buses. The black athletes included a Springbok, Mathews Motshwari. It was alleged that parents of white children threatened to withdraw them if the black athletes travelled on the same bus. After protests, they eventually travelled together but some athletes missed the bus in the confusion.

**Swimming**

During the year, no unity between the different controlling bodies was achieved. In January the non-racial SA Amateur Swimming Federation (SAASwif) stipulated conditions for discussions with the white SA Amateur Swimming Union (SAASU), namely that all swimming facilities were made available to all people at all times on a completely unrestricted non-racial basis, that membership
of swimming clubs be made available and open to all people regardless of race
and that there be no separation of eating, changing and other facilities at
swimming pools. The SAASwif decided not to accept SAASU's invitation for
discussions until these conditions were met but agreed to meet with the SA
National Amateur Swimming Association (SANASA, African).
In accordance with instructions from the international swimming federation,
FINA, that SAASU and SAASwif hold talks to determine the areas of their
agreement and disagreement, a meeting was held in March. Apart from satisfying
the wishes of FINA, these discussions did not result in any unification which
would only be possible when SAASwif was completely satisfied about the
swimming situation in SA. In September the executive council of FINA decided
not to send a fact-finding tour to SA before the Olympic Games.
SANASA found itself in the middle of these two bodies, both of which wished to
establish links. SANASA president Monnathebe Senokoanyane advocated the
disbanding of all controlling bodies and the establishment of a single body. Until
that time SANASA would continue as a racial body and would not liaise with
SAASU or SAASwif.

In January SAASU president Issy Kramer offered SANASA the
possibility of joint tuition, saying that as a result of discussions with the Minister
of Sport, the department was prepared to fund mixed coaching. He
announced that he had instructed the provincial units of
SAASU to seek permission for blacks to swim in white areas and to utilise their
facilities for the benefit of all races. A meeting between SANASA and SAASU
was held in March to discuss the joint administration
of swimming and the tuition of black children.
In August the Johannesburg municipality refused to allow coloured swimmers to
join in a training programme by a leading coach.
At the annual conference of SAASU, Mr Kramer criticised local authorities for
working within the framework of government policy when
dealing with mixed training.
In January a meeting was held between the Natal Council of Sport, the Amateur
Swimming Union of Natal, the Asherville Ratepayers Association and senior
officials of the Durban City Council to discuss the opening of municipal
swimming pools in specific black areas around Durban to all race groups. The
Council referred the matter to the North Durban Local Affairs Committee which
recommended the desegregation of pools but the City Council rejected the
recommendation
and resolved to maintain the status quo.
In July a non-racial swimming club was established in Lenasia. It adopted the
policy and principles of SACOS and excluded from membership all swimmers
from racial sports organisation or those affiliated
in any way with racial organisation in other sports.

Boxing
In January the SA National Boxing Control Board decided to abolish racial discrimination in provincial and national titles. Previously, there were both white and black champions who fought for the title of supreme champion though still retaining their separate racial titles. All existing white and black champions would be obliged to relinquish their titles in terms of the new ruling.

At a meeting in February the SA Boxing Association (white), the SA Boxing Union (African) and the SA Boxing Board (Coloured) decided that provincial trials for the amateur boxing SA Open Championships would be non-racial.

In February a petition signed by 1 200 members of the Natal Boxing Association requested the SA Boxing Association (SABA) to integrate boxing at club level. The president of SABA said that he did not want to harm boxing by prematurely introducing mixed boxing at club level.

He said that in 1980 SA would have mixed provincial teams fighting in the national championships and if this was successful further changes would be introduced.

In January the US government refused Kallie Knoetze a visitor's visa which would allow him to fight against Bill Sharkey on the grounds that he had a criminal record of obstructing the course of justice while employed by the SA Police. A US court made a temporary ruling revoking the state department's decision and he was permitted to fight.

Demonstrations organised by anti-apartheid activists took place. At the subsequent court case the court ruled that in refusing the visa the state department had not been influenced by political pressure and he was therefore not permitted to fight against Leon Spinks in March.

Mohammed Ali's proposed tour of SA in February at the invitation 601 of the Islamic Council was cancelled following Ali's consultations with the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in SA, Leslie Harriman, and opposition by several other organisations.

Tennis

In April a black boxer, Happyboy Mgxaji, challenged Sam Serrano of Puerto Rico for the world junior lightweight crown, but lost. The title fight was held in Cape Town without any racial restrictions.

In the middle of the year two white South Africans were involved in a world heavyweight title elimination contest against two black Americans. In the first fight, John Tate of the US defeated Kallie Knoetze in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, but in the second, Gerrie Coetzee defeated former world champion Leon Spinks in Monte Carlo. This paved the way for a world title fight between Coetzee and Tate at the Loftus Versveld stadium in Pretoria. Both the elimination and the title fights were approved and sanctioned by the World Boxing Association but the rival World Boxing Council, to which most African countries are affiliated, refused to recognise SA boxers and did not acknowledge the Pretoria contest.

The promoter of the fight, Bob Arum, said that the condition for the fight taking place was that there had to be integrated seating facilities (see Shared Amenities).
There were also criticisms of Tate for coming to SA and protests were made both in the US and SA about his presence. A number of SA black leaders such as Mr Percy Qoboza, Dr Ntatho Motlana and Bishop Desmond Tutu, boycotted the fight. Hassan Howa of SACOS criticised the contest as a propaganda exercise for the SA Government.

After Tate had won the title, however, there was considerable celebration in black areas such as New Brighton, Langa, Umtata, Soweto and Umlazi, because a white man had been defeated by a black man.

In August the Transvaal Boxing Board of Control prohibited the attendance of whites at the welterweight title fight between Mohloai and Kambule in Kwa Thema, Springs, on the grounds that the hall was too small to accommodate white and black fans and that blacks should be given preference.

In September, the Natal Amateur Boxing Union protested to its national body, SAABU, over the banning of non-African boxers in the SAABU championships in October. NABU included African, coloured and Indian boxers. They demanded the inclusion of non-Africans or threatened their withdrawal. The Johannesburg Amateur Boxing Association also lodged protests on the same grounds and said they would not participate until racialistic clauses in SAABU’s constitution were removed. SAABU officials said that the organisation catered only for African boxers and not for other racial groups.

In October, however, it was announced that the national senior open championship would be completely non-racial with five mixed provincial sides competing after regional championships had been held.

Tennis
Possibly one of the most significant developments in sport during the year was the formation of the Tennis Association of South Africa (TASA). This was the first time a predominantly African sports body, the

602 South African National Lawn Tennis Union (SANLTU), and a non-racial body, the Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union (SALTU), had merged into a new body. Although a number of Africans play in the non-racial Tennis leagues, particularly in rugby, most African sports bodies have kept out of the non-racial bodies and have, as in soccer and cricket, preferred a method of co-operation with the white-controlled bodies. TASA, which has applied for affiliation to SACOS, could be the forerunner of new trend. Its constitution includes a charter of principles which stresses commitment to non-racialism. TASA has refused to have anything to do with the Black Tennis Foundation, which was founded by US star Arthur Ashe, on the grounds that it was not a non-racial body.

Towards the end of the year SALTU and the Black Tennis Foundation approached TASA in an attempt to overcome the conflicts between the organisations.

During March, a delegation from the International Tennis Federation (ITF) visited SA on a fact-finding tour and in December the ITF president returned for another
visit. This followed SA's withdrawal from the Federation and Davis Cups. The fact-finding team met with TASA who said the meeting was a waste of time. Phillipe Chatrier, the ITF President, said that the future of SA in world tennis lay in the hands of the SA Government. The ITF report said there was no chance of SA's readmission to world tennis while 'the system of apartheid' prevailed. It said TASA was totally political but said this was understandable because black players were under-privileged and their facilities inferior to those of whites. It also felt that the TASA would hold out against a single united body for tennis until the total abolition of apartheid was achieved.

In August a Soviet bid to expel SA from the ITF failed but SA was excluded from the Davis and Federation Cups. In October SA played Spain in a Davis Cup-type contest in Johannesburg. The meeting was sponsored by Standard Bank. However, during the year a number of leading international stars visited SA for tournaments.

In December the Transvaal Tennis Board resolved that members of TASA who took part in any capacity in events staged by organisations which did not subscribe to TASA's principles risked the possibility of being excluded from events of the national body and its affiliates.

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ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA

Population
According to Press estimates, in 1979 there were between 220,000 and 230,000 whites resident in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Approximately 27,500 had emigrated since 1972, when the war began.

The blacks numbered about 6,500,000. The largest group was the Shona, consisting of the Manyika and Zezuru sub-groups. There were also the Karanga group of Africans, living in the Victoria province, the Ndebele in the Bulawayo area, and very much smaller numbers of coloured and Indian people (approximately 35,000 in all).

Background to events in 1979
The various political groups
As described on pages 500 et seq of last year's Survey, the then Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, leader of the white Rhodesia Party (RF), announced in November 1977 that it appeared that the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement in Rhodesia had been universally rejected by Rhodesians. In consequence, he planned an internal settlement. He would hold talks with the Rhodesia-based national leaders, who were Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United African National Council (UANC), the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, who headed the faction of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu) that operated from within the country, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, leader of the mainly tribally-based Zimbabwe United People's Organisation (Zupo).

Excluded from the talks would be the leaders of the externally-based guerrillas, Robert Mugabe (Zanu), and Joshua Nkomo (Zapu the Zimbabwe African People's Union). Mr Mugabe's military force, the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (Zanla) was based in Mozambique, while that of Mr Nkomo, the Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army (Zipra) was based in Zambia. Zanla consisted mainly of Karanga and Shona people, and Zipra of Ndebele. In 1976 the two guerrilla armies formed a loose alliance called the Patriotic Front (PF).

Internal settlement plan
After talks extending over three months, in March 1978 the leaders of the four participating delegations signed an internal agreement. The salient points of this were as follows:

1. All citizens of 18 years and over would be eligible for registration as voters if they had been resident in the country for at least two years;

2. There would be a Senate and a Legislative Assembly. The latter would consist of 100 members, 28 white and 72 black. The blacks would be elected by black voters, who would vote for a political party. Each party would be allocated seats in proportion to the number of votes it received. Of the white members, 20 would be elected by whites, on a separate roll. White MPs would nominate at least 16 candidates for the remaining seats, and black and white voters would then elect 8 persons from these candidates;

3. The Senate would have 30 members, ten elected by the Council of Chiefs, ten selected by the black MPs, and ten by the white MPs. Its powers would be confined to delaying legislation other than money or urgent Bills;

4. Elections for this Government of National Unity would be held in April 1979;

5. The country would thereafter be known as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia;

6. For the life of the first parliament or for five years, whichever was the longer period, the new Prime Minister would allocate Cabinet posts to the various political parties in proportion to the seats each held in the Assembly. For every five seats held, parties would have one Cabinet post (this meant that whites would have at least five of the twenty posts);

7. A president would be elected by the two houses sitting together;

8. In the interim period until elections were held an interim government would function, Mr Smith continuing as Prime Minister, but advised by an Executive Council consisting of the three Rhodesia-based African leaders. The chairmanship of the council would rotate between these four persons.

In these elections, coloured and Indian citizens would be on the white roll. White blocking veto and control of security and other forces

Of the 170 articles of the country's constitution, 121 were entrenched, including those dealing with the composition of parliament, the make-up of the coalition government, and the recruitment and control over the police and defence forces, the civil service, and the judiciary. A blocking mechanism protected the entrenched clauses: at least 78 votes in the 100-member Assembly would be required to alter them. This meant that, if they stood together, the 28 whites could block any changes.

White-dominated commissions controlled the appointments to and operation of the civil service, judiciary, and defence and police forces.

Attitude of the Patriotic Front
The reported terms for a settlement laid down by the PF were set out in last year's Survey.2 PF leaders told the UN Security Council in March 1978 that they did not recognise either the internal settlement or Anglo-American mediation. They would continue fighting until power was transferred completely from the whites to the black majority. Mr Mugabe was reported to have said that the aim of the PF was to achieve black majority rule, and then to create a one-party Marxist state in Zimbabwe.

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The New Government

During January of the year now under review a referendum was held among white voters, who were asked to say 'Yes' or 'No' to the internal settlement plan. There was a 71.5 % poll, and 84.4 % of those who voted were in favour of the plan. The elections were held in stages, during April. General mobilisation was ordered to maintain law and order and protect those going to the polls. The whites voted on 10 April, in twenty constituencies. All of these seats went to representatives of the RF. (As described above, the other eight whites were elected later, after the general elections had been completed. They too were all RF members.) Blacks voted between 17 and 21 April. The parties contesting the elections were:

(a) the UANC, led by Bishop Muzorewa;
(b) the internal faction of Zanu, led by Mr Sithole;
(c) Zupo, led by Chief Chirau;
(d) the UNFP (United National Federal Party), led by Senator Chief Kayisa Ndiweni. (This was a new, Bulawayo-based party, drawing its main support from the Ndebele people);
(e) the NDU, or National Democratic Party, a small new party led by Mr Henry Chihota.

As indicated earlier, there were no voters' rolls: those coming to vote had to bring some form of identification and, after voting, had a finger dipped in indelible ink. The ballot papers at the approximately 700 polling booths reflected only the initials and symbols of the contesting parties. Apart from a few relatively minor PF attacks, the voting took place peacefully and without hindrance. More than 70 international observers and about 250 foreign journalists were stated to have been in the country at the time. A team of observers sent by the British Conservative Party is reported3 to have considered that the elections were fair and, considering the guerrilla war conditions, acceptably free. There were certain irregularities, they found, but these were not of a nature to invalidate the elections.

Certain anomalies did occur: in at least two cases higher numbers voted than the potential electorate (which had been calculated from 1969 census figures and estimates of subsequent population growth). This might have been due to a movement of seasonal agricultural labour, or an influx of unemployed Africans to the towns.
(It should be mentioned that Zapu and the externally-based Zanu were banned in Rhodesia at the time, many of the leaders of these organisations were under detention, and other supporters were undoubtedly afraid of expressing their opinions.)
The officially-calculated poll was 63.9%. Of the 72 African seats:
51 were won by Bishop Muzorewa's UANC;
12 were won by Mr Sithole's Zanu;
9 were won by Senator Chief Ndiweni's UNFP.
As indicated earlier, Mr Smith's RF had 28 seats. Bishop Muzorewa thus became Prime Minister, with the RF as the official opposition. The new constitution came into effect on 1 June.

An electoral college consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament elected Mr Josiah Z. Gumede (a Ndebele) as President.
The Cabinet posts to which the parties were entitled were:
Zimbabwe UANC-11 Rhodesia
RF- 5
Zanu- 2
UNFP- 2
Dr Silas Mundawarara became Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Francis Zindoga Minister of Law and Order, and Mr David Mukome Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr Ian Smith was made Minister without Portfolio. Mr David Smith, the previous Minister of Finance, continued to hold this portfolio.
Lt General Peter Walls retained his position as Commander of Combined Operations.
The African Political Parties
During the early part of the year Bishop Muzorewa lost his overall majority in the Assembly when the previous deputy party leader, Mr James Chikerema, led a walk-out of six other elected members, after having accused the Bishop of dictatorship and of nepotism and tribalism in that senior party posts had been given to members of his Manyika tribe. Mr Chikerema and his supporters were Zezurus. In spite of having been the deputy leader, Mr Chikerema was given no Cabinet post. He formed a new Zimbabwe Democratic Party. Bishop Muzorewa filed a petition with the High Court asking that the dissidents be required to resign their seats, but the Chief Justice ruled against him.
Mr Sithole alleged that irregularities had taken place during the elections, officials in authority having urged people to vote for the UANC. For two months he refused to take up his twelve seats in the Assembly or his two Cabinet posts. He then changed his mind and participated in the new government; but one of his twelve MP's subsequently defected to the UANC.
At first Senator Chief Ndiweni also threatened to refuse to participate in the government, his reason apparently being that none of the members of his party had been elected to the Senate. Later he too changed his mind.
It was reported towards the end of the year that Mr Mugabe, in Mozambique, had detained a number of guerrillas there, of the Karanga tribal group, who had allegedly tried to overthrow him. (Mr Mugabe is a Zezuru.) A leading Karanga in
Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Mr Michael Mawema, and his supporters then broke away from Zanu to form a new party called the National Front (or Democratic Party) of Zimbabwe.

Abolition of Racial Discrimination
At the beginning of February, while the interim government was still in power, eight pieces of legislation came into effect which opened previously whites-only schools, hospitals and suburbs to people of all racial groups. One of the laws repealed was the Land Ten-

608 ure Act, which had imposed racial restrictions on the ownership of land in rural areas.

Zimbabwe-Continuation of Warfare during 1979
Rhodesia-Military call-up periods
As stated on page 509 of last year's Survey, it was decided in 1976 that all white and coloured men in Z-R between 18 and 49 years of age would be liable for military service, the annual period being reduced progressively for older men. From 1979, African school-leavers over 18 years of age who had completed at least two years at a secondary school became liable to call-up on the same basis as whites.

Further decisions made in 1979 were that men up to 49 years of age who had previously been exempted because of the nature of their work could be called upon to do urban protective duties at night and at weekends; and that men in the 50 to 59 age group could be conscripted to do urban guard duties for a maximum of six weeks a year.

Many were called up during the election period.

Martial law
The imposition of martial law in various districts of Z-R was described on page 507 of the 1978 Survey. In January further areas were included. It was reported that by then martial law was in force in about 90 O/o of the country, excluding wide stretches of land each side of straight lines between Bulawayo and Salisbury, and between Karoi and Umtali; where the major towns were situated.

Cost of the war in human lives
It was estimated by the press in mid-December that the seven-year undeclared war, which began on 22 December 1972, had cost about 20 000 lives in Rhodesia itself. Thousands of other people died in crossborder raids by Rhodesia's military forces against guerrilla camps in Zambia and Mozambique.

The death toll included more than 6 000 civilians (all but 500 of them black), 1150 members of the security forces, and more than 12 000 guerrillas and their collaborators.

No estimates were published of the number of people who had been blinded or crippled or in other ways injured for life. There were probably more of these amongst the security forces than the guerrillas because wounded members of the security forces were, wherever possible, immediately evacuated by helicopters,
while guerrillas whose companions could not carry them away were often left to
die undiscovered in the bush.

Financial cost of the war
According to the budget presented to the Z-R Parliament in July, 37% of the
amount for the current year, or R1.3m a day, would be spent on combating the
guerrillas. The press estimated the total cost of the
seven-year war to be nearly R1 330m.

Setback to development in African areas
A report by a parliamentary select committee called the African Production and
Marketing Development Fund Committee was re-
leased during February. This fund had been established in 1949 to promote and
control marketing and production in the tribal trust lands and to establish an
infrastructure for this.
The committee reported that its work had been 'set to nought'. Some outposts
were so difficult and dangerous to get to that they were literally under siege or
had been abandoned. There was, under existing circumstances, little hope of
operating conservation measures successfully in 75 o/o of the rural areas. By the
end of November 1977 (latest available figures), 727 of 1 748 dips had been
closed by guerrillas, and more than 250 000 head of cattle had consequently died
of tick-borne diseases. (It was estimated that this figure had since doubled.) Tsetse
fly control had broken down.
In all tribal areas 'mujibas' or PF supporters were doing their best to break down
the tribal, village, and African council systems. Hospitals, clinics and schools had
been closed, and 'in many parts no vestige of civilisation remained'.
The International Committee of the Red Cross reported that serious nutritional
problems existed in remoter parts of the northern areas. The committee was
working at a number of mission stations, handing out food, soap, blankets, and
clothing to the most needy of the people; but for security reasons its teams were
denied entry to some of the tribal trust lands.

Shooting down of a second passenger aircraft, and repercussions
The shooting down of a Viscount aircraft on a regular scheduled passenger flight
between Salisbury and Kariba, on 5 September 1978, was described on page 511
of last year's Survey. Zipra (Nkomo) forces admitted to having fired a heat-
seeking missile at it, causing it to crash and catch alight in African tribal land near
Kariba. Forty-eight people were killed in the crash or by guerrillas subsequently.
A similar tragedy took place in almost the same place on 12 February, killing all
59 passengers and crew. Mr Nkomo claimed that Zipra had believed that Lt
General Peter Walls, head of the Z-R Combined Operations, accompanied by
military men, had been on board the Viscount. General Walls, who was on
another flight, stated that no other military personnel were with him: he had been
to Kariba for a short fishing holiday.
When another Viscount on the same route landed at Salisbury two days later, five
bullet holes were found in the fuselage. On 19 February there was an unsuccessful
mortar bomb attack on the Salisbury airport complex, which included a military
air base. The missiles missed their targets.
On 15 February Rhodesia's pilots gave warning that they could 'no longer guarantee the level of safety' enjoyed by airlines operating under normal conditions. Douglas DC 3 propellor-driven aircraft replaced the partially jet-propelled Viscounts on passenger flights near border areas, and the routes and flight-levels adopted were designed to make attack difficult.

The South African Airways stopped flights to the Victoria Falls. This and other airlines operating flights between London and Johannesburg no longer landed at Salisbury en route. Three of Rhodesia

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sia's premier tourist hotels were placed on a care and maintenance basis because of the falling off of custom.

Attacks on rail, road, and power links
Although overnight passenger train services in Rhodesia were suspended in 1978, and escorts provided for trains, guerrillas made several successful attacks during 1979. A passenger train on the line south of Salisbury was derailed in January. In March a train carrying Zambian copper to SA ports for export was derailed near Figtree, to the south of Bulawayo. The locomotive, eight loaded trucks, and the guard's van were destroyed; and the driver, guard, and four escorts were injured, some seriously. During April a serviceman was wounded when the train he was escorting was attacked on the Fort Victoria-Gwelo line; and a railway employee was killed when guerrillas fired at his inspection trolley.

Drivers of vehicles travelling long distances continued during 1979 to join escorted convoys wherever possible. Notices warned motorists using main roads to the north and north-east of Salisbury not to do so after 3 p.m. In more remote areas, motorists were warned not to use main roads linking towns after 1 p.m. Even vehicles in escorted convoys were not always safe. In April for example shots fired by guerrillas hit the third vehicle in a convoy between Fort Victoria and Birchenough Bridge, killing a woman and wounding her two companions. From time to time pylons carrying the powerline from Kariba were destroyed.

Attacks in the Salisbury area
In spite of increased vigilance, occasional guerrilla assaults continued in and around Salisbury during the year under review. An ineffectual rocket attack, which caused minor damage only, was made on the city's main power station in mid-February and, later that month, an unsuccessful mortar bomb attack on the airport complex. In March and again in April shots were fired at a police dog school. A further, but this time unavailing, attempt was made to blow up the bulk fuel depot. In April a bomb exploded in a shopping centre, killing one African and injuring another.

The main industrial area continued to be heavily guarded, with armed patrols, road blocks, and a dusk to dawn curfew.

Other urban areas
Similar precautions were taken in other urban areas; but guerrillas made two successful strikes in Fort Victoria. During April a rocket was fired into a massive diesel oil tank which caught alight. The fire spread to adjacent tanks and a warehouse before it could be extinguished, and destroyed almost a million litres of diesel oil.

In August shots were fired at houses of whites in a suburb of the town. One house burned down and two others were damaged.

As described later, Umtali was attacked on several occasions.

Warfare across the Mozambique border
In the weeks following the destruction of the second Viscount aircraft, Z-R Air Force planes made a number of strikes against Zanla (Mugabe) guerrilla depots well within Mozambique—at Chimoio, Mutarara, Chocue, and a depot 30 km from Beira.

Zanla forces continued to raid farms and missions conducted by whites in Eastern Z-R killing some people and abducting others. Early in September, in Maputo, Mr Mugabe set free 13 whites who had been captured at various times during the year.

At the beginning of September, Z-R forces made massive attacks over three days on targets within Mozambique, with the object of destroying a joint military command and supply infrastructure that they claimed had been set up by Zanla and the Mozambique Frelimo. Joint brigade headquarters at Mapai, Maxaila, and Mabarane were bombed, as were company headquarters at Chicualacuala, Malvernia, Mpuzi, Ngala and Pafuri.

Besides this, the Z-R forces destroyed six major rail and road bridges from the border between the countries right down south to within 160 km of Maputo, demolishing the infrastructure needed for any large-scale invasion of Z-R. Probably more than 300 Frelimo/Zanla men were killed. The invaders were reported to have lost three helicopters and 15 white men.

( President Samora Machel announced at a rally in Maputu held during December that 500 Mozambican volunteers had fought alongside Zanu forces against Rhodesia. About 350 of them were operating on Rhodesian soil, he said.)

Another large-scale four-day raid was made at the end of September on a main Zanla military base called Chimoio, to the northeast of Umtali, about 15 km from the border. The camp was reported to have consisted of a complex of tunnels and bunkers ranging over some 64 sq km of bush. There were an estimated 1 000 guerrillas there at the time, including the deputy Zanu leader, Rex Nhlongo with some Soviet advisers. The attack began with air strikes, then ground and helicopterborne troops moved in. They met spirited resistance but this was overcome. A large hospital, various military installations, and tons of equipment and food supplies were destroyed. Possibly about 100 guerrillas and 2 attackers died, many others being wounded.

These massive attacks possibly prevented large-scale Zanla attacks during the year under review; but numbers of small-scale attacks did take place, especially against the border town of Umtali. Salvos of rockets and mortars were fired at the town on two occasions in October, causing damage to property but no casualties.
Three bomb blasts occurred in shops in October and November, wounding at least 19 women, some of them very seriously.

Warfare across the Zambian border (to early November)
There was far more action during the year in the north, against Nkomo's Zipra forces. During February Z-R bombers pounded two Zipra bases near Livingstone, a very large camp called Nampundwe 40 km west of Lusaka, where recruits were accommodated, and a camp 30 km south of the capital. It was reported that some aircraft overflew Zambia and attacked a Zipra training base located in Angola.

A series of attacks was launched in April against two Zipra camps close to the west and south of Lusaka, the Mulungushi base 100 km to the north, and a complex of camps at Shelinde, 500 km from the bor-

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der. President Kaunda was reported to have said on 12 April that 138 people had been killed and 219 injured in raids that week.
A few days later, daring attacks were made by small squads of Z-R soldiers. One group drove up to 'Liberation Centre' in Lusaka, in vehicles painted to look like Zambian military ones, and gutted a group of buildings stated to include Mr Nkomo's residence, storehouses, and the offices of a number of liberation movements including the South African ANC. A second group blew up the Kazangulu ferry, while a third struck in Francistown in Botswana, attacked the guerrilla headquarters there, and seized hostages. Another air raid was made on Mulungushi.

Forces operating from Zambia retaliated from time to time. On 25 April a white family on a farm near Lusaka, with a Rhodesian background, was murdered. Rockets and mortars were fired on Kariba for an hour during May without doing much damage.

The Z-R command was determined to prevent larger-scale attacks. Mr Nkomo was estimated to have about 20 000 men in Zambia, about half of them trained, with another 2 000 to 3 000 operating within Rhodesia itself. At the end of June a Zipra camp about 20 km north of Lusaka was borribed. Z-R troops, landing from helicopters, seized command for some hours of a Zipra headquarters in a northern suburb of the city. They destroyed the building and captured numbers of documents that described Zipra strategy. In these two attacks the Z-R forces killed about 20 people and wounded some 30. They had one soldier killed and another wounded.

At the beginning of July a Zipra munitions depot about 25 km west of Lusaka was destroyed, at least seven guerrillas being killed. Early in August another munitions depot and a military camp were bombed, and jet bombers flew the length of Zambia to near the Zaire border, pounding six camps in various parts of the country.

In mid-October, non-military targets in Zambia were attacked for the first time. Commandos blew up a rail bridge and a road bridge across the Chambeshi River,
on the main route north to Dar-es-Salaam. The railway line, reported to carry about 40% of Zambia's imports and exports, was rendered useless for some time ahead. The Benguela line through South Angola continued to be closed because of Unita attacks, while the rail to SA via the Victoria Falls was stated already to be operating at full capacity. The attack was a very severe blow to Zambia's economy.

About ten days later another ground and air strike was made on a Zipra base 40 km inside Zambia: reports stated that two Rhodesians and at least 100 guerrillas were killed. After another ten-day interval a base some 90 km across the border was attacked: it consisted of a headquarters and three staging camps thought to be accommodating 250 to 300 guerrillas. One Rhodesian and at least 60 guerrillas were killed and numbers on both sides wounded. At about the same time, a Z-R security patrol encountered some men who had infiltrated the country, and opened fire, killing eleven men and capturing two.

Blocking of maize imports
On 6 November the Muzorewa government in Salisbury announced that it would block imports of maize into Zambia by rail from SA (Mr Sithole was reported to have opposed this decision, on humanitarian grounds.) A poor harvest and late deliveries of fertilizer, 613 because of the war, had left Zambia with a shortfall of more than half of the maize it needed for the year. The South African Railways was railing up large quantities of the grain, the trucks returning with copper Zimbabwe for export, but part of the line ran through Z-R.
SA continued to rail up items such as soya bean meal, fertilizer, Rhodesia wheat, and manufactured goods; also to operate cargo flights to and from Zambia. The threatened maize shortage was a very serious blow to Zambia, however.
(As described later one of the first actions of the British Governor, Lord Soames, when he assumed office after a settlement of the war had been reached, was to lift the ban on SA maize deliveries to Zambia.)

Further military attacks within Zambia
During November it was reported that Z-R commandos had destroyed twelve bridges in Zambia, five of them, blown up on 18 November and the following days, being strategic road and rail bridges. Lusaka was virtually isolated from the outside world by land routes. President Kaunda mobilised Zambia for total war against Z-R and its allies.
As described later in this chapter, a ceasefire was, at the time, being discussed at the Lancaster House Conference. The chairman, Lord Carrington, called on both the Z-R government and the PF to cease cross-border operations; but President Kaunda, furious at the very serious damage to Zambian property, accused Britain of being partly to blame. Anti-British demonstrations took place in Lusaka. The UN appointed a delegation consisting of representatives of Norway, Nigeria, Jamaica, and Kuwait to visit Zambia and assess the cost of repairs to the twelve rail and road bridges blown up by Z-R commandos and to investigate consequent losses to the Chinese-built Tanzam railway.

Auxiliary security force units
For some time before the year under review African leaders within Z-R had encouraged guerrillas to return home and to accept an amnesty offer. Some did, but not as many as had been hoped. The authorities formed many of the returned fighters, together with large numbers of unemployed young men who had migrated to the towns, into auxiliary security force units. These units were stationed in tribal areas with the object of keeping terrorists out, and of protecting political leaders who came to speak at rallies in these areas. The scheme was not a success, initially at any rate. Many of the groups were ill-disciplined. Instead of being impartial, they tended to give open support to one or other of the political leaders: Mr Sithole was often preferred. 'Private armies' were formed to back these leaders and tribesmen were coerced to fall into line, force sometimes being used.

Shortly before the elections in April the security forces tried to improve matters. Parades were organised and discipline enforced. Leaders deemed to be satisfactory were made commissioned officers and the men were issued with uniforms, badges and weapons. The auxiliaries were named 'Pfumo Revanhu' (Spear of the Nation). There continued to be complaints about the men's behaviour, however, and a number were convicted of various crimes of violence.

As mentioned earlier Mr Sithole alleged that irregularities took place during the elections, and for two months he refused to participate in the new government. During this period the authorities feared that Zanu members among the auxiliaries (supporters of Mr Sithole) might turn on the government. Security forces swooped on the auxiliary units, screening about 1 500 men. Those who promised to support the government of national unity were released; but nearly 500 men were disarmed and detained in prisons.

Some serious clashes took place when 'rebels' refused to submit to 'retraining and re-orientation' programmes. It was reported that at least 183 auxiliaries were killed—mainly Zanu supporters.'

Security council resolution
On 30 April the Security Council rejected the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian elections as being null and void, and called on all states to refuse to acknowledge the Muzorewa government and to enforce full sanctions. The voting was 12 to nil, with Britain, the United States and France abstaining.

Organisation of African Unity
At a meeting in Nairobi late in May the OAU is reported to have recognised the Patriotic Front as the sole authentic representative of the people of Z-R. A more conciliatory approach was, apparently, adopted at a meeting in Monrovia in July, when the speeches reflected a broad consensus that a negotiated settlement was the path to peace.

Conservative party take-over in Britain
When the Conservative Party won the British general election in the first week of May, Lord Carrington was appointed Foreign Secretary. He announced his desire
to start a new round of discussions on Rhodesia, but said no decision would be taken until after the Commonwealth summit meeting in August.

Commonwealth summit meeting

This meeting was to take place in Lusaka, Zambia, near to where there had been bitter fighting (described earlier). Fears were commonly expressed for the safety of Queen Elizabeth, head of the Commonwealth, who was to open the gathering, but she decided to continue with arrangements to do so.

Prior to the meeting it was reported that the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, was canvassing support for his view that a settlement of the Rhodesian question must be achieved. To make this possible, a more broadly based black majority government was needed in the country.

The meeting, which opened early in August, was attended by 29 heads of state and delegations from 10 other countries. The new British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said that her government was willing to accept its constitutional responsibility for Rhodesia, and was committed to genuine black majority rule there. Its policy was to bring the country to legal independence on a basis which the Commonwealth and the international community as a whole would find acceptable. She agreed with certain criticisms of the internal settlement constitution, and acknowledged that the Patriotic Front would have to be brought into the deliberations; but she considered that the change that had already taken place in Rhodesia could not be dismissed as of no consequence.

President Nyerere of Tanzania took the initiative in setting out the broad framework for a settlement which, it was reported, had been worked out behind the scenes by a 'task force' consisting of representatives of Britain, Tanzania, Jamaica, Nigeria, Australia and Zambia.

The heads of government agreed unanimously that they:

(a) confirmed that they were wholly committed to genuine black majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia;
(b) recognised, in this context, that the internal settlement constitution was defective in certain important respects;
(c) fully accepted that it was the constitutional responsibility of the British government to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe-Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule;
(d) recognised that the search for a lasting settlement must involve all parties to the conflict;
(e) were deeply conscious of the urgent need to achieve such a settlement and bring peace to the people of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and their neighbours;
(f) accepted that independence on the basis of majority rule required the adoption of a democratic constitution including appropriate safeguards for minorities;
(g) acknowledged that the government formed under such an independence constitution must be chosen through free and fair elections properly supervised under British Government authority,
and with Commonwealth observers;
(h) welcomed the British Government's indication that an appropriate
procedure for advancing towards these objectives would be for them to call a
constitutional conference to which all the parties
would be invited;
(i) consequently, accepted that it must be a major objective to bring
about a cessation of hostilities and an end to sanctions as part of
the process of the implementation of a lasting settlement.

Plans for the Lancaster House Conference
About a fortnight after the Lusaka meeting, the British Government announced
that a constitutional conference was to be convened at Lancaster House, London,
starting on 10 September. The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Bishop
Muzorewa, and the leaders of the Patriotic Front, had each been invited to send
twelve delegates. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, would preside.
He would place before the conference a draft constitution which had been drawn
up by British experts. If this was accepted by all concerned, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia
would be granted full legal independence and sanctions would be lifted.

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The British Government urged the parties to the military conflict to ob serve a
ceasefire before the conference began. (This plan did not succeed.)
After some demur both Bishop Muzorewa's government and the PF accepted the
invitation to attend. The Bishop's delegation comprised representatives of all the
major parties in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, including Mr Ian Smith and Mr Sithole.
The white RIF had a total of four representatives.
On 13 September Lord Carrington announced that the conference agenda, which
had been accepted by both delegations, provided for discussion first on a
constitution, and then on pre-independence arrangements that would include
elections and ceasefire arrangements. (It was later decided, in order to facilitate
possible agreement, that the issue of a ceasefire would be discussed separately, at
the end.)

The Constitution drafted by Britain
The new state would be named Zimbabwe, and would be a sovereign republic.
There would be a 100-seat Parliament comprising 80 members elected on a
common (black) roll and 20 on a white roll. (The whites would, consequently,
lose the power to block legislation.) There would be universal adult suffrage. The
20 white seats would be reserved for seven years, during which time there would
have to be a unanimous vote of the House of Assembly and a two-thirds vote of
the Senate for them to be abolished. After seven years, however, a 70 % vote of
the House of Assembly and a two-thirds vote in the Senate would be enough to do
away with the reserved white seats. Members of Parliament elected on the white
roll would be debarred from forming a coalition with any party other than the
majority party.
The Senate would have 10 members elected by white roll MPs, 14 elected by common roll MPs, 10 elected by the council of chiefs, and 6 appointed by the President on advice of the Prime Minister. There would be a declaration of human rights, enforceable by the judiciary and entrenched for ten years, during which time it could be amended only by a unanimous vote in the House of Assembly and a two-thirds vote in the Senate. After ten years amendments would need a 70% vote in the Assembly and a two-thirds Senate vote.

The president would be elected by both houses of parliament as titular head of State. He would appoint as Prime Minister the person who, in his opinion, was best able to command the support of the majority of MPs. The Prime Minister would appoint cabinet ministers and (after consultation with an independent public service commission) the permanent heads of government departments. The defence force and police force would have commanders appointed by the Prime Minister after consultation with an army and police commission, and would carry out their duties subject to any general policy directives from the Prime Minister or other responsible minister.

The public service and army commissions, which would have prescribed powers in regard to establishments and discipline, would be appointed on a basis, and with terms of reference, which would take due account of the need to preserve a high standard of efficiency while also recognising the legitimate claims of the majority of the population to increasing representation in all forms of public office.

Consideration of the Constitution
When the conference opened on 10 September both the Patriotic Front (PF) and the Muzorewa government tabled alternative constitutions. The Muzorewa government chose the internal settlement constitution; but Lord Carrington made it clear that his government could not recommend this to the British parliament as an example of genuine black majority rule. The PF proposed a 120-member House of Assembly and 60-member Senate. There would be a common voters' roll, with no reserved seats for whites. The president would be the chief executive and would have operational control of the army. He could be re-elected any number of times. All judges and magistrates would relinquish office on independence but would be eligible to apply for re-appointment. Officers of the public service might be required to take fresh oaths of allegiance and, within a year after independence, could be given three months' notice. Persons who had settled in the country after UDI would not have automatic citizenship. Extensive land reform and redistribution of property was PF policy.

Mr Ian Smith objected to the proposed loss of the whites' power to block legislation and to control the civil service and armed forces. The Muzorewa government delegation held prolonged talks, and finally voted 11 to 1 (Mr Ian Smith) in favour of accepting the British draft constitution, subject to the satisfactory working out of arrangements for the transitional period and for a ceasefire.
It appeared that the announcement of this decision by the Bishop was timed to pre-empt Mr Ian Smith, who was leaving for Salisbury on a visit to consult with the RF caucus. According to reports, the caucus gave him qualified support only: members were stated to have backed his efforts to secure the best possible deal for minority groups, but to have considered that no good purpose would be served by taking a hard and fast line while negotiations were still in a delicate stage and all the details of the British proposals were not known.

Meanwhile, after prolonged discussion and argument in plenary sessions and bilateral discussions with the British delegation, the Patriotic Front conceded a number of points it had first opposed, for example a constitutional rather than an executive president, and a separate voters’ roll and 20% of the Assembly seats for whites in the first stages after independence.

But various areas of disagreement remained, one of the major ones being the question of compensation to whites for land that might be expropriated. According to the British document, owners would be protected against having their property compulsorily acquired by the post-independence government except in the interests of defence, or public safety, or to promote the public benefit, or, in the case of under-utilised land, to be used for settlement for agricultural purposes. When property was wanted for one of these purposes, adequate compensation would have to be paid promptly, the money concerned to be sent tax free to the country of the recipient's choice. The

Lord Carrington rejected these demands; but on 11 October he announced that Britain would give backing for an international fund to help a post-independence government buy white-owned land for settlement by blacks. It would not itself be able to contribute much in the way of cash. A clause providing for such an international fund would, however, not be written into the constitution. Britain would help with agricultural development programmes.

The Patriotic Front urged that issues on which there was no agreement should be left in abeyance while the conference moved on to consider pre-independence arrangements, but Lord Carrington insisted that the PF should first give a definitive ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to the draft constitution. After some five weeks of discussions the PF was still not prepared to give an unambiguous reply. Lord Carrington then announced that he would begin discussions with the Muzorewa government delegation on arrangements for implementing the draft constitution. It was open to the PF to join the discussions if they signified their acceptance of the constitution. Lieut-General Peter Walls, the commander of the Zimbabwe-
Rhodesia combined operations, arrived in London by invitation to give expert advice.

On 16 October an emergency summit conference of the African frontline leaders opened in Dar-es-Salaam. President Nyerere called in the vice-presidents of the Mugabe and Nkomo factions of the PF for urgent talks. The proceedings were not made public, but observers pointed out that the guerrilla struggle was taking a heavy toll in countries where the guerillas were based, notably Mozambique and Zambia (military operations there are described earlier). If the Lancaster House conference broke down, these countries would be committed to further years of strife, bloodshed, and economic suffering.

It appeared that the frontline leaders brought pressure to bear on the PF, for on 18 October Messrs Mugabe and Nkomo called on Lord Carrington to tell him that they now accepted the British draft constitution, subject to agreement on the transitional arrangements and the ceasefire procedure.

Some International reactions
In mid-October the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, flew to London to convey SA's attitudes on the situation in Southern Africa, and in particular, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. He met Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington. Later that month it was announced that President Carter's administration in the United States had endorsed the British programme, and had notified the African frontline states of this decision. At the end of October, when discussions on pre-independence arrangements were in progress at Lancaster House, the 32 Commonwealth High Commissioners based in London met to consider the situation and to decide whether or not Britain had been acting in terms of the Lusaka agreement reached in August. They agreed that at the delicate stage reached in the talks it would not be right for them to intervene in any way that could prejudice the negotiations.

Legislation enabling moves towards independence
On 12 November the House of Commons passed a Southern Rhodesian Bill which empowered the British Government to instal a British governor in Salisbury to supervise a transition to full independence for Zimbabwe/Rhodesia. The Labour Party opposed the Rhodesia measure.

Consideration by the Lancaster House Conference of Pre-Independence arrangements
Plan originally suggested by Britain
In terms of a plan revealed by Lord Carrington at the end of October, Bishop Muzorewa and his government would have to make way for a British governor, thus restoring the country to legality the position as it was before the UDI on 11 November 1965. The governor would exercise legislative and executive authority on a caretaker basis. British nominees would replace existing Ministers. The British authorities would, however, use the existing instruments of government: the civil service, the judiciary, the armed forces, and the police, preserving these intact for handing over to the first independence government.
A ceasefire would be ordered immediately, the co-operation of the African frontline states being sought (arrangements for a ceasefire were to be discussed at a later stage of the conference). Members of the Patriotic Front inside Z-R who ignored the order would be treated as outlaws and dealt with by the forces of law and order. Those who complied could form part of the security forces if they accepted the existing command of these forces, under overall British authority. Elections would be held in Z-R within two months of agreement being reached in London. As decided at the Lusaka conference, these would be supervised by British authorities, with Commonwealth observers.

Plan of the Patriotic Front
Again, the PF submitted its alternative plan. There should be a six-month transition period before elections. A United Nations' peacekeeping force should monitor the ceasefire and supervise the elections. During the transition period the country should be run by an eight-man governing council on which the PF and the Muzorewa government would have equal representation. The chairman, to be appointed by Britain, would have no casting vote. The governing council would appoint transitional committees to control the defence force and police.

Negotiations
On 29 October the Muzorewa government delegation announced that it accepted the British proposals subject to agreement being reached on a ceasefire. The PF, however, raised numerous objections and once more adopted delaying tactics. Both President Nyerere (Tanzania) and President Kaunda (Zambia) visited London and, it was reported, made various suggestions for resolving differences, e.g. that the Commonwealth be accorded a role in monitoring elections. The British government representatives were stated to have agreed to this, but not to an extension to six months of the period before elections. In a BBC programme on 8 November Lord Carrington said that the ceasefire would be fairly fragile, and the longer the run-up to new elections, the more difficult it would be to maintain peace. He did, however, agree to extend the period to two months from the date of the ceasefire (instead of from the date of an agreement).

He also agreed that after a ceasefire the PF guerrillas, like the Z-R forces, should be responsible to the British Governor, who would be assisted by a British adviser and British liaison officers.

Finally, on 15 November, it was announced that all sides had reached agreement on the transitional arrangements. President Carter stated that the United States would lift sanctions as soon as a British governor had assumed duties in Salisbury, and the country had thus returned to legality.

Bishop Muzorewa returned to Salisbury, being greeted by a crowd stated to number about 40,000. His Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Mundawarara, remained in London with the rest of the delegation.
Consideration by the Conference of arrangements for a ceasefire

Proposals by Britain

Britain proposed that the British governor should establish a ceasefire commission in Salisbury to supervise the ceasefire. The military commanders of the Z-R forces (Lt General Peter Walls) and of the PF (Gen Josiah Tongogara) would be represented on the commission. (As mentioned below, Gen Tongogara was later killed.) The governments of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique would be invited to agree on the arrangements made, to ensure compliance with the ceasefire of forces based outside Z-R.

Britain would also establish a ceasefire monitoring group, which Commonwealth countries had been invited to join. Australia, New Zealand, Kenya and Fiji had agreed to contribute to this force.

The time needed by commanders on both sides to implement a ceasefire should not be more than seven or ten days. Political and military leaders would be provided with facilities to make regular, repeated, precise orders to all personnel under their command to comply scrupulously with the ceasefire.

During this period there must be no cross-border military activity by units of either of the forces. Both sides would desist from offensive activities and would carry out military operations in self-defence only.

Unarmed refugees would be permitted to return to Z-R after the ceasefire to take part in the elections. The PF's armed forces would be brought together at 15 or more assembly points in Z-R. The Z-R forces would be grouped at their existing company bases.

Once again the PF put forward counter-proposals, but these were rejected by Britain.

Continuing cross-border raids

While the negotiations were in progress, the PF apparently stepped up guerrilla infiltration into Z-R.

It was reported that, commencing on 18 November, the Z-R forces 621 crossed the border and made a series of raids on strategic roads and rail bridges in Zambia. (The Z-R military command refused either to confirm or deny responsibility for this action.) President Kaunda ordered Zimbabwe general mobilisation. His Foreign Minister said that Zambia held the Rhodesia British Government responsible for the loss of Zambian life and property. There were anti-British demonstrations in Lusaka.

On 22 November Lord Carrington put forward a three-point plan designed to scale down the conflict between Z-R and Zambia. The suggestions were that:

(a) the Muzorewa regime should cease cross-border operations into Zambia;
(b) the PF should stop sending Zapu (Nkomo) guerrillas from Zambia into Z-R;
(c) both sides should regard co-operation with Zambian authorities as a priority.

At a Press conference, Messrs Mugabe and Nkomo rejected this plan.

Continuation of the talks
At a plenary session of the conference on 26 November (which was boycotted by the PF delegation) Dr Mundawarara announced that the Muzorewa delegation accepted the British proposals for a ceasefire.
The PF failed to attend several further meetings which had been scheduled.
Protection by South Africa of its interests in Zimbabwe Rhodesia
At a public military function on 30 November the SA Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, referred to action by SA which, he said, had been taken after consultation with the Z-R government.
He was reported to have said, 'It is important to us that our trade links with Zimbabwe Rhodesia, and the states further north, should be protected in the interests of all parties and inhabitants of our subcontinent. For this reason SA has for some time been looking to the protection of its interests as well as to our vital lines of communication, such as Beit Bridge and the rail link through it'.

Acceptance of the principle of a ceasefire
The PF leaders seized upon Mr Botha's remarks as constituting a threat to the talks, demanding to know how a ceasefire could be achieved with the presence of 'an invading foreign force inside the country'.

Just before this, at a Press briefing on 3 December, Lord Carrington said he had again requested the PF to let him have their final response to the proposals. 'In response' he continued, 'they produced last Friday evening a paper which was a mixture of subjects we have already discussed and unreasonable proposals. No response was forthcoming on Saturday or Sunday, or again today'.
A compromise formula was worked out by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Shridath Ramphal, who held separate and pri-

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vate meetings with the PF leaders and Lord Carrington. The major elements of compromise, achieved on 8 December, were stated to be as follows:
(a) the size of the Commonwealth military observation force, which Britain had limited to 1 000 men, would be raised to at least 1 200; there would also be provision for the introduction of reinforcements;
(b) all assembly points accommodating PF guerrillas, and all bases used by the Salisbury government's forces, would be surrounded by military monitoring groups to reduce the dangers of surprise attacks;
(c) all five Rhodesian airfields would be surrounded by Commonwealth troops, who would also control bomb and other ammunition stocks;
(d) there would be a stipulation that all 'external forces' must leave the country. (Lord Carrington was reported to have told the PF leaders that there would be no foreign military intervention in Z-R under a British Governor. This had been made clear to all the governments concerned, including SA.)

After the acceptance by both sides of these compromises, it was announced on 8 December that Britain and the PF had agreed to a ceasefire. All that remained before overall settlement was achieved was a discussion of ceasefire details.
Details of a ceasefire
It was officially suggested to the PF that they should assemble their forces within Rhodesia in 16 places. The PF objected, stating that this would mean that their men would become sitting ducks for any possible attack. At that stage, on 9 December, Z-R warplanes again attacked Zipra (Nkomo) bases just inside Zambia and at least one Zanla (Mugabe) base in Mozambique, where PF troops were believed to be massing for entry into Z-R before a ceasefire. The security forces feared a repetition of events in 1974, when, during a truce, the PF brought in more troops, regrouped them, and prepared for renewed fighting. Acceptance of the ceasefire arrangements Eventually, however, the ceasefire arrangements were accepted by the Muzorewa delegation on 14 December, and by the PF on 18 December. All the delegations agreed that matters which had still not been settled should be decided upon by the British governor.

The official end of UDI

On 11 December both Houses of the Z-R Parliament passed the Constitution of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Amendment Bill, which declared 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia shall cease to be an independent state and shall become part of Her Majesty's Dominions'. This paved the way for the introduction in the British Parliament of the Zimbabwe Bill, providing for independence for the country on the basis agreed at the Lancaster House Conference.

Assumption of control by Britain

Lord Christopher Soames was appointed British Governor. He and his senior officials arrived in Salisbury on 12 December: they were Sir Antony Duff (Deputy Governor), Major-General John Acland (military Zimbabwe adviser), Sir James Haughton (police adviser), and Sir John Boynton Rhodesia (electoral commissioner). Lord Soames announced that, pending elections, the country would once more be officially known as 'Rhodesia'. He stressed that 'the prize of wide international recognition' for the country would depend on the elections 'being seen to be free and fair'.

Signing of the ceasefire

At a ceremony held at Lancaster House on 21 December, attended by Mrs Thatcher (the British Prime Minister), Commonwealth High Commissioners, representatives of the front-line African states, and other dignitaries, the ceasefire agreement was signed by Lord Carrington, Bishop Muzorewa, Mr Mugabe, Mr Nkomo, and other representatives of the three governments involved. It was the 103rd day since the conference began.

Lifting of sanctions

Britain lifted sanctions against Rhodesia partially on 15 November and completely on 16 December. Arguing that because the Rhodesian rebellion had ended, the ground for sanctions had fallen away, Britain suggested that other countries too should repeal them. The United States, Canada, New Zealand, West Germany, and certain other states did so promptly.
The UN General Assembly did not agree with this course of action, however. On 12 December (when the Muzorewa Government had already voted itself out of office) the Assembly asked all governments to withhold aid from the 'illegal racist minority regime' in Zimbabwe. The voting was 127 to 7, with 7 abstentions. A few days later, the General Assembly greeted with restrained applause a British announcement of the ceasefire agreement; but on 17 December the Assembly passed by 107 votes to 16, with 21 abstentions, a resolution which proclaimed the PF the 'sole, legitimate, and authentic representative' of the people of Zimbabwe; deplored the lifting of sanctions without the approval of the Security Council; and called on Britain to ensure the 'immediate and complete' withdrawal of SA armed forces and of mercenaries from Zimbabwe.

On 21 December, the day that the ceasefire was signed, the UN Security Council decided to lift all economic sanctions against Rhodesia, the voting being 13 to nil, with the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia abstaining. All five African front-line states complied with this decision.

Action taken by the British Governor

Plans for implementation of the ceasefire

Lord Soames announced the ceasefire timetable, which had been decided upon by Britain. By midnight on 21 December, all military

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movements across the borders were to cease. Hostilities were to end by midnight on 28 December.

There would then be a seven-day assembly period, ending on 4 January 1980. The security forces would during this period return to their company bases. PF forces would assemble at 24 demarcated rendezvous points, from where they would be directed to 16 assembly places. They would retain their arms and equipment. Any men who had not reported as required at the end of the week would be regarded as acting unlawfully.

Before 28 December members of the British and Commonwealth monitoring force would move into position, monitoring the security bases, rendezvous and assembly points, and main border crossings.

Deliveries of maize

On 12 December (the day he assumed office) Lord Soames lifted the ban on deliveries of maize from SA to Zambia via Rhodesia, which, as described earlier, had been imposed by the Muzorewa government on 6 November.

Lifting of bans on organisations and newspapers

Bans on Zapu and the external wing of Zanu were lifted, enabling members to campaign in preparation for the elections. The bans previously imposed on three black-orientated newspapers were revoked.

Amnesty

An Amnesty Ordinance was gazetted, stating that no legal proceedings would be entertained in any civil or criminal court in the country over acts done in good faith in connection with the UDI. Lord Soames announced, 'I am bringing
amnesty alike to those who defied the British Crown in 1965 and to those who took up arms against the government then established.

Detainees
As mentioned on pages 503 and 507 of last year's Survey, a number of political detainees, who had been held without trial under the security laws, were released in 1978 if they signed undertakings to support the principles of the internal settlement. But many did not, and their numbers were swelled when recalcitrant Zanu auxiliaries were arrested after the elections in April.

According to press reports, however, about 1,700 of those held in preventive detention were released towards the end of the year under review, leaving only about 19 in custody. Among those set free were three prominent Sithole supporters—the Rev Canaan Banana, Mr Enos Nkala, and Mr Nelson Mawema.

Prisoners convicted of offences under security laws were not released until their sentences expired. They were understood to number several thousand.

The new constitution for the country, adopted at the Lancaster House conference, provided that people in preventive detention must:

(a) be told within seven days why they were being held;

(b) be heard by a tribunal headed by a high court judge within 14 days, and after that every 30 days (except during a state of emergency, when the period would be every 180 days);

(c) be allowed to appear in person before the tribunal, and have legal

In terms of the new dispensation, martial law courts ceased to function. These courts, besides the normal courts of law, had possessed powers to order the detention of persons, and press reports estimated that as many as 15,000 persons were being held in December. Mr Nicholas Fenn, the official British spokesman in Rhodesia, announced that the status of these persons were being reviewed. It would be foolish, he said, to lift some of the existing restrictions until an effective ceasefire prevailed.

Bishop Muzorewa demanded that Rhodesian Africans being held prisoner in Mozambique or Zambia by the PF alliance should also be released.

Refugees
A press report on 3 December quoted 'informed sources' in Salisbury as having said that the British Government had asked the International Committee of the Red Cross to plan the repatriation of an estimated 225,000 to 300,000 Z-R refugees in Zambia, Botswana, and Mozambique. Assembly points would be set up in Z-R near the borders where the people would be housed temporarily before being taken to their original homes.

It would also be necessary, after the war, to resettle many hundreds of African families who had fled from the warfare in rural areas and flocked to make-shift accommodation in the towns.

Arrival of the monitoring forces
The process of monitoring the ceasefire was code-named Operation Agila. The monitoring force was reported to consist of about 1,000 men from Britain, 159 from Australia, 75 from New Zealand, 51 from Kenya, and 21 from Fiji: a total of
some 3 000. The first of these men were flown to Salisbury on 20 December, and at the peak of the airlift an aircraft landed about every 90 minutes. Giant planes from the United States helped to bring in heavy equipment. From a transit camp at Salisbury airport the men were dispersed rapidly to the areas they were to monitor. They wore distinguishing green uniforms with white armbands, and their vehicles bore white pennants and crosses.

About 130 senior PF commanders were flown via Salisbury to join the groups monitoring PF rendezvous or assembly points, as liaison officers. Camps were established at the assembly points.

Plans were somewhat disrupted on 27 December, when General Josiah Tongogara, the senior Zanu officer of the PF, was killed in a car crash near Maputo. He was to have been a member of the ceasefire commission. There were an estimated 20 000 or more guerrillas in the bush to be advised of the ceasefire agreement and arrangements. MajorGeneral Acland, commanding Operation Agila, warned the public that the message might not reach all of them within the period set, and that

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the guerrillas were likely to be apprehensive. Some of them might not be willing to accept the ceasefire. Some violations of the ceasefire orders did in fact occur, causing further casualties.

At the end of the period under review the process of assembling the guerrillas was in its early stages.

Plans for elections

It was officially announced that elections for the 20 white seats in the new parliament would be held on 14 February 1980, and for the 80 common roll seats on 27, 28 and 29 February.

References

Rand Daily Mail 17 July and 24 September
2 Page 505
Rand Daily Mail 25 May
4 There were originally eight 'rebels' against the UANC, but one of them later changed his mind.

From article in Rand Daily Mail, 25 July, and various other reports
6 Rand Daily Mail 15 August, 14 September, 28 November; and Star 11 December Rand Daily Mail 22 and 23 November Star 3 December

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

Population

As described on page 460 of the 1976 Survey, the officially estimated population of SWA/Namibia in mid-1975 was 100000 whites, 90 000 members of 'coloured' groups, and 687 000 members of 'native' groups. According to various estimates published in the Press during the year under review, the white population had grown to 103 000. Of these, 28 000 were of German descent, 10 000 English, and 65 000 Afrikaans. Of the Afrikaners, some
50,000 were public servants or members of their families. After independence, these public servants would have to decide whether to join a new Namibian public service, or to remain in the country on temporary secondment, or to return home. The combined black population, it was estimated, had grown to about 900,000; but possibly 30,000 to 40,000 of them had fled the country or had been abducted.

Background to negotiations for a settlement

The terms of the Settlement Proposal relating to the future of the territory, made in 1978 by the five Western members of the Security Council, were set out on page 520 of last year's Survey. In terms of this proposal, elections for a constituent assembly, which would draw up a constitution for an independent Namibia, would be held before the end of 1978.

SA called for various assurances, inter alia that the proposal was in a final and definitive form, and that the issue of Walvis Bay would not be included because this area was legally part of SA itself. When these assurances were given, SA accepted the proposal. It was reported that, after some demur, Swapo had done so too.

The Security Council endorsed the proposal, but it also supported a resolution which declared that the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the re-integration of Walvis Bay within its territory. This resolution was completely rejected by SA. In a letter sent to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said, '... Bearing in mind the manner in which this issue (of Walvis Bay) has been dragged into the ambit of the proposal, the SA government is deeply concerned that the letter and spirit of the proposal would not be observed and implemented by some of the parties.' SA, he said, would await a report by Dr Waldheim's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari (who was to visit the territory) on the manner in which he envisaged the proposal would be implemented, and would then decide on its response.

As described on pages 523–530 of last year's Survey, after consideration of Mr Ahtisaari's report on his visit, Dr Waldheim drew up his Namibia Untag plan for submission to the United Nations. ('Untag' stood for UN Transition Assistance Group.) This was endorsed by the Security Council in its Resolution 435 (1978). Initially SA raised certain objections, notably to the fact that in terms of the plan it would become impossible to hold elections for a constituent assembly before the end of 1978, as had been agreed upon internationally and promised to the people of the territory. Following a visit by leading representatives of the Western powers, however, SA agreed to co-operate in implementing the plan. But it decided to organise internal elections unilaterally, in order to determine who the true leaders of the people were, and to create a body which could be of some assistance to the Administrator-General.

In November 1978, by ten votes to nil (the Western powers abstaining) the Security Council condemned SA for its 'defiance of the UN and the Security Council' in proceeding with the elections.
These elections were held during December 1978. It was officially estimated that about 93% of those eligible (all adults of at least the age of 18 years with stipulated residential qualifications) registered as voters, and that the percentage poll was 81.

In terms of the votes cast, the multi-racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), led by Mr Dirk Mudge, became entitled to 41 seats in the 50-member constituent assembly, the right-wing white party called Aktur to six, and three small parties to one each. The elections were boycotted by the multi-racial Namibia National Front, by Swapo, and by the break-away Swapo Democrats.

The SA Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, addressed the newlyelected Assembly at its first meeting in December 1978, advising it to agree to an internationally-acceptable settlement.

Decisions of the New Constituent Assembly relating to a settlement

During December 1978 the Assembly agreed to a motion which was supported by all members except the six Aktur representatives and one of a minor party. This motion was endorsed by the SA Government and communicated to Dr Waldheim in a letter by the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, signed on 22 December 1978. The terms of the letter were as follows.

'SA would co-operate in the expeditious implementation of UN Resolution 435 (1978) (which endorsed the Untag plan) subject to the following conditions:

1. there should be no reduction of SA troop levels in the territory until there had been a comprehensive cessation of violence;
2. the date of the election would be determined in consultation between Mr Justice Steyn, the Administrator-General, and Mr Ahtisaari; but this date should not be later than 30 September 1979;
3. further questions to be resolved after consultation with the Administrator-General were:
   (a) the size and composition of the military component of Untag;
   (b) the monitoring of Swapo bases after the ceasefire and pending the elections (in terms of the generally-accepted proposals by the Western nations, made in 1978, Swapo troops would during this interim period be confined to these bases, SWA/ which were in Angola and Zambia, while SA troops would be Namibia confined to bases in SWA/Namibia);
   (c) the exercising of authority in the interim period.'

SA insisted that:
(i) the maintenance of law and order during the transitional period until independence should remain the primary responsibility of the existing police forces;
(ii) the Administrator-General should exercise the legislative authority during this period.
Dr Waldheim was asked to send his Special Representative to SA and SWA/Namibia as soon as possible for further consultations to be completed by the end of January 1979.

The terms of a second letter sent by Mr Pik Botha to Dr Waldheim, also on 22 December 1978, were set out on page 534 of last year's Survey.

Dr Waldheim's reply

In his reply to Mr Pik Botha, Dr Waldheim proposed that Mr Ahtisaari should go to Namibia for further discussions towards the middle of January. He agreed that elections should take place before the end of September, and that there should be a complete cessation of violent acts and conflict in the territory before the settlement proposals were implemented.

In response to the question of the monitoring of Swapo bases, Dr Waldheim said that the African frontline states had assured him of their co-operation to ensure that Untag could carry out its mandate.

He stated that the Untag military force would be selected in consultation with all concerned and bearing in mind the accepted principle of equitable geographical representation.

Second visit by Mr Ahtisaari

Mr Ahtisaari arrived in SWA/Namibia on 13 January for a few days' discussions. He told the Press he calculated that, if elections were to be held by the end of September, Untag forces should begin to arrive in the territory by the end of February. He hoped that a ceasefire would be agreed to as from their arrival and deployment. The phased withdrawal of SA troops could then begin.

The SA Defence Force is reported to have stated that a political settlement would have to precede any specific undertaking to help with the phasing-in of UN troops. Given such a settlement, the SADF was in principle prepared to hand over military camps and installations provided that the UN paid for these.

Hardening of SWAPO attitudes

After leaving SWA-Namibia, Mr Ahtisaari went to Angola for talks with Mr Sam Nujoma and other Swapo leaders. It was reported that they made new demands and re-emphasized previously-raised objections. The full extent of their demands was not known in SA at the time. Their attitude had the effect of delaying the whole timetable.

As described later, during the night of 13 February a Swapo force attacked a SA army base at Nkongo, about 15 km south of the Angolan border. Mr Pik Botha wrote to Dr Waldheim warning that Swapo was creating an 'untenable situation'.

In the SA House of Assembly on 6 March, Mr P.W. Botha reported on Swapo's new demands and on what he called 'scheming behind the scenes'. His government he said, had first become aware of these demands on 21 February. Before that date Dr Waldheim had circulated to the five Western powers and five African frontline states various drafts of a report designed for submission to the UN. One of these contained Swapo's demands, which were as follows:
1 all Namibians living outside their country should be allowed to return to any place of their choice, and not be sent to special 'reception centres';
2 during the three weeks following the declaration of a ceasefire, this should be considered binding only on SA-not Swapo-since Swapo would experience difficulty in transmitting information about it to its dispersed freedom fighters within Namibia, who were stated to number about 2,500. (These fighters, being mobile, had no established bases in the territory);
3 bases to accommodate these freedom fighters should, thus, be established within Namibia, at Windhoek, Katima Malilo, Ondangwa, Tsumeb, and Rundu. Swapo would agree to these bases (but not bases outside the territory) being monitored by Untag troops;
4 Swapo fighters who at the time of the ceasefire were in neighbouring countries should be allowed to return to Namibia with all their weapons, equipment, and ammunition, and should be permitted to bring material to establish bases.

Response by other countries and by Dr Waldheim
Mr P.W. Botha said SA had also learned that, shortly before 21 February, the five Western nations had handed to Dr Waldheim a document which made it clear that they were now supporting 'the astonishing concept that Swapo personnel who happen to find themselves in SWA/Namibia at the time of the ceasefire should be established in bases inside the territory', and that they were agreeing that the military component of Untag would not be required to monitor the restriction of Swapo to bases outside SWA/Namibia.

In a report to the Security Council dated 26 February, Dr Waldheim is stated to have proposed that the ceasefire should commence on 15 March. All warlike acts, including cross-border movements, would then have to stop.
The UN, he said, was not providing for the monitoring of Swapo's external bases after the ceasefire; but neighbouring states had given repeated assurances that they would do their best to ensure that the transition plan was respected.
As from the time of the ceasefire, all SA troops would be restricted to bases. Guerrillas who were within Namibia at the time would be restricted to designated locations selected by Mr Ahtisaari. These locations and the SA bases would be monitored by Untag forces.

Reactions in South Africa and SWA/Namibia
In his speech in the SA Assembly on 6 March, referred to above, and in a statement to the Assembly on 11 May Mr P.W. Botha said that SA stood by the Settlement Proposal it had accepted on 25 April 1978. It could, thus, not agree that Swapo bases or 'locations' should be created within SWA-Namibia, nor that Swapo bases outside the territory should not be monitored. The Settlement Proposal, he added, had provided only one mechanism for the return of Swapo personnelie without arms through designated entry points to participate peacefully and freely in the political process.
SA, Mr Botha emphasized, stood by its undertaking to the people of the territory that they should determine their own future. It could not allow a political solution
to be forced on them from outside. It could thus not accept the latest proposals by Dr Waldheim.
The Western powers, Mr Botha said, were for a second time deviating from the original settlement plan. The first occasion had been when they supported the Security Council resolution that Walvis Bay should be re-integrated within SWA-Namibia.
Early in April Mr P.W. Botha and Mr Pik Botha addressed the Constituent Assembly in Windhoek and then met delegations from the DTA, Aktur, the NNF, and Swapo Democrats and also from church groups, in order to discuss the latest developments and to obtain the views of the people of the territory. Mr P.W. Botha urged the various parties to find common ground for an internationally-acceptable settlement. It was for them to decide on the road ahead, he said.
It was reported that the Constituent Assembly rejected the latest Waldheim proposals, but recommended that the door to further contact with the international community should be kept open. The Assembly remained willing to implement the Settlement Proposal as originally accepted by it. All the political parties except Swapo D rejected the deviations from this proposal contained in the Waldheim report relating to the creation of Swapo locations within the territory after a ceasefire, and the plan that Swapo bases in neighbouring countries should not be monitored by the UN. Swapo D accepted the Waldheim report with reservations, in the hope that some of the difficulties might be overcome in practice.
Mr P.W. Botha subsequently told the SA House of Assembly that the clear advice of the majority of the democratic political parties of the territory to the SA Government had been not to accept deviations from the already accepted Settlement Proposal.
The text of a further letter by Mr Pik Botha to Dr Waldheim was released on 24 May. The new UN settlement proposal was unacceptable, he said. Swapo's strategy in introducing outrageous new demands had been to sabotage the implementation of the original proposal, and thus to avoid free elections, which it knew it would lose. At the same time it wanted to shift the blame on to SA by forcing her to reject the deviations and then represent her as the culprit. SA, he said, would continue to respect the wishes of the people of SWA/Namibia, but it could not be a party to persuading them to accept proposals which would render them vulnerable to a takeover by threat and force.

SWA/Namibia

The five Western powers rejected SA's charges of bad faith. They suggested that proximity talks be held in New York to try to resolve differences. The Western powers together with the five African frontline states and Nigeria would hold discussions on the one side with Swapo and on the other with SA and the four main political parties in SWA/Namibia. Angola and Nigeria declined the invitation, but the rest accepted.
At the talks, held early in May, some points were clarified and assurances were given but no substantial progress was made.

Retaliatory raid by SA and UN resolutions
As described later, during this period Swapo continued aggression against African and white civilians in the northern part of SWA/Namibia, killing, wounding, abducting, and robbing a number of people. It attacked another SA army base; laid landmines; and blew up pylons and stretches of railway track. Early in March the SA forces made retaliatory raids on several Swapo bases in Angola, hitting them from the air and then launching attacks by troops landed from helicopters. At least one base in Zambia was, apparently, raid as well. The General Officer Commanding the SA forces in SWA told the Press that Swapo had been moving its men south to cross the border as soon as a ceasefire was announced. This had to be prevented.

Angola and Zambia called upon the Security Council to censure SA for its strategy of armed conflict against the frontline states. Mr Pik Botha proposed a counter-resolution, asking the Council to call upon Swapo to cease immediately its violence and terror, and to co-operate forthwith in the implementation of the settlement proposal. He warned that the inhabitants of SWA had lost confidence in the impartiality of the UN.

The Security Council censured SA for its 'premeditated, persistent, and sustained armed invasions' of Angola and warned that sanctions might be imposed if these were continued. The United States, Britain, and France abstained from voting.

During 1974 the UN General Assembly had, by majority vote, suspended SA from its proceedings for that year's session. Maintaining that this action was illegal, SA from then withheld payment of its annual contribution.' The SA seats were unoccupied until the year under review. In May however a delegation led by the SA Ambassador to the UN, Mr Adriaan Eksteen, walked unexpectedly into a meeting of the General Assembly to hear a debate on a demand by Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo for punitive action to force SA out of Namibia. Ghana challenged the SA delegation's credentials, and these were rejected by the Assembly by 96 votes to 19 with 9 abstentions.

The text of another letter which Mr Pik Botha had written to Dr Waldheim was then released in Cape Town. Mr Botha stated that the deviations from the accepted Settlement Proposal in the Secretary-General's report of 26 February were clear capitulations to Swapo's demands. Swapo, he stated, should not be allowed to rely on the General Assembly to provide a protective shield-if not encouragement-for its acts of violence.

A few days later Zambia introduced in the General Assembly a twelve-point resolution, co-sponsored by 66 member-states. Inter alia, SWA/ it called on the Security Council urgently to impose punitive 'enforce-ment measures' against SA to compel it to implement UN resolutions on Namibia.
It also called for military and other aid to be provided to Swapo as 'the only legitimate representative' of the population.

On behalf of the five Western negotiators the then US Ambassador, Mr Andrew Young, said that they had been 'sorely tested by contrived claims', made by SA, of 'bias, deception, and malevolence'. The negotiations had also been hurt by SA incursions across the border and by the arrest of dozens of Swapo supporters in Namibia. The Constituent Assembly in Namibia, he maintained, was not truly representative of the people of the territory. But Mr Young also condemned Swapo raids, its 'loudly-voiced mistrust of the West,' and its 'absurd claims such as a call for a one-sided ceasefire so that hundreds of their forces might pass freely into Namibia to establish themselves'.

On 31 May the Zambian resolution was adopted by 118 votes to nil, with 16 abstentions by the Western negotiators and other key Western states. The negotiating states pointed out that they wanted to avoid complicating their initiative, which was at a 'very critical stage'. Swaziland was the only African state to abstain, while Malawi was among several that did not participate. Australia and New Zealand both voted for the motion.

Speaking in the SA House of Assembly, Mr Pik Botha said that SA would not pay its contributions to the UN until its membership rights were fully restored. By then it owed more than R8-million. A member of the small opposition South African Party questioned SA’s continued membership. Mr Botha replied, however, that there were distinct advantages in remaining a member. 'I am not fond of the United Nations', he said, 'but removing yourself from the world body does not achieve anything. The focus on SWA cannot be removed by pulling out'.

Further international efforts to achieve a settlement

When the Conservatives gained power in the British general elections in May, Lord Carrington succeeded Dr David Owen as Foreign Minister. Sir James Murray became the British Ambassador to the UN, and he represented the 'Five' in further negotiations with the parties concerned in the SWA/Namibia issue.

Earlier Angola had maintained that UN monitors in its territory would amount to an infringement of its sovereignty; but it was reported in August that the then Angolan President, Agostinho Neto, had agreed to the establishment of a demilitarised zone for 50 km on both sides of the SWA/Angola border, which might be monitored by the UN. Shortly afterwards President Neto died; but his successor, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, raised no objection to this proposal.

Early in August Sir James Murray visited SA to discuss this plan and its ramifications. Some details were released to the Press at intervals. Fourteen days after a ceasefire, a demilitarised zone (DMZ) would be established, extending 50 km on either side of the 1 400 km border except in the Caprivi Strip, where it would be narrower. Untag forces, limited to 7 500 in number, would monitor this zone by means of air SWA/ and land patrols. Except for these troops the zone would be cleared of Namibia military forces by the twelfth week, the SA, Angolan and Zambian governments each being responsible for demilitarising their respective areas.
Local police forces would remain. During these twelve weeks, South African, MPLA (Angolan), and Zambian troops would be stationed at selected bases in the zone. The SA troop strength would be reduced to 1,500. Troops stationed at the bases would be allowed to accompany UN troops on land patrols in their areas. Swapo guerrillas in SWA/Namibia or the DMZ at the moment of the ceasefire would have the option of being escorted out beyond the DMZ or of handing over their weapons and remaining as civilians. There would be no Untag monitoring of Swapo bases beyond the DMZ: this would be done by the Angolan and Zambian authorities. Armed guerrilla forces would be required to remain in these bases until one week after the certification of the election results: unarmed men, however, might be allowed to return to SWA/Namibia peacefully. Exiles from SWA/Namibia would return through entry points designated by the Angolan and Zambian governments. For some months, SA gave no firm reply to the proposals. It sought clarification of certain points, and suggested that UN military experts should make an on-the-spot investigation. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who on 2 August had succeeded Mr Justice M. Steyn as Administrator-General, told the Press on 24 October that the practicability of the effective monitoring of the long DMZ strip had not been established. In a night's hard march, Swapo troops could cross the strip. Thus, even if their troops were moved back behind the 50 km line, there would still be considerable risk of their infiltrating SWA/Namibia. SA could, hence, not accept that the monitoring of Swapo forces by the MPLA would be sufficient protection. Furthermore, much of southern Angola was occupied by Unita troops, not the MPLA. The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, confirmed this during a visit to the United States early in November. SA, he stated, had been blamed for actions committed by his guerrillas. However, the five Western nations and the UN insisted that SA should first accept the principle of the DMZ before details were discussed. Deadlock was again reached.

Further Security Council resolution
On 2 November the Security Council passed a further resolution, No. 454 (1979), condemning a SA raid into Angola which, it was alleged, had taken place on 29 October (this matter is described later).
It was once more endorsed by all members except Britain, the United States and France, who abstained from voting.
Mr Pik Botha wrote to Dr Waldheim emphatically rejecting the resolution which, he stated, had been passed without any attempt to establish the true facts. A civil war was raging in Angola, which led to the kind of incident of which SA now stood accused. Swapo, he said, was still persistently using Angola as a springboard for hit-and-run attacks across the border in an attempt to terrorise people for whose safety SA was responsible. SA was still waiting for the Security Council 635 and the Secretary-General to condemn Swapo for these acts.
Invitation by Dr Waldheim
On 6 November Dr Waldheim invited SA, the five Western Namibia powers, the five frontline states, and Swapo to attend talks in Geneva to clarify the plan for a DMZ. Mr Ahtisaari would be present. Mr Pik Botha is reported to have replied that if SA were to attend:

(a) the military personnel of the UN should have discussions with the SA military authorities to acquaint themselves with the situation in the territory; and

(b) the leaders of the democratic parties in SWA/Namibia, as well as Swapo, should be afforded an opportunity to present their views.

On the second point, Dr Waldheim stated that in the view of the UN, SA 'remains the sole interlocutor in regard to Namibia'.

SA was thus absent when talks began in Geneva on 12 November, under the chairmanship of the UN Under-Secretary-General for special political affairs, Mr Brian Urquhart. Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo was there, and Mr B.A. Clarke, representing the OAU (he was Nigeria's representative to the UN and Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid). But, as little could be achieved in SA's absence, Mr Urquhart acceded to SA's condition that representatives of the internally-based democratic political parties should be invited. He apparently asked the Western Five negotiators to act on his behalf: British officials in Geneva sent telegrams to the main SWA-Namibia political parties stating that Mr Urquhart would be happy to meet them. Dr Waldheim informed Mr Pik Botha of this development.

Representatives of the DTA, NNF, Federal Party, Swapo D, Coloured Liberal Party, and Namibia Christian Democratic Party, with an observer from Aktur, consequently flew to Geneva two days after the rest had arrived. Mr Brand Fourie, the SA Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and his SA team joined them. The SA and SWA-N teams on the one hand, and Swapo on the other, had separate talks with its UN delegation.

After a full discussion of the DMZ plan, the delegates returned home. The SA and SWA-N teams would report back to Mr Pik Botha who, with the rest of the SA Cabinet, would then decide on SA's response to the plan. Angola, Zambia, Botswana, and Swapo had formally accepted it in principle.

An annual debate on SWA-N that was due to be commenced in the UN General Assembly was postponed for a week in the hope of winning SA's agreement on the establishment of a DMZ.

On the evening before the debate was to commence, Mr Pik Botha handed to Dr Waldheim a letter stating that the SA Government accepted the concept of a demilitarised zone provided that agreement was reached on the following matters:

(a) the number of SA bases to remain in the DMZ;

(b) acceptable arrangements regarding the disarmament of Swapo personnel on the closure of bases after an election;

(c) the deployment of an acceptable percentage of UN Transitional Assistance Group forces inside the DMZ in the light of practical requirements;

(d) agreement on practical arrangements between the Untag military
commander and the SA military authorities;
(e) confirmation that the settlement proposal accepted by SA on 25 SWA/
April 1978 remained unchanged;
Namibia (f) confirmation that the claim for Swapo bases inside SWA-N, which
was in any case not provided for in the settlement proposal, would not be revived.
In this letter SA did not refer to the external monitoring of the Swapo forces. No
further progress had been reported at the end of the year under review.
Meeting of the UN General Assembly
The annual debate of the UN General Assembly on Namibia was held in mid-
December. Six resolutions were passed. A number of delegates, mostly Western,
voted against provisions that endorsed armed struggle and abstained on various other points.
By overwhelming majority vote, however, Swapo was once more recognised as
the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia. SA was
condemned for 'obstructing' the UN peace plan.
Member-countries were asked to support Swapo's 'armed struggle'.
In SA Mr Pik Botha rejected the resolutions. The UN, he claimed, was violating
its own principles by adopting motions which 'maliciously supported strife' rather
than seeking genuine and constructive solutions.
Establishment of an interim government in SWA/Namibia
At the end of April the Constituent Assembly in Windhoek by large majority vote
supported a motion by the DTA that an interim government, with legislative
powers, be established in SWA/Namibia.
(The DTA at first suggested that this proposed government should have executive
as well as legislative powers, but the suggestion was
dropped, apparently following discussions with the SA authorities.)
In the SA House of Assembly on 11 May the Prime Minister stated that four days
earlier the Minister of Foreign Affairs had addressed a letter to the five Western
powers. This was tabled. It read (in part), 'The people of South West Africa were
promised full independence not later than 31 December 1978. This did not
happen. They were then promised elections not later than September 1979. In
terms of the Settlement Proposal this is no longer possible and in the meantime
they have no more say in their own affairs than they had when the consultations
with the Five started more than two years ago. Their impatience is growing and
while they too remain willing to support the implementation of the Settlement
Proposal, they are in the meantime demanding a
greater say in their local affairs.
'Pursuant to a request from the Constituent Assembly, and after consultation also
with other democratic parties inside South West
Africa, the South African Government has agreed to:
(a) the establishment of a National Assembly for South West Africa/ Namibia,
composed of 50 members elected in accordance with Proclamation AG 63 of
1978. In the light of the circumstances the
National Assembly would be able to increase its membership to a maximum of 65 by nominating additional members, thus making it possible for other bona fide democratic political parties to secure representation in the Assembly; SWA/
(b) grant legislative powers to the National Assembly enabling it also Na to repeal legislation, excepting legislation governing the status, competency and composition of the Assembly;
(c) the nomination of a number of members of the National Assembly to assist the Administrator-General in the exercise of his executive functions.
'It will be noted that this development in no way affects the status of South West Africa/Namibia'.

On 14 May the Administrator-General issued a Proclamation, AG 21/1979, in terms of which the new National Assembly was constituted as from 21 May. He told the Press of the following arrangements:
1 the Assembly would not be able to make laws which would alter the status of the territory;
2 laws would be signed by him: it would not be necessary to refer them to the SA Government for final approval;
3 the Assembly's term of office would be for one year, after which the Administrator-General would have power to extend it by six months at a time.

At the first sitting on 21 May Mr Johannes Skrywer, the president of the former Constituent Assembly, was elected president of the National Assembly. In terms of Proclamation 85 of 1979, of 4 May, the State President of SA provided for the establishment of a Central Revenue Fund for SWA/Namibia. Aktur initially agreed to co-operate in the working of the National Assembly. (As described later, its members boycotted proceedings after 30 July.) Swapo D decided not to participate, because it had, with reservations, accepted the UN Settlement Proposal. The NNF also decided not to take part: it was pressing for an elected all-party responsible government to be constituted instead. One of its constituent bodies, however, the Federal Party led by Mr Bryan O'Linn, disagreed and broke away from the NNF. It decided to participate on two conditions:
(a) that it be allocated seats by the Administrator-General, and not by its political opponents;
(b) that there was a firm commitment to another election in terms of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 (1978) (in which the Waldheim Settlement Proposal was endorsed).
These conditions were, apparently, agreed to.

Abolition of Racial Discrimination (Urban Residential Areas and Public Amenities) Bill
As described on page 517 of last year's Survey and pages 604-6 of the issue for 1977, a large number of racially discriminatory measures in SWA/Namibia were abolished by the Administrator-General, in terms of Proclamations.

On 8 June the leader of the ruling DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, tabled in
the National Assembly a measure which would abolish most of the remaining forms of discrimination. It was entitled the Abolition of Racial SWA/Namibia Discrimination (Urban Residential Areas and Public Amenities) Bill. The first part of this measure made provision for the opening of white urban residential areas to all races. This would be done by the abolition of 'protective title deeds' which prevented an owner from selling his property to whom he wished. 

The second part provided for the opening to people of all races of all types of public hotels, holiday farms and resorts, restaurants, cinemas, recreation areas, nature reserves, and rest camps. It would be illegal for any person even to intimate that a public amenity was reserved for a particular race group. A period of grace might be granted to owners of public amenities such as hotels to enable them to effect any necessary alterations.

Persons infringing any of the provisions relating to the opening of public amenities would be liable, on conviction, to maximum penalties of R300 or three months' imprisonment. 

As described later, there was a strong white backlash against this measure. In view of this the DTA amended the Bill to provide that the penalty clauses would become law only when published by the Administrator-General in the Official Gazette.

Mr A.H. du Plessis, leader of Aktur, opposed the first reading of the Bill, but was defeated by 37 votes to 7. Aktur called for a division at least ten times before the measure was read for a third time; but it was finally passed on 29 June and, after signature by the Administrator-General, was promulgated in the Official Gazette on 12 July.

Mr Andrew Kloppers, the only coloured man who was a member of Aktur, resigned from the party because of its attitude to the Bill. He formed a Coloured Liberal Party. From 30 July (shortly before the Assembly adjourned for three weeks) Aktur withdrew its remaining five representatives from the Assembly pending the result of a Supreme Court action which it had instituted (this is described later). As from 30 August these five seats were declared vacant because their incumbents had infringed the proclamation establishing the Assembly by being absent for more than ten consecutive days.

White backlash against the abolition of racial discrimination Resentment mounted among certain of the white inhabitants of the territory as racial discrimination was progressively abolished, and various protest organisations were formed, such as Blankswa (White's Wagon), Wit Weerstands beweging (White Resistance Movement), and Eenheidsfront (Unity Front). 

On 13 June the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in SWA/Namibia sent a telegram to the SA Prime Minister protesting against the Bill.
On the day when the second reading of the measure was to take place, a crowd of white protesters, said to number between one and two thousand, gathered outside the National Assembly building. (However, a possibly larger crowd of whites attended a rally held by Mr Mudge in support of the Bill.)

A grenade was thrown into a Masonic Hall in Windhoek on the night of 26 June, killing one man and wounding five. Subsequently Lieut Bernadus Williams was arrested and charged in the Windhoek Regional Court with various offences. The prosecution SWA/ alleged, inter alia, that he had founded the Wit Weerstandsbeveging Namibia as a private army, and had acquired large quantities of arms and ammunition. He had planned to blow up the home of Mr Dirk Mudge, the DTA leader; and one of his men had been responsible for the Masonic Lodge bomb blast. His trial was adjourned to 17 March 1980.

Supreme court action instituted by AKTUR
On 2 July Mr A.H du Plessis, on behalf of Aktur, applied to the Supreme Court, Windhoek, for a temporary interdict declaring Proclamation AG 2 1/1979 (which established the National Assembly) to be invalid, and declaring the operations of the Assembly to be null and void. During legal argument counsel for Aktur questioned whether the Administrator-General had competence to delegate legislative authority to the Assembly and to sign legislation without referring it to the SA State President. The two judges who heard the case concurred in rejecting the application for the operations of the Assembly to be declared invalid, but there was a difference of opinion on the question of the necessity for laws to be approved by the State President as well as the Administrator-General. Leave to appeal to the Appellate Division was granted.

An individual member of Aktur, Mr P. Ebersohn, made another appeal to the Supreme Court for an order declaring actions by the Assembly to be null and void. He was the owner of an hotel, and complained of the adverse effect that the anti-discriminatory law would have on the commercial sector.

Declaration ratifying the establishment and legislation of the National Assembly
On 13 August the SA State President issued Proclamation 172/19791 which read as follows.

'Under section 38 of the South West Africa Constitution Act, 1968 (Act 39 of 1968), I hereby declare that(a) the National Assembly Proclamation, 1979 (Proclamation AG 21 of 1979), of the Administrator-General, shall be deemed to have been issued by me under the said section 38;
(b) the provisions of subsection (2) of that section shall not apply to any law made under that Proclamation by the National Assembly of South West Africa established by section 2 thereof; and
(c) their Proclamation shall be deemed to have come into operation on 14 May 1979.'
The effect of this was that the Proclamation which constituted the National Assembly would be deemed to have been issued by the State President. The validity of the Assembly and any laws passed by it was placed beyond doubt.

640 Detention of persons
Detentions of persons by Swapo
SWA/ Mr Andreas Shipanga, the leader of Swapo D (the breakaway party in SWA/Namibia), claimed during 1978 that about 1 800 of his party's supporters were being held in detention in Zambia. During February he said that his organisation was revising its lists of detainees. Zambia denied any claim that its government was responsible for detentions, but left open the possibility that the people concerned might be in camps in his country that were run by the external wing of Swapo. Mr Shipanga challenged the Zambian government to allow him, or Mr Ahtisaari of the UN, to have access to the camps in order to trace persons believed to be in them.8

Detention of members of Swapo in SWA/Namibia
During the year under review numbers of members of Swapo's internal wing within SWA/Namibia were detained under Section 6 of the SA Terrorism Act of 1967 (which provided for detention for interrogation, for indefinite periods) or in terms of a SWA/Namibia Proclamation, AG 26/1978, which empowered the Administrator-General to order detention without trial 'to prevent violence and intimidation'.9 According to various reports, ten Swapo members were arrested and detained in December 1978, one in January, 39 in April, and at least another 22 by July. It was reported on 30 July that two leading members had been released, leaving 72 in detention. The Swapo leader, Mr Daniel Tjongarero, was reported to have said in Windhoek on 1 June that he was then the only member of the national executive committee who was not in detention. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who took over the post of Administrator-General, is reported to have said on 25 October that since his appointment on 2 August more than half of the detained Swapo members had been released. 'We are continuously reviewing the cases', he said. 'There are a very few dangerous, hard-core individuals, but we hope that circumstances will develop so that more of them will be released.'

Security measures
As described later, sporadic attacks continued during 1979 on whites in farming areas.

Emergency regulations were gazetted by the Administrator-General on 10 May. The magisterial districts in which whites resided (Windhoek, Tsumeb, Grootfontein, Outjo, Otjiwarango, and Okahandja) were declared to be 'security' districts. In these areas, security forces would possess wide-ranging powers of search without warrant, arrest, and detention for interrogation for up to 30 days, of
persons who had committed a crime, or were suspected of planning to do so, or were thought to have information about a crime. Those detained would have no recourse to a lawyer.

The security forces might without warrant search any building, vehicle, or property in a security district, and take possession of anything. No public meetings might be held in the districts concerned unless prior permission had been granted by a magistrate.

The Administrator-General announced on 4 July that everyone in the territory who was more than 16 years of age, irrespective of his origin or nationality, would in future have to carry an identity document, producible on demand by a member of the police or security forces. The maximum penalty for failing to produce the document would be R500 or six months.

Administration of the territory

According to a feature article in The Star of 20 November, the governmental machinery of SWA/Namibia was being re-structured by SA to give the territory an administration capable of running it independently of Pretoria, whatever way the external negotiations went. On 2 October 1978 the SA Cabinet authorised the SA Public Service Commission to establish a branch in Windhoek, called the Central Personnel Institution, to develop an independent public service. Phase one was the transfer of government departments, renamed directorates, from Pretoria to Windhoek. Questioned by the Press in October, the Administrator-General said that by the end of the year all departments would have been transferred except Police, Defence, National Security, External Affairs, Excise and Import Duties, and the SA Railways. (By retaining authority over these matters, SA left unchanged the international status of SWA/Namibia.)

The next step planned, The Star stated, was the institution of an independent public service. Final agreement would be sought between the DTA and Aktur over the division of functions between the various levels of government in the territory. When this issue had been resolved, and control obtained by the central authority over the public service, executive powers could be granted to the Administrator-General's Council, functioning as the National Assembly's 'cabinet'. (Thus far, this Council had advisory powers only.) Officially, the Administrator-General would retain responsibility, being guided by the National Assembly.

Proposals for second-tier ethnic authorities

Proposals by the Administrator-General for the division of functions between the various levels of government were considered in the National Assembly on 28 November.

In terms of these, second-tier ethnic authorities (including the Nationalist-controlled white Legislative Assembly) would have legislative and executive powers in the exercise of the following government functions:

(a) land tenure;
(b) agriculture and agricultural credit;
(c) education up to the level of primary school teachers' training;
(d) health services;
(e) social welfare and pensions. Functions not mentioned would automatically become the responsibility of the National Assembly or the Administrator-General's Council. Provision for the status of third-tier local authorities would be made later.

642 Speaking to these proposals the DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, said that there would be second-tier governments only for those population groups that wanted to have them. Ethnic groups which did not constitute representative authorities would transfer their second-tier Namibia functions to the central government. The scheme would be entirely voluntary: there would be no enforced racial classification. The DTA-dominated Assembly accepted the proposals. Aktur (which had still not taken up its vacated seats in the Assembly) indicated that it was still not entirely happy with the proposals. This body conducted separate negotiations with the Administrator-General.

Training of administrative personnel
Replying to questions in the SA House of Assembly on 7 March, the Minister of the Interior said that an institution was being established for the training of prospective public servants of an independent SWA/Namibia. The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications stated that training facilities for postal workers of all population groups had existed for some years. Centres in Windhoek were training technicians, electricians, and clerks, while telephonists and postmen were trained on the job.

In answer to a further question, the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs said that Mr J.C. Fick of the Department of Development Administration of the Rand Afrikaans University had been commissioned to make a study and analysis of economic and development projects which were in progress in the territory, or could possibly be started.

As mentioned in previous years, members of all population groups have been given military training and absorbed into the security forces. The Officer Commanding SWA Command, Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, said in July that SWA/Namibia was to have its own defence force which would be handed over to the government formed after independence.

Continuation of warfare
Casualty figures
Little information about casualty figures has been released by the military authorities. The Star estimated that, during 1978:

Swapo
800 members were killed in camps in Angola during SA air and ground attacks;
100 members were killed in clashes with security forces within SWA/Namibia;
African civilians
66 died in landmine explosions;
24 were murdered by Swapo; 300 were abducted by Swapo.
Questioned in the Assembly on 11 May, the Prime Minister said that terrorist activities in SWA/Namibia had increased since the beginning of the year. Sixty-one African civilians had been killed by Swapo,

as well as eleven members of the SA Defence Force, one member of the 643 SA Police, and five members of home guard units. He said it was not policy to disclose the number of persons wounded.

On 4 January 1980 The Star estimated that 571 guerrillas had been SWA/ killed since April. More comprehensive figures are not available at the Namibia time of writing.

Strength of Swapo

According to estimates given to the Press by Major-General J.J. Geldenhuys, OC SWA Command, at the end of October there were an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 Swapo guerrillas in Angola and 1,000 to 2,000 in Zambia. The effective Swapo fighting force had shrunk by about 2,000 men during the past six months because of action by the SA security forces. This figure included men who had been killed, those believed to have been wounded, and hundreds who had deserted, some having given themselves up to the governments of the host countries, Angola and Zambia, and others having infiltrated back into SWA/Namibia.

In accordance with a proposal by the Administrator-General, the National Assembly decided in December that Swapo guerrillas would be granted indemnity from prosecution if they surrendered to security forces.

Preparations by Swapo to gain control of SWA after a cease-fire

During February Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, the Chief Minister of Owambo, alleged that Swapo guerrillas were crossing the border in large bands into the east of Owambo, where heavy rains made it difficult to follow their tracks, and were caching arms for recovery when they returned openly after the arrival of UN forces.

The OC SWA Command told the Press early in March that Swapo had been moving its men south in Angola, so that they could cross the border as soon as a ceasefire was announced.

Ruacana hydro-electric scheme

As described in previous issues of this Survey, the Ruacana hydroelectric project was planned in 1969, while the Portuguese still controlled Angola. Water from the Kunene River would be pumped from a station inside Angola into canals which would irrigate Owambo; and electricity from a hydro-electric power station would be supplied to both Angola and SWA/Namibia. It was reported on 12 April that the power station had been out of commission on various occasions since the MPLA take-over in Angola, the Angolans having refused to open sluices that were needed if the turbines were to function.

Late in February a pylon was blown up near the plant, causing an interruption in power supply. Three pylons were destroyed in April, resulting in a total loss of power in large parts of the territory for about 20 minutes. A few days earlier the village that housed construction workers had been bombarded, with damage to property. Next day, four security guards at the scheme were killed in a landmine explosion.
Other civilian targets

Landmine explosions continued in tribal areas too, causing a number of deaths and injuries. In October, for example, one passenger was

644 killed and five injured when their vehicle detonated a mine. In April an Owambo church worker was killed and two of his children injured.

Early in March, saboteurs blew up about half a metre of railway SWA/ track 15 km south of Windhoek. A train heading for the scene was

Namibia warned by a black railway worker waving a torch. In May the track near Otavi was blown up: the driver of an approaching goods train saw the gap in time to save the train. Telegraph poles were sabotaged on several occasions.

Abductions

During March, 39 African school children and a woman teacher were abducted from a school close to the border. Guerrillas who bombarded the Ruacana village fled when security forces counterattacked, but on their way they abducted seven Africans, including a woman. The African woman principal of a school was captured in July and taken across the border.

In October, Swapo members abducted 54 young men and 57 girls from school hostels near the border in Owambo. Another 90 young people escaped en route to Angola, and returned to their school. A few days later a van was stolen and its driver abducted; and a chief was abducted, his village being burned down. Two African women were raped by six guerrillas.

Robbing of shops

It was reported in October that there was a severe shortage of food in Southern Angola. Many of the sorties across the border were possibly by men who were in search of food. At least two shops were robbed during that month, one being set alight after food had been stolen; two guerrillas were killed while attacking a third store.

Attacks in white farming areas

The Senior Staff Officer (Operations) at the SWA Command told the Press on 27 June that Swapo was sending highly-trained members of a special group into white farming areas. On 26 March a white farmer was shot dead on his farm near Otavi, and another farmer in the vicinity was murdered and few days later. Their farms were more than 300 km south of the border.

About a month later another farmer was killed by machine gun fire in an area about 55 km north of Tsumeb while, at a farm nearby, a white woman and her two grandchildren were bayonetted to death.

During June guerrillas opened fire on a bus transporting about fifty white rugby players and their supporters, near Ondangwa. Nine of the people in the bus were wounded.

Urban attacks
In mid-September a bomb exploded at a petrol station in Windhoek's industrial area. No-one was hurt, but damage estimated at more than R200 000 was caused.

Raid across the border
On the night of 26 February Swapo launched a heavy attack on the SA Elundu security base, 10 km from the border. As their fire was inaccurate, the South Africans suffered no losses.

In a raid early in March SA Army and Air Force units made a series of attacks over a number of days on at least eleven Swapo bases in Angola. Aircraft first bombed the bases, which were then assailed by troops landed from helicopters. Weapons and ammunition were captured. No SWA/ South Africans were lost, but Lusaka Radio announced that 40 guerrilla-Namibias had been killed and a number wounded. According to the General Officer Commanding SWA Command, the object of this raid was to deter Swapo from moving its men to the south, positioning them to cross the border as soon as a ceasefire was announced.

A few days later a SAAF aircraft crashed during a strike. The crew of two was believed killed. About 70 Swapo men slipped across the border and attacked an Owambo village, killing a policeman and three civilians and wounding three women and a child. The guerrillas fled when tracked down by security forces. Early in April guerrillas made a long-range mortar attack on the SA military base at Ondangwa, the administrative centre of Owambo. Only slight damage resulted. A number of skirmishes between security forces and guerrillas took place later that month, during which a SA national serviceman and at least 23 guerrillas were killed. Two members of the SA forces died in action in May during another attack on a military base. Six guerrillas were killed in follow-up operations.

At the beginning of July, SA and SWA forces engaged in a routine patrol near the border were bombarded with mortar and small-arms fire. Security forces crossed in hot-pursuit, killed nineteen armed guerrillas, and discovered a Swapo storage depot for food and weapons. The security forces suffered no losses. Similar raids and counter-attacks took place on at least two occasions in July, during which about 13 guerrillas were shot dead. The GOC of SWA Command told the press that members of Swapo operating in SWA/Namibia dragged wounded men back across the border if the distance made this feasible, but otherwise killed them.

Three SAAF men died in an aircraft crash in September. Infiltrators bombed the SA Nkongo military base in north-east Owambo, but as the fire was inaccurate, no damage was caused.

Military headquarters in Windhoek reported in mid-October that, although Angolan MPLA troops had on several previous occasions fired across the border at SA forces, they had now for a first time crossed, raiding into Kavango in the Rundu area. They abducted three Bushmen and stole about 50 head of cattle. There were several clashes between Swapo infiltrators and security forces during this month, at least ten Swapo men being shot dead.

President Kaunda of Zambia alleged on 23 October that a large force of South Africans (he said between 400 and 600 men) had carried out a raid on a military
base in his country, to the north of the Caprivi Strip. SA Defence Headquarters in Pretoria declined to comment on this allegation, beyond saying it was common knowledge that patrols had been used against Swapo terrorists who were hiding on the other side of the border after having committed atrocities against people of SWA/Namibia.

According to a report by Angola Radio monitored in London, on 29 October 150 SA troops, transported in helicopters, made attacks on two Angolan towns which were some 200 km north of the border, destroyed part of a railway line, including a tunnel, and blew up four RRS - Y

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SWA/ Namibia bridges. Twenty Angolans were killed. The South Africans also landed at Porto Alexandre on the coast and laid mines. Again the SA Defence Force made no comment on the allegations as such, but a spokesman was reported as having said, 'We are merely in the north of SWA to protect the local population against atrocities by Swapo terrorists. We maintain the right to follow these terrorists to their hiding places, no matter where they are.'

The Security Council resolution of 2 November, condemning SA for having made this raid, is mentioned earlier in this chapter.

The Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, on a visit to the United States, claimed that the MPLA and its Cuban allies, numbering some 34 000, held only the north of Angola and cities and towns elsewhere. His Unita controlled the whole of the south except for two small enclaves. Unita, he said, had about 15 000 armed guerrillas with another 8 000 waiting for arms. It was Unita, he added, that was responsible for various attacks in the south, including the blowing up of bridges, for which SA had been blamed.

On 10 November a security patrol in Owambo came upon a group of Swapo men trying to cross the border. They repulsed these men and pursued them back into Angola, where two large caches of arms and ammunition were found and seized. A senior officer of SWA Command announced on 29 November that, earlier that week, a Defence Force patrol had been involved in a skirmish in the operational area of the territory. Seven Swapo men and one member of the security forces had been killed. Hot pursuit operations across the border were then undertaken, during which a number of temporary Swapo bases were attacked, 68 guerrillas killed, and large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and equipment captured. There were no security force casualties.

No major military activities were reported during December.

References
The terms of this letter were communicated to the SA House of Assembly by the Prime Minister on 6 March 1979.
2 Assembly Hansard 13 col 837
Ibid Col 834
4 According to a Sunday Times report of 20 May, this strategy had been suggested to
Swapo at a top-secret meeting held in Luanda on 3 and 4 March of leaders of the
five
African frontline states with Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo.
See 1974 Survey, page 119-121
6 Hansard 13 cols 837-8
Government Gazette No. 6618/1979
Star 6 February; Rand Daily Mail 15 February
9 See 1978 Survey page 518
,0 Rand Daily Mail 25 October
1, Hansard 5 col 374
,2 Ibid Col 329
14 Issue of 21 March
Hansard 13 col 839
16 Star 1 November

INTERNATIONAL MATIERS
AFFECTING SOUTH AFRICA
South African foreign policy took an expansionist direction during the year under
review. The basic strands became apparent from the statements of policy-makers
as the year progressed. Early in the year the possibility that the Republic would
adopt a more independent foreign policy line was intimated by Foreign Minister,
Mr Pik Botha. While on a visit to Switzerland he suggested that in future SA
would adopt a neutral attitude to East-West disputes and no longer automatically
support the Western bloc. Relations with Western nations had been deteriorating
for some time following the collapse of the Western initiative in Namibia and the
failure of Western nations to veto the imposition by the United Nations of a
mandatory arms embargo on the Republic.
Along with the de-emphasis of SA's ties with the Western world, came the re-
awakening of policy-makers' interest in the creation of a Southern African
community of states. The motivation for this lay in the growing perception of
policy-makers of an increasing threat to the Republic's security. This perceived
threat was posed not only by what the Prime Minister termed 'communist
terrorists' but also by the increasing rejection by the international community at
large of the Republic's internal apartheid policy. Policy-makers' statements
indicated a belief that through the creation of a regional bloc, the threat posed to
the Republic would be ameliorated.
The Republic would be provided with a secure defensive perimeter and the
actions of guerrilla groups would be aimed at these buffer states and not at SA
itself. Theoretically in terms of this analysis, SA finds it advantageous to assist its
allies militarily to contain challenges to the authorities in those countries.
Secondly, and probably slightly more importantly, such a regional bloc would of
necessity contain various internationally recognised independent African states.
Through the adoption of a common approach on matters affecting the region, the
Republic would encourage Western support in the international community.
Finally, in the event of economic sanctions being imposed on SA the creation of a
regional bloc would provide a significant cushion against the effects of sanctions in that supplies of raw materials and markets for industrial goods would be built into any such grouping. Thus Pretoria's foreign policy was also defensive and fitted neatly into the Prime Minister's concept of a total strategy for the Republic.

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Closely linked with SA's defence policy, (see Chapter on Defence), in that the Republic is expected to be able to provide most of the military muscle required to support the regional governments, SA foreign policy also became more closely interwoven with internal policy. While the country's acceptability has always been affected by the apartheid philosophy, the 'new' policy in some aspects includes the internationalising of the country's homelands policy. The number of buffer states protecting the industrial core of SA was increased in September by the grant of 'independence' to Venda and a rapprochement between SA and the Transkei became apparent during the year (see Chapter on Homelands). The importance of military considerations in the 'new' policy became apparent in a number of policy statements made by military figures such as General Magnus Malan and Vice-Admiral Edwards during the year.

These statements stressed the need for a total commitment of SA's peoples (black and white) to the struggle against 'Marxism and terrorism' and at the same time, emphasised the urgency of giving blacks a stake in the country. The Government's commitment to the total strategy emerged during the year. Proposals for greater consolidation of the homelands in an attempt to create viable 'countries' (see chapter on Homelands) suggested one means of providing Africans with an interest in defending SA while the other was to be provided by the acceptance of portions of the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions' reports (see Chapters on Labour and Urban Africans). At the same time the Government attempted to sell these changes internationally as evidence that the Republic was abandoning discrimination and moving away from apartheid. Various ministers and government spokesmen visited Western capitals and, regionally, meetings occurred at various levels. Much of the Government's policy in this regard was welcomed internationally but most states considered that yet more concrete evidence had to be provided if the Republic was to be welcomed back to international respectability.

Comment on the direction of the policy from within SA was generally favourable. Opposition parliamentarians welcomed the regional emphasis in the policy but warned that internal policy changes were necessary if it was going to be successfully applied. They also pointed out that the retention of SA's links with the Western World was important and that the creation of a Southern African regional bloc did not conflict with the retention of these links in any way.
As the year progressed it became clear that the Republic's policymakers had no intention of severing any of the country's existing diplomatic ties with the United States and members of the old Commonwealth. Nor were they down-graded in importance. In fact the Republic appointed an ambassador to the United Nations once again. Relations with other 'pariah' states were improved during the year, prompting various foreign policy analysts to suggest that if the Republic's policy of armed neutrality was to be based on a series of alliances with such states, it would be both highly unstable and unlikely to succeed.

South Africa's Relations with Southern Africa

The 'New' Policy

The change of emphasis in South African foreign policy, brought Foreign to the level of official policy by the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha in April', envisaged the establishment of 'friendly relations with neigh- Policy bouring states on the basis of non-interference in each other's internal affairs'. The Prime Minister said that SA's economic and political situation was inextricably interconnected with the struggle 'between the values of Western civilisation and the doctrines of Marxist-Soviet imperialism' on the one hand, and the 'conflict of aims and aspirations between the developed and under-developed world' on the other. The Republic's involvement in these conflicts and the growing threat of Soviet imperialism in Southern Africa brought 'SA, too, . . . to the conclusion that a review of her position had become imperative'. The guidelines of future SA foreign policy were explained by the Prime Minister as being:

(i) the removal, politically, of the country as far as possible from the East-West disputes and avoiding involvement in their future conflicts, while trading with whomsoever it is in SA's interests to trade; and

(ii) sole concern for SA's interests and the interests of the Southern African region when formulating policy.

The Prime Minister said that because of these guidelines SA must 'determinedly and unequivocally follow the signposts of co-operation in Africa and especially Southern Africa'. He went on to say 'I sincerely believe that Southern Africa could have a secure future, and I know for a fact that there are reasonable, well-balanced and moderate leaders in Africa with whom it will be possible to co-operate and we shall do everything in our power to make that possible. Southern Africa, with its abundant natural resources, has a vast potential and we in the Republic of SA have gained considerable experience in improving standards of living and can be of service not only to some countries in Africa as a whole, but also and more specifically to Southern Africa'. Various National Party MP's expanded on the Prime Minister's vision giving it greater clarity and emphasising various aspects of it.

Two aspects of the change of emphasis attracted comment. In an article published by the SA Institute for International Affairs, Cleary argued that any significant change in SA foreign policy was unlikely in the short term because it was unlikely to be successful.2
In an analysis of the Foreign Minister's Switzerland statement, Geldenhuys argued that the Republic was unlikely to adopt a neutral position in international relations for two telling reasons. First, the country would not be acceptable to any member of the existing non-aligned bloc and, secondly, even if the Republic's policy-makers were able to establish a fourth international grouping—one of states which are currently internationally unacceptable—the very nature of this group would make it highly unstable. Should a member or members of such a group be welcomed back into international respectability, as often happens in international affairs, such state or states would leave the group, thereby weakening it.'

650  Mr Raw, leader of the opposition New Republic Party, agreed 'that our destiny lies in Southern Africa' but said without a solution to dour own inter-race relations in SA', the Republic would never 'form the sheet-anchor of his (P.W. Botha's) constellation'. Mr Raw also appealed to the Government not to 'put beyond repair the rebuilding of communication with countries which I hope will one day come back to normal (the Western world)' because of South Africa's revulsion with the 'rotten and decayed moral standards' of the West. The leader of the opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, PFP, also believed 'very strongly that SA has a pivotal role to play in Southern Africa'. Militarily the Republic 'can provide protection from aggression to many smaller states within our borders' while the Republic is also able to assist Southern African states economically, and in the agriculture and health fields. However he too emphasised that 'it would be in the interests of SA to try to have as good relationships as possible with the West'.

Despite the possibility raised in the Assembly by Foreign Minister Botha of the creation of regional secretariats to administer areas of cooperation in the region and the reported meeting with representatives of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland to discuss regional co-operation in April, the reaction of heads of government of independent black Southern African states was negative.

In May the foreign ministers of Botswana, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania met in Botswana to discuss economic cooperation between their countries and held a subsequent meeting in July to discuss and lay the groundwork for implementing the means to reduce their 'embarrassing dependence on SA'. The meeting, attended also by delegates from the World Bank, the European Economic Community and the United Nations Development Programme, discussed a proposal by the Frontline states that a Southern African liberation fund to finance transport and communication improvements in the region be established as a means of countering SA's almost total economic hegemony. However, economic co-operation between SA and Mozambique continued.

In May Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho, rejected any Lesotho involvement in the SA-sponsored constellation of states. In an interview Chief Jonathan repeated that SA should first establish a meaningful dialogue between white and black inside the country as a prelude to winning acceptance in Africa.
Lesotho's determination to limit its dependence on SA came to the fore again later in year. Growing signs of friendly relations between Mozambique and Lesotho appeared. Reports that Lesotho police were being trained in Mozambique, the arrival in Maseru of Mozambique's President Samora Machel's private aeroplane to take Chief Jonathan to the summit meeting of non-aligned states in Havana and the strong warning to SA not to treat Lesotho 'like a homeland' all pointed to this. Nevertheless while the independent black states in Southern Africa refused to have anything to do with the SA proposal, those 'independent' territories which have failed to win international acceptability displayed interest in the plan. Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Transkei all welcomed the announcement at various stages during the year. Both SA and the new Zimbabwe-Rhodesian administration of Bishop Abel Muzorewa were cautious. SA, said Mr Pik Botha, would recognise the new administration 'when the time is right' despite calls from all opposition parties for the territory's recognition. The Muzorewa administration, too, apparently decided to wait for international reaction to the new situation in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia before committing itself to the SA plan (see Section on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia).

South Africa's Relations with the West

Policy

South Africa's relations with its traditional partners in diplomacy, the United States and some European countries, fluctuated sharply during the year. The first part of the year saw relations deteriorate steadily particularly with the United States. Foreign Minister Botha's attack on the United States Deputy-Ambassador to the United Nations, Don MacHenry, and his description of Mr MacHenry as a friend of Swapo and an enemy of South Africa was the first public indication that relations with the Western world were rapidly souring. This was followed by an attack on the leader of the opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, for telephoning Mr MacHenry. In his attack on Mr Eglin the Foreign Minister accused him of trafficking with the enemy. Relations deteriorated still further in April with the public announcement by the Prime Minister that America was spying on SA. Appearing on television the Prime Minister revealed that personnel attached to the US embassy in SA had photographed some of the Republic's 'most sensitive installations' and that the Government had ordered the three Americans involved in the so-called spy plane incident to leave SA. The American administration, which acknowledged that the embassy's aeroplane had been equipped to take aerial photographs, retaliated by expelling the two SA military attaches to the Republic's Washington embassy.

Relations between the two countries improved somewhat after this low point. The visits to the United States by Prof N. Wiehahn and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koorhof, in June indicated that the Government realised that friendly relations and American support for SA were still important. Dr Koorhof's well publicised 'Apartheid is Dead' speech in Washington and his suggestion that future developments in SA could see the creation of a confederation or a federation were clearly designed to placate anti-SA American opinion while, as Die Vaderland editorialised; 'he would not have held out the
prospect of such far-reaching developments if he did not have the full concurrence of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet'.

Part of the reason for the slight improvement in relations between the two countries was the less vociferous role adopted by the United States in Southern Africa after April. Beset by domestic problems, President Carter's administration became less active in the formulation of Western Southern African policy and left it to the newly elected Conservative government in Britain to take new initiatives in the region.

Relations with the United Kingdom improved during the year largely because of the election of a Conservative government under the premiership of Mrs Margaret Thatcher. Mrs Thatcher's government made a number of gestures towards improving relations with SA. In June it was announced that the British government would permit the export of oil from the North Sea oil fields to SA thereby significantly easing the SA Government's difficulties in finding reliable oil supplies for the country. Prior to this decision SA had been buying a large percentage of its oil on the Rotterdam spot market. In July the Conservative government announced plans to increase the difficulties facing prospective immigrants. One of the results of the proposed new laws will be to make it more difficult for SA draft dodgers to obtain residence in the United Kingdom.

Expectations of a substantial improvement in British-SA relations as a result of the election of a Tory government proved groundless. Some SA commentators expressed the view that Mrs Thatcher's government would reverse the earlier trend of growing British pressure on SA and give the SA Government significant support in the international arena. However, while Tory governments have been traditionally sympathetic to Southern Africa, international political realities made it impossible for Mrs Thatcher's government to do more than make sympathetic gestures while following, by and large, the policy which was already in existence.

The first indication of this came with the appointment as Foreign Secretary of Lord Carrington, rather than the more right wing Mr Francis Pym who during the election campaign had advocated recognition for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and had attacked Swapo.

While relations with the United Kingdom improved during the year, the attitude of the French government hardened at a rhetorical level. The Transvaal rugby team's tour of France had to be abandoned in the early part of the year, and the French government's decision that in future South Africans would have to apply for visas to enter France and the announcement that members of the planned Springbok rugby touring team would be refused visas to enter France all indicated the new French attitude. However, France continued to trade with SA and supply goods which the Republic could not produce (eg the steam generators for the Koeberg nuclear power station).

As recorded in the chapter of this Survey dealing with South West Africa-Namibia, a SA delegation entered the UN General Assembly in May to hear the
debate on a demand by Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo for punitive action to force SA out of Namibia. SA's credentials were challenged and rejected, however, and the delegation withdrew.

Resolutions passed by the Security Council and the General Assembly during 1979 on SWA-N are described in the chapter dealing with that territory.

After November 1974, when SA was suspended from the Assembly because of its racial policies, it ceased to make contributions to the UN's budget or programmes. By August 1979 it owed R8 017 767.20.

In mid-December the 152-nation General Assembly debated the situation in SA, adopting 18 resolutions. A number of delegates, mostly Western, voted against resolutions which endorsed armed conflict, and abstained on other issues, but all made clear their abhorrence of apartheid.

One of the resolutions, adopted by 109 votes to 12 with 21 abstentions, endorsed 'the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of SA and their national liberation movements-by all available means including armed struggle-for the seizure of power.' Grants were approved to finance the New York offices of the exiled PAC and ANC in order to ensure the due and proper representation' of SA through its national liberation movements. South African youths were called upon to refuse to perform military service.

All co-operation and collaboration with SA was condemned. The Foreign Assembly demanded the release of political prisoners. Comprehensive Policy economic sanctions, including embargos on oil and nuclear materials, were called for.

The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, commented to the press that the situation in SA had been deliberately distorted by a number of nations, some of which were deserving of UN condemnation because of conditions in their countries; but double standards were applied. The resolutions maliciously supported strife rather than seeking genuine and constructive solutions to problems. He rejected them as violating the UN's own principles.

Relations with other Countries

To a large extent South African relations with other states are peripheral to the country's foreign policy. They are often based on perceptions of common danger, mutual interest and similar international ostracism.

Nevertheless SA policy-makers repeatedly stress the geo-strategic importance of the Cape sea route, the strategic importance of the Republic's mineral reserves and the threat posed to both by Soviet imperialism. The argument receives support in military circles and was boosted during the year in the preface to the authoritative British publication on naval strengths, Jane's Fighting Ships and a US Defence Department study in December. Other prominent figures who subscribe to the
strategic importance of SA to the Western world include General Alexander Haig, retiring commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. A large amount of SA energy has been put into winning the sympathy of prominent western military figures for the Republic through these arguments. A number of such projects were funded by the defunct Department of Information.

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