# Survey of race relations in South Africa: 1980

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NOTE

All developments took place in the year 1980 unless otherwise stated.

The chapter on Zimbabwe is the last that will appear in the Survey in line with previous practice that developments in Southern African territories which attain internationally recognised independence are not included.

The chapter on school boycotts is a new addition which was included because it constituted one of the major features of the period covered in this work. It will only be repeated if it continues to be pertinent.

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WHITE POLITICS

Introduction

White politics was characterised by a growing but apparently limited move to the right by white voters and debate in NP-supporting Afrikaner academic ranks on the desirability of a form of 'verligte' dictatorship in order to institute necessary reforms. Opinion surveys conducted in April 1980 by Mark-en-Menings Opnames demonstrated the slow drift to the right but at the same time indicated that the NP was in no danger of losing its overall majority in parliament. The survey's results for Afrikaans-speaking voters were:

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By September commentators stated that Mr P W Botha's government had begun to make up the ground it had lost to the right. This was at the expense of centrist parties such as the NRP and SAP, the latter having disbanded during the year.

According to a survey conducted for Rapport2, 59,4% of NP supporters believed the Prime Minister's initiatives should be supported, as did 70,7% of PFP supporters, 40,9% of NRP supporters, 52,7% of SAP supporters, 6,8% of HNP supporters and 5,2% of NCP supporters.

Mr Botha was shown' in a survey conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the University of Natal's Centre for Applied Social Sciences, to be the country's most popular white political leader. Professor Schlemmer also commented on the "amazingly strong appeal" of the PFP leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and said that he had more public appeal than Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the NP in the Transvaal. Professor Schlemmer argued that the leadership support figures obtained by his survey indicated that the centre of gravity in white politics was moving towards enlightened reformism' and that the growth of the right wing could be coming to a halt. This was borne out to a certain extent by the findings of

2 a survey of voters' party preferences in May. The survey showed the following results:

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The findings showed that the NP had made up the ground it had lost during 1979. This loss of support had largely been because voters had become disenchanted with the party but had preferred to abstain rather than support another party. The survey's findings also indicated the decline of the NRP (see section on the NRP).

In August the debate in Afrikaner academic circles as to the deirability of a form of enlightened despotism in SA to facilitate the introduction of needed reforms of the country's political and socioeconomic structure was made public. Dr Willie Breytenbach, senior researcher at the SA Foundation, said that a temporary phase of enlightened authoritarianism would enable the government to introduce necessary reforms because an "entrenched white democracy" was at the root of retarded change in SA. Dr Breytenbach said that the government was already moving in this direction and cited the central role of the State Security Council, the establishment of a number of cabinet committees with decision-making powers, the expansion of the role of the Prime Minister's office (see section on Public Authorities in chapter on Employment, and 1979 Survey p 5-6) and the establishment of the principle of nominated MP's. Professor Stoffel van der Merwe, head of the Department of Political Science at the Rand Afrikaans University, said that the government would "press ahead with its programme of change to create a more liberal society but would also be more authoritarian and ruthless in areas of security and law and order" in order to contain the threat of revolution while reformist policies were being introduced.

Various commentators opposed the idea of a 'verligte' dictatorship. Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler, said "we protest and refuse a dictatorship, no matter in what righteous slogans it comes wrapped. We trust no person, no matter who, who has uncontrollable power, because power without justice and accountability and freedom has always led to untold misery and corruption".7 Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of SA, echoed Dr de Klerk's warning as did Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP MP for Yeoville.

It was however pointed out that the trend away from an oligarchical form of government towards a dictatorship was well established and commentators suggested that this could be a large part of the reason for the ongoing conflict in the NP. They said that the NP was an extremely democratic party, particularly so in the Transvaal.

They pointed out that the Transvaal NP provincial congresses were far more critical of government policy than those in any other province, particularly the Cape, where congresses were structured and regimented. It was
suggested that the conflict in the party stemmed largely from the Prime Minister's reluctance to submit to the dictates of the congresses in matters where he believed he was correct. (See also sections on the Constitution and NP-Internal Matters.)

Constitutional Developments

Amendments to the South African Constitution

Republic of South Africa Constitution Amendment Act No 70
The purpose of the act was to extend the period during which a minister may hold office without being a member of either the House of Assembly or the senate from the previous three months to 12 months.
The measure was opposed. Opposition spokesmen argued that the measure was not in accordance with the concept of representation. Secondly, the government could appoint ministers virtually indefinitely under this measure since all the appointed minister had to do was resign for one day every year and then be re-appointed for the following year.
In order to overcome the latter objection the government introduced an amendment in the assembly, the terms of which prevented such subsequent re-appointments unless the minister had become an elected member of the assembly or a member of the senate. The opposition, however, maintained that their first reason still prevented them from supporting the measure.
The remaining sections of the act enabled an appointed minister to speak in the assembly and senate but not to vote. Such an appointed minister was, for the purposes of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act, defined as a member of parliament.

Republic of South Africa Constitution Second Amendment Act No 31
The act was an uncontentious measure and was supported by all parties. It amended the previous position with regard to the fixing of salaries and allowances of provincial administrators and the powers of provincial councils.

Republic of South Africa Constitution Third Amendment Act No 28
The purpose of the act was to provide for the division of the provinces into electoral divisions and to regulate the number of parliamentary and provincial council seats returned by each province to parliament and the respective provincial councils.
The act provided for the division of the provinces into electoral divisions and had the effect of pegging the number of divisions in each province for ten years.
There was a great deal of comment on the act. The PFP opposed it on the grounds that it fixed the number of seats returned by each province at the existing level until 1990 despite the greater expected Transvaal population growth and therefore went against the principle of democratic representation by making votes in some provinces consti-weightier than in others, notably those in the Transvaal. There was also speculation in the press that the act was designed if not to limit at least to prevent an increase of the power of the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht. (See section on NP-Internal Matters.)
Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Constitution RP 68 (The Schlebusch Commission)

The report was presented to the State President on May 6. The commission was appointed on July 4, 1979 (see 1979 Survey p 4-5) and was, in accordance with parliamentary tradition, an all-party commission. Its terms of reference were to inquire into and report on the introduction of a new constitution for the Republic of South Africa.

The commission recommended:
1. the abolition of the senate from January 1, 1981 but stated this did not commit its commission to a unicameral legislature;
2. the amendment of section 118 of the principal act-the entrenching clause (see below);
3. the creation of the office of Vico-State President with the same qualifications as those of the State President. In the absence of the State President the report recommended that the new Vice-State President should serve as the State President. Normally the Vice-State President would serve as the chairman of the President's Council;
4. the appointment of a President's Council consisting of 60 members of the white, coloured, Asian and Chinese communities who were recognised by their respective communities as leaders as well as nationally acknowledged experts in their respective fields;
5. the function of the President's Council would be to advise the State President on any matter which in its opinion is of public interest. It could consider draft legislation submitted to it by any institution other than a local authority. The council was to be divided into at least four committees - Constitutional, Economic, Planning and Community Relations. The committees could consult with a council of African SA citizens established in terms of an act of parliament;
6. the composition of the House of Assembly should be 165 elected members plus 20 members appointed by the leaders of the various parties in parliament in proportion to their numbers in parliament.

Objections to the Recommendation
Mr J Wiley (SAP) objected to the proposed increase in the number of assembly members.
Mr W V Raw, Senator J L Horack and Mr W M Sutton (all NRP) opposed the increase in the number of assembly members and stated that the presidential council should include Africans in order to facilitate the exchange of ideas.

Minority Report (PFP members of the Commission)

The PFP members supported the abolition of the senate and the consequential amendment of the constitution as recommended. They opposed the increase in assembly members because this opposition was not in accordance with the principles of representation and accountability. They opposed the establishment of the President's Council as recommended on the grounds that Africans were excluded from membership. They argued that this exclusion would
not promote the process of peaceful constitutional development in the Republic. They also opposed the proposed office of Vice-State President.

Republic of South Africa Constitution Fourth Amendment Act No 74
The act was the direct result of the Schlebusch Commission's recommendations that the senate be abolished and the existing constitution be amended. The constitutional amendment required a joint session of both houses as the act affected Section 118 of the constitution, the entrenching clause. The act provided that after the abolition of the senate a two-thirds majority of the assembly would be required to amend the sole remaining entrenched clause, that which lays down that there shall be two official languages in the Republic, English and Afrikaans. Previously a two-thirds majority of both houses sitting together was required to do this.

There was no opposition to the act.

Republic of South Africa Constitution Fifth Amendment Act No 101
The act implemented the interim recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission.

In accordance with its recommendations the office of Vice-State President was created requiring the same qualifications as those for election to the office of State President. In the normal course of events the Vice-State President is to be chairman of the President's Council. In the event of the State President being unable to act in his office, the Vice-State President will become acting State President during the State President's incapacity. During such a time the Vice-State President will not act as chairman of the President's Council.

The number of ministers that the State President may appoint was increased from 18 to 20. Ministers may hold office for a maximum of 12 months unless they become either elected or nominated members of the House of Assembly in that period. If they fail to do so they may not be re-appointed as ministers until such time as they are elected to or nominated as members of the assembly. Such ministers, before their election or nomination to the assembly, have speaking but not voting rights.

6 Parliament became a unicameral legislature. The senate was abolished and the size of the house of assembly was increased. In future the assembly will consist of 165 elected members, four members Constitutionally nominated by the State President of whom one will be nominated tutional from each province, and eight members elected by the directlyDevel-electured members of the assembly according to the principle of proportional representation. This was justified as enabling Knowledgeopments able people who would otherwise through normal election be unable to secure a seat, to enter the assembly.

The President's Council consists of the chairman and 60 members appointed by the State President. They will hold office for five years. When the Vice-State President is unable to act as chairman of the council a deputy chairman will be appointed by the State President. In the event of neither the Vice-State President nor the deputy chairman being able to act, the members of the council will elect their own chairman.
To qualify as a member of the President's Council a person must:
1. be at least 30 years of age;
2. be either classified as white, coloured, Chinese or Indian;
3. be a SA citizen;
4. not be a member of any legislative body other than a local institution; and
5. not hold an office of profit under the Republic as contemplated in section 55 of the Constitution.

The functions of the President's Council are to:
1. (a) advise the State President on any matter referred to it by him and, in its discretion, advise the State President on any matter (excluding draft legislation) which, in its opinion, is of public interest;
   (b) if any legislative body other than a local institution refers draft legislation to it, advise such a body on the legislation;
2. in order to do this it may establish committees or consultative committees. It may also consult with a council consisting of African South Africans for this purpose. Within 14 days of the receipt of the council's advice, such advice will be tabled in parliament. If parliament is not in session the council's advice will be tabled within 14 days of the commencement of the parliamentary session.

The government stated that a separate appointed Advisory Council for African SA citizens would be created which the President's Council could consult on matters affecting Africans. (See Reaction to Constitutional Amendments below for further developments).

Debate on the Bill
The NP and the SAP supported the bill. The NRP stated that although it left much to be desired in that Africans were excluded from the President's Council, it did at least represent an improvement on the present situation.

The PFP, although it accepted the need for constitutional change, opposed the bill at all three readings, arguing that the bill did not provide a vehicle for the solution of the Republic's constitutional problems because Africans were excluded from membership of the President's Council. They further argued that this exclusion was an insult to the African population of SA and would be counterproductive since it would discourage moderate blacks from engaging in dialogue with white South Africans. Coloured and Indian leaders would also be reluctant to serve on the council as it was envisaged, PFP spokesmen claimed, because it would be perceived as an attempt to draw them into a confrontation with Africans. The PFP also opposed the legislation because of the proposed increase in the number of ministers and the size of the assembly. (See their minority report to the Schlebusch Commission.)

The act was passed with the official opposition dissenting at all three readings.

Reaction to the Constitutional Amendments
With the exception of the official opposition (see also section on PFP - internal matters) most whites welcomed the amendments to the constitution. By contrast blacks overwhelmingly rejected the proposals because of the exclusion of
Africans from the President's Council and the proposal to establish a separate council for Africans. Dr Cedric Phatudi, chief minister of Lebowa, said that the exclusion of Africans entrenched apartheid. Chief Kenneth Mopeli, chief minister of QwaQwa, said that the constitutional amendments were "no solution in SA as far as the race problem is concerned" because no solution could be found without African participation. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, called again for a moratorium on constitutional changes in SA and said that he feared that an attitude of confrontation between black and white with disastrous results would be precipitated by the new constitution. Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, chief minister of Gazankulu, said he would postpone comment until he had studied the proposals in detail. Having done so he said that they were discriminatory and would not work.

Towards the end of May the leaders of the 'self-governing' homelands held talks with the Minister of Co-operation and Development in Cape Town. They told Dr Koornhof that they had serious reservations about the exclusion of Africans from the President's Council, but that they would discuss the question with their respective administrations before giving a final answer to the matter.

In August the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, met the leaders. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, refused to attend, see chapter on The Homelands - Political Developments. The homeland leaders told Mr Botha that they stood by their statement of non-negotiable principles (see chapter on The Homelands) and proposed a federal type of constitutional arrangement. They rejected outright the concept of a separate council for Africans and warned that unless Africans were admitted to the President's Council the scheme would fail. After the meeting Mr Botha announced that the government would not proceed with the establishment of an advisory, non-elective council for Africans.6

Towards the end of August Mr Botha said that there was nothing to prevent the President's Council investigating the rights of Africans in SA. This was interpreted to mean that the council could be allowed to decide for itself on the form of liaison it would have with Africans. Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, Vice-State President designate, said that he was unaware of any assurances that Africans would eventually become full members of the council and added that "governments...ment policy, as laid down by legislation, provides for membership of the council" and that the legislation did not provide for the participation of Africans.7 He said it stood to reason that they would have to look for ways and means in which Africans could be accommodated in a constitutional future and a solution found.

In October the Prime Minister announced the names of the 54 members of the Council. They were Mr S Abram-Mayet, Mr L Adams, Mr W S Africa, Ds C J April, Mr J D du P Basson (MP), Mr T J Booyens, Mr J P Cronje, Professor A R C de Crespigny, Mr A G de Witt (MPC), Senator W C Dempsey, Mr L U du Preez, Mr D M Grewar, Professor C Hanekom, Mr J M Henning (MP), Mr F Herman (MP), Senator J L Horak, Mr I Kathrada, Senator A J Koch, Mr Basil Landau, Mr A A S le Fleur, Mr L S Leon, Mrs M M Lessing, Mr P S Marais
Mr Tony Hickman, former United Party MP for Maitland, would also serve on the President's Council.

The chairmen of the various sub-committees of the council were Mr Punt Janson, head of the Race Relations sub-committee, Dr Schall van der Merwe, the economic committee, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, the planning committee, Dr Denis Worrall, the constitution committee, and Professor Ernst Marais, the science committee. Mr Alwyn Schlebusch was elected Vice-State President. Mr Schlebusch said that the President's Council would begin work in January 1981.

Messrs Janson, van der Merwe, Raubenheimer and Schlebusch had previously been cabinet ministers. The Prime Minister said the chairmen would enjoy the same status as cabinet ministers and that they would have to consult with the cabinet from time to time.

In July a team of academics, led by Professor Lombard, head of the Department of Economics at the University of Pretoria, published a plan for the constitutional future of Natal. Their study had been commissioned by Natal's business sector including leaders of the sugar industry. The proposals envisaged a fairly autonomous province with a multiracial legislature representing equally three constituencies - a non-racial metropolitan area, a white rural area and Kwa-Zulu. The executive head of the region would be elected on a one-man-one-vote basis (and would probably be Chief Buthelezi),

and an independent judiciary would uphold an entrenched Bill of Rights. It was suggested that this could form the basis of a future constitutional dispensation in SA as a whole.

The government rejected the proposals as envisaging power-sharing between white and black. The proposals were welcomed by Service Chief Buthelezi who said he would refer them to his own commission, set up earlier. (See section on Inkatha in chapter on African Politics.)

Reacting to the appointment of the Buthelezi Commission the Prime Minister said that the government had no objection to it provided it concerned itself with matters under the jurisdiction of KwaZulu. The Natal branch of the NP rejected participation in the commission. They also condemned the Lombard proposals as "out of touch with reality".

Rationalisation of the Public Service

Regulation of Functions of Officers in the Public Service Act No 19
The purpose of the act was to provide for the administration of provisions of laws by officers in the public service in the case of a reorganisation or readjustment of the functions of departments of state. To this end the act enabled the State President to direct that powers, duties or functions conferred or imposed on or assigned to any minister of state or an officer in the public service were conferred, imposed on or assigned to another minister of state or to an officer in another department of state where a reorganisation or readjustment of the functions of departments of state necessitated this.

The act was retrospective to a date not earlier than March 1, 1980 and will cease to have effect on March 1, 1981. It was designed to facilitate the Prime Minister's proposed restructuring of the civil service.

The rationalisation of the public service reported last year (see 1979 Survey p 5 et seq) was continued during the year, and had the effect of extending the power of the Prime Minister's office. Various commentators stated that Mr Botha was by June probably the most powerful Prime Minister in SA history with the possible exception of General Smuts during the Second World War. They pointed to the accumulation of power by the Prime Minister as an indication of the growing centralisation of decision-making at the expense of parliament and the NP caucus (see Introduction).

Opening the Cape Provincial Congress of the NP, the Prime Minister who was also Cape Provincial leader, said that the government would have reduced the number of state departments from 43 to 24 by November 1. Mr Botha said that the purpose of the rationalisation was to avoid 'over-government' which could easily be taken to absurd lengths. (See also section on Public Authorities in chapter on Employment.)

In a cabinet reshuffle in August, the Prime Minister appointed seven new members. Of the five ministers who were not re-ap- pointed, four went to the President's Council. Three non-MPS were given senior posts. These were General Magnus Malan, formerly chief of the Defence Force, who became Minister of Defence; Dr Ntiohal Gerrit Viljoen, former Admistrator General of Namibia/SWA, and Party Dr Dawie de Villiers, former immbassador to Britain. Mr Marais Steyn, formerly Minister of Coloureq and Indian Relations and Community Development, became the new ambas ,ador to Britain.

At the beginning Of Dember the Prime Minister announced plans to rationalise public ad(ministration in all government institutions at all levels of * Mr Botha said that a functiondirected approach to the ratio(nalisation had been decided upon and particular attention would be given to the meaningful division of work between different sections and levels of government and the elimination of duplication or overla--ping, the reduction and simplification of legal and procedural directives, and better, use of manpower and funds. He said that the plan ensured that the rationalisation went beyond the ..l'ntral public service and that the Commission for AdministratiQhi would co-operate with the Provincial Administrators and other intereted bodies.
National Party Policy

Both the Prime Minister. 12 PCint plan and the constellation of states, announced last year, were further clarified during the year. As outlined by Mr Botha in AU5st last year the 12 point plan provided for:

1 acknowledgement and ceptarce of multinationalism and minorities in SA;
2 acceptance of the PrInoyjple of vertical differentiation with the built-in principle of self determination on as many levels as possible;
3 creation of constitutional struct-u- es based on geographic areas which are consolidated s far as possible with the proviso that parts of these areas may choose to, become 'independent';
4 division of power betwein whit:es, coloureds and Indians with a system of consultation in lttatters Q:f common interest;
5 acceptance of the princlie of -eparate schools and communities where possible;
6 removal of hurtful and unhecessary discrimination;
7 the interdependence of SA 'states' in economic and other areas;
8 the pursuit of the creation o)f a cOr-stellation of states;
9 opposition to inte-ference in SA's internal affairs; 10 pursuit of a policy of qalified neutrality in clashes between East and West;
11 maintenance of effectiv0 decisiiion making and honest administration; and
12 maintenance of a free lterpris.e system as a basis of economic and financial policy.

Speaking during the deblte on this vote Mr Botha clarified his interpretation of the plan. He ad d u-scrimination, when it drew a distinction in the treatment of people was not necessarily hurtful. Mr Botha said that one had to take the background of people into consideration because it was a historical fact that certain people had de- 11 veloped faster than others. He denied that the SA government had in any way hampered the development of blacks in SA and said that since the NP government came to power it had done more to assist National in the development of facilities and infrastructure for blacks than any Party other government in SA history.

Replying to a question from Dr van Zyl Slabbert, PFP leader, Mr Botha denied that the 12 point plan represented a departure from official NP policy. Mr Botha said that he did not believe in a unitary state or a unitary society. "The 12 point plan provides that we must recognise and accept our multinationalism".8 He said that the 12 point plan provided for "the establishment of constitutional structures for the Black peoples to make the greatest measure of self-government possible for them and to consolidate the states as far as is practicable".9 Mr Botha also ruled out any possibility of a return to a common electoral roll for coloured persons.

Commenting on Mr Botha's exposition of the 12 point plan, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said that "one thing is quite clear from what the honourable the Prime Minister said and that is that the 12 point plan is merely the same thing as the principles of separate development".1" Dr Slabbert said that the Prime Minister's
various statements last year (see 1979 Survey, p 1 et seq) had raised the expectation of reform in SA but that the SA people had misunderstood him. Mr Botha also outlined his interpretation of the constellation of states. Speaking during the No Confidence Debate,11 he said that the constellation idea was a process. It would grow out of co-operation between SA and its neighbouring states in areas of common interest and through economic co-operation. This co-operation should be voluntary and there would be no surrender of sovereignty by independent states in the constellation. He emphasised the need for the private sector to become involved in the application of the policy. The government envisaged that the constellation of states would lead to the creation of a council of states and various secretariats. He stressed that any confederal arrangement which emerged would have to be made up of independent states which would co-operate with one another. The envisaged council of states would not exercise collective control over the members of the constellation/confederation but would be an arena for co-operative ventures.

Mr Botha said that the 'self-governing' homelands would be represented by the SA government but delegations from these territories could be present in the proposed council of states as observers and advisers. He also said that the possibility existed that urban Africans who had no links to the so-called homelands could participate in the constellation/confederation through representation of local governments in urban African areas on the proposed council of states. (See also chapters on Urban Africans and International Matters Affecting SA.)

Internal Party Matters
Disputes in the NP continued during the year. Reports indicated that the Prime Minister's wing of the party repeatedly clashed with

12 more conservative factions led by Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the NP in the Transvaal.

Two views of the reason for the conflict prevailed. Some commentators stated that the Prime Minister's reformist policies had Party alienated the right wing of the party which saw them as a move away from the party's policy of separate development and a move towards integration at least on an economic and social level. These observers pointed out that whenever challenged Mr Botha was quick to point out that his policy did not represent a move away from established party principles.

Others viewed the conflict in the party as one over power rather than principles. They pointed out that the Transvaal party was by far the strongest of all the provincial parties and that MP's from the Transvaal had resisted attempts to impose prime ministers from other provinces after the death of Dr D F Malan. They said that Mr Botha was in the process of concentrating power in his own hands at the expense of the NP parliamentary caucus and the party's provincial congresses and that Transvaal party members, in particular, resented this.

Mr Botha repeated his call to last year's Transvaal party congress to either support or replace him at this year's congresses in Natal, the Transvaal and the OFS.
While delegates were critical of some aspects of government policy, they refrained from attacking the government. Dr Treurnicht, opening the party's Transvaal congress, while stressing the need to adhere to separate development, supported the Prime Minister's policy initiatives.

Earlier in the year a conflict on the question of the participation in an inter-school contest of a rugby team drawn from schools for coloured persons had precipitated a conflict between Dr Treurnicht and Mr Botha. The conflict ended in a stalemate when, after talks with Dr Treurnicht, Mr Botha said that Dr Treurnicht was expressing his personal opinion and that there were no differences on NP policy between them. Later there were reports, which were officially denied, that conservative party factions were attempting to oust 'verligte' ministers from official party positions. By-election nomination contests were also scenes of 'verligte-verkrampte' conflict.

Right-wing opposition to Mr Botha emerged at the SABRA conference held in Pretoria in September. Professor Carel Boshof, chairman of SABRA and head of the Broederbond, reportedly attacked Mr Botha's regional economic development programme and said it would ultimately lead to political and social integration. Professor Boshof later denied he had attacked party policy and said he had only warned against economic integration. Professor Boshof is the son-in-law of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. (See Chapter on Lay Organisations Concerned with Race Relations.)

In November the dispute in the party came to light once again following the resignation of the MPC for Waterkloof, Dr Piet Goosen. Dr Goosen alleged when announcing his resignation that the conservative faction in the party was deliberately obstructing the reformist policies of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha. Two MPs, Mr Tom Langley (Waterkloof) and Mr Jan van Zyl (Sunnyside), were named as being the leaders of the right-wing revolt. Mr Sybrand van Niekerk, MP for Koedoespoort, was also named as being one of the 13 conservative movement's supporters. All three MPs denied that they were opposed to the Prime Minister and Mr Langley and Mr van Zyl stated that they supported Mr P W Botha's 12 point plan.

Two measures were adopted in order to stop the publishing of Party in-fighting in the party. Supporters of the Prime Minister were reported to be attempting to force NP MPs to sign a written statement promising to support the 12 point plan. Mr Botha's opponents were reportedly happy to sign such a statement because the plan was broadly phrased. Following a meeting in Waterkloof constituency in mid-November, it was decided that only the chairman of the party's divisional council, Mr S V van Wyk, and the constituency's MP, Mr Tom Langley, would be allowed to make statements to the press.

Towards the end of the month further revelations relating to the Information scandal were made (see section on Information Scandal). Mr Botha's opponents reportedly hoped to use the Erasmus Commission's draft report in a showdown with Mr Botha. It was alleged that Mr B J Vorster, the former State President, General Hendrik van den Bergh, former head of BOSS, Dr Andries Treurnicht,
leader of the NP in the Transvaal, and Mr Tom Langley, Mr Daan van der Merwe, 
Mr Sybrand van Niekerk and Mr Jan van Zyl, all Transvaal NP MPs, were behind 
the attack which was supposed to be staged early in 1981, on Mr Botha. 
At the end of November the prime minister, Mr P W Botha, attacked oppo 
nents of his policies. Addressing a NP meeting in Ladysmith, Mr Botha asked who the 
people were who were trying to stab him in the back. Referring to the alleged 
alliance between the more liberal English-language press and rightwingers in SA 
as an unholy alliance, Mr Botha said that he would go to the party's provincial 
congresses and, if necessary, the country if he was going to change NP policy. Mr 
Botha's supporters said that the possibility of a referendum was a manoeuvre to 
outrun the rightwing in the NP who were opposed to the Prime Minister's 
reformist policies. 
Elections to the Transvaal NP's Dagbestuur (the party's executive committee) 
were held at the end of the month. The Minister of Cooperation and, 
Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was soundly defeated in a bid to become vice- 
chairman of the party. A compromise candidate, Dr F W de Klerk, Minister of 
Mineral and Energy Affairs, was elected to the office. Mr Fanie Botha, Minister 
of Manpower Utilisation, and Dr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport, were 
reelected vice-chairmen, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education, and 
Mr Danie Steyn, deputy-minister of Finance, were elected to the party's executive 
committee. Professor Willem Kleynhans, professor of political science at Unisa, 
said that Dr Koornhof's defeat was a serious blow to reformists in the NP and 
would strengthen Dr Treurnicht's position in the party. 
Speaking at the University of Stellenbosch in mid-December Mr B J Vorster 
endorsed the Prime Minister's constellation of states plan. Mr Vorster said that in 
1973 he had spelt out the constellation of states concept and that it was important 
to secure co-operation between the population groups of southern Africa. He said 
that 1981 would be the year of Southern Africa and that the attention of the in-
14 
Information Scandal 
ternational community would be focused on the region. Mr Vorster promised his 
full support for the Prime Minister's initiative but added that success should not be 
expected overnight because events moved slowly in Africa. 
Information Scandal 
Dr Eschel Rhodie's appeal against his conviction on five counts of fraud (see 
1979 Survey, p 7 et seq) re-opened the information scandal. The Appeal Court set 
aside his conviction and sentence on the grounds that Dr Rhodie's evidence in 
respect of all five charges could, in its salient aspects at least, be reasonably 
possibly true.14 Following his acquittal Dr Rhodie said that he was in possession 
of information which would ruin the political careers of various politicians in SA 
and that he rejected totally "the Erasmus Commission's whitewash of those 
ministers". Dr Rhodie's allegations that he had been made a scapegoat to distract 
attention from other prominent government ministers were supported by the 
disgraced former State President, Mr B J Vorster.
Commenting on Dr Rhoodie's acquittal, Mr Vorster said the decision was the final blow to the credibility of the findings of the Erasmus Commission. Dr Connie Mulder, former Minister of Information, now leader of the NCP, and General Hendrik van den Bergh, former head of the Bureau of State Security, agreed with Mr Vorster. Mr Vorster declined to say whether Dr Rhoodie's acquittal would have any affect on his future actions.” Earlier in the year Mr Vorster had ruled out any suggestion of his making a political comeback. Dr Rhoodie said he was considering whether to disclose further information on secret projects conducted by the Department of Information. Dr Mulder stated he was collecting evidence with a view to possible legal action.

Investigations into further aspects of the information scandal were reportedly re-opened following Dr Rhoodie's acquittal. Plans by Dr Rhoodie to visit London had to be cancelled after he was refused a passport because of further investigations. Commenting on the reasons for the refusal of his application, Dr Rhoodie said that their sole purpose was to disguise political harassment. Dr Rhoodie's passport was returned to him in mid-December. Towards the end of November the Rand Daily Mail published extracts from the annotated and amended draft report of the Erasmus Commission. The extracts allegedly showed that the Commission's report had been heavily annotated and changed in some places. According to the report, the changes softened the effects of the findings in respect of Mr B J Vorster, the disgraced former State President. The original report allegedly found that Mr Vorster may have been involved in the irregularities in the Department of Information, that he was a party to Dr Connie Mulder's lie to Parliament concerning the funding of the Citizen, and confirmed earlier reports that General van den Bergh had told the Erasmus Commission that he had men who would commit murder under his command and that he did not care who the prey was. The report also suggested that the cabinet had knowledge of the Department of Information's actions.

Commenting on the report, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, vehemently denied that he had been responsible for any formulation or reformulation of the Erasmus Commission's report.

In a joint statement the three members of the Erasmus Commission, Mr Justice Erasmus, Mr Justice Lategan and Mr G Smalberger, denied allegations that the commission had been influenced officially in its findings. They stated that each commissioner had received a draft of the report on which he had made notes for discussion by the full commission. Once these issues had been discussed, the final report was compiled. Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the opposition, called for a judicial commission to investigate the allegations.

At the beginning of December the Rand Daily Mail published a letter, apparently signed by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, which acknowledged receipt of a rough draft of the Erasmus Commission's report. Mr Botha declined to comment on the letter.

Delimitation

The report of the Delimitation Commission was presented to the State President on September 6. The new delimitation for the country abolished three electoral
divisions in the Cape-Griqualand East, Morreesburg and Somerset' East; one in Natal-Musgrave, and five in the Transvaal-Marico, Orange Grove, Prinshof, Von Brandis and Witwatersburg. To replace these the commission created the De Kuilen, Sundays River and Wellington electoral divisions in the Cape, Greytown in Natal and Helderkruiin, North Rand, Modderfontein, Roodeplaat and Ventersdorp in the Transvaal.

The commission loaded and unloaded the country's electoral divisions as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Voters Quota</th>
<th>Maximum load</th>
<th>Maximum unload</th>
<th>Maximum unload (special divisions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>694 452</td>
<td>12 626</td>
<td>14 519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 733</td>
<td>8 838</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>265 661</td>
<td>13 283</td>
<td>11 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 298</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>180 085</td>
<td>12 863</td>
<td>14 792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 934</td>
<td>9 004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By-elections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>1 172 961</td>
<td>15 433</td>
<td>17 747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 109</td>
<td>11 083</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By-elections

A number of by-elections were held during the year. In March three parties, the NP, HNP and NCP, contested the Fauresmith byelection. The result indicated that parties to the right of the NP while continuing to grow were not yet in a position to challenge its dominant position in white politics. Full results were as follows:

Mr P J S Olivier (NP) Mr Charl Hertzog (HNP) Mr P E van Rensburg (NCP) NP Majority
1980 4 984 1 647 513 3 337 1977 5 597 462
16 5 135

By-elections

Political observers commented on the unusually high percentage poll for a by-election (77,8%) and were surprised at the ease of the NP's victory. They said that the high poll and the NP's substantial victory was attributable to the party's superior organisation.

Dr Connie Mulder's NCP lost its deposit. It was pointed out that the combined right-wing vote equalled 52,37% of the number of votes polled by the NP which showed a substantial increase over 1977 figures.

The campaign was characterised by an attack from the right on the Prime Minister's policy directions. The NP utilised a number of government ministers in its attempts to defend itself against charges of ignoring white interests in deference to those of blacks.

The NP followed its victory in Fauresmith with success in the Simonstown by-election in September. The by-election had been occasioned by the resignation of
Mr John Wiley after he had disbanded the SAP and joined the NP. The full results were:

Mr John Wiley (NP) Mr Eddie Barlow (PFP) NP Majority
1980
6 250 5 068 1 182
1977
4 927 3 306 1 621

Once again there was a high percentage poll (82.9%) which was attributed to the organisations of both parties. The PFP increased its share of the vote by 4.62% over 1977 figures.

In order to win the seat the PFP estimated that it needed a 10% swing. The result indicated that English-speakers were continuing to support the NP, a trend first commented upon following the 1977 general election, and was interpreted as an English-speaking endorsement of the Prime Minister's policies. Mr Wiley, MP for Simonstown since 1964, based his campaign on his record as an MP, the need for white unity and the Prime Minister's policy initiatives.

In October the PFP and the NRP contested East London North. The by-election was caused by the resignation of Mr John Malcomess from the NRP to the PFP. Mr Malcomess said he had not resigned sooner because he was the only opposition MP in the Border area, he was the only MP who identified with East London's interests and it would not have been in the city's interests for him to resign during the parliamentary session. The results, in a 70.55% poll, were:

Mr Harland Bell (NRP) Mr John Malcomess (PFP) NRP Majority
1980
5 135 3 783 1 352
1977
5 155 2 928 2 227

Party workers for the PFP said that Mr Bell had retained the seat for the NRP because of the large number of NP supporters who voted for the NRP. They pointed out that the NP had urged its supporters in the constituency to vote for the NRP and that prominent NP supporters, among them Mr Robbie de Lange, a former mayor of East London, had campaigned actively for Mr Bell. NP supporters had voted for Mr Malcomess when he contested the constituency for the NRP in 1977. Mr Vause Raw, leader of the NRP, said the result showed that the PFP was not a viable opposition.

Earlier in the year Dr Marius Barnard (PFP) was returned unopposed in a by-election in Parktown. The election resulted from the Progressive resignation of Dr Zac de Beer who retired from active politics. Federal The appointment of various MP's to the President's Council and Party the cabinet reshuffle made by-elections in 14 constituencies necessary. It was probable that the 'mini-election' would be held early in 1981. Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, said his party would contest at least five of the seats and would gain its first parliamentary representation.

Progressive Federal Party (PFP)
In July PFP leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, outlined the party's own 12 point plan in contrast with that of the NP. Dr Slabbert said that his plan provided the means to solve the problems facing SA rather than producing hasty cliches. The 12 points were:

1. Planning together with members of other population groups, not for them;
2. Constitutional plans must allow for full SA citizenship and no race or ethnic discrimination;
3. Appointment of a multi-racial anti-discrimination advisory board;
4. Not imposing First World solutions on Third World problems;
5. Concrete and manageable programmes of reconstruction for education, community development and housing, with community co-operation;
6. Not deciding for other communities;
7. Inclusion of people in negotiation in all spheres, no matter how difficult this is;
8. Tough but fair security measures to make it clear that in a period of reform, subversion and violence, whether from left or right, will not be tolerated;
9. Government responsibility to use the benefits of a period of economic growth to combat inequality and provide non-discriminatory amenities;
10. Land to be treated as a factor of production not as a basis to solve constitutional deadlock;
11. The recognition of the fact that minorities have a legitimate fear of domination; and
12. Instituting reforms rather than talking about reform and doing nothing.

In August the party's Natal branch held its provincial congress. The congress unanimously approved various changes to its policy for Natal. The congress decided that subject to ratification by the party's federal executive elections to local government bodies should be conducted on a 'one man, one vote' basis, and that schools and hospitals should be 'open and free'. The provincial congress resolved to take this stand because "all the citizens of Natal, having common interests, should as a matter of urgency take the initiative in negotiating a common future".

Progressive Federal Party
The party's Cape branch cancelled its congress to concentrate on the by-elections there.

The Transvaal congress was held in Johannesburg at the end of October. The congress revealed the continued existence of tensions between the supporters of Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, and the more traditional supporters of the old Progressive Party who insisted on principle rather than pragmatism. Resolutions adopted included a unanimous rejection of the President's Council and a rejection of violence in all its forms including violence perpetrated by the state. The party's public representatives, replying to a question, ruled out PFP support for a civil disobedience campaign.
Mr Max Zorkum was re-elected provincial chairman in spite of reports that he had wished to stand down. This was seen as a compromise to defuse a threatened power struggle between Mr Schwarz and Mr Kowie Marais, MP for Johannesburg North.

The party continued its contact with Inkatha (see African Politics). Its commission to examine economic policy also continued work during the year.

**PFP - Internal Matters**

The recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission and the RSA Fifth Constitution Amendment Act exposed differences of opinion within the PFP. Despite the party's opposition to the recommendations, particularly in respect of the separate council for Africans, the MP for Bezuidenhout, Mr Japie Basson, indicated soon after the publication of the interim report that he would be prepared to serve on the President's Council as it was constituted in terms of the commission's recommendations. Despite a caucus decision not to serve, as a matter of principle, on any council which excluded Africans from its composition, Mr Basson again indicated during debate on the bill that he personally had no objection to serving on an imperfect council as it was an improvement on the current situation. As a result it was unanimously decided to expel Mr Basson from the PFP: caucus although he was not expelled from the party. Mr Basson justified his decision to accept nomination to the President's Council on the grounds that there was no simple solution to the country's problems. He said that he did not believe that he had undermined a caucus decision and stated that "rigid caucus leadership" should not be allowed to discourage people who saw merit in the President's Council as a forum for negotiation. Mr Basson questioned why, if the PFP refused to serve on the President's Council, it did not resign from parliament because the latter was also an all-white institution. Replying to Mr Basson's attack, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, said that the two issues were not similar because by agreeing to serve on the President's Council Mr Basson was giving respectability to a newly-created extension of the NP's apartheid policy.

The PFP's Federal Executive Council was scheduled to meet towards the end of July to consider whether Mr Basson should be expelled from the party. His acceptance of an invitation to become a member of the President's Council made his expulsion a formality. Mr Basson pre-empted any decision to expel him from the party by announcing his resignation. He reiterated his stand on the President's Council to the federal executive meeting and said he would not join any other political party after his resignation. Mr Basson had belonged to four major SA political parties during his political career.

In August Mr Basson's son-in-law, Mr Christo Wiese, a PFP candidate in Simonstown in the 1977 general election, announced that he had resigned from the PFP because of its refusal to participate in the President's Council. Mr Weise's decision, ten days before the Simonstown by-election, was criticised by PFP party workers as an attempt to influence the outcome of the by-election.
In September it was reported that a senior member and former parliamentary candidate for the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Dan Neser, had agreed to allow his name to go forward for nomination to the President's Council. Mr Neser was a supporter of Mr Basson. Party sources said it was unlikely that Mr Neser would be permitted to remain in the party following his action. Towards the end of the month the Cape Times called on the party to reconsider its stand on nonparticipation in the President's Council.
The new Transvaal delimitation provoked a dispute between Mr Rupert Lorimer, MP for the abolished constituency of Orange Grove, and Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for neighbouring Yeoville, concerning which of them would represent the enlarged Yeoville constituency in parliament.

New Republic Party (NRP)
The NRP reportedly continued to lose support to both left and right during the year. In January a former chairman of the Ixopo branch in Natal, Mr Austin Gird, resigned and announced that he would join the PFP. Mr Gird said that the NRP's supporters believed in selective discrimination, that the party's federal-confederal policy was confusing and out of date and that the policy would not succeed in a fast changing SA. Earlier Mr Charles Fox, chairman of the party's Howick branch, announced his resignation. In August the party's Cape Peninsula chairman Mr Mike Chase resigned and joined the NP.

In February Mr John Malcomess, NRP MP for East London North and the party's only MP outside Natal, said that he favoured negotiations between the PFP, the NRP and any 'verligte' NP members who believed in power-sharing. Mr Malcomess was opposing official NRP strategy, announced last year, that there should not be any contact with the PFP because of its alleged breach of faith with the NRP (see last year's Survey p 14-15). Mr Malcomess crossed the floor to join the PFP in March.

NRP spokesmen accused Mr Malcomess of a breach of faith and pointed out that he had given an undertaking during the 1977 election that he would resign his parliamentary seat if he decided to change political parties. Mr Malcomess resigned his seat at the end of the parliamentary session in order to contest it as a member of the PFP (see By-elections). Some prominent Pretoria supporters also resigned to join the PFP.

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Herstigte Nasionale Party

The NRP's growing loss of support outside Natal was reflected in reports in August that the party was short of funds in both the Cape and the Transvaal. According to the report, NRP election candidates were required to pay a large proportion of their electoral expenses. Commenting, Mr Niel de Goede, the party's Cape secretary, and Mr Klasie Viljoen, the Transvaal secretary, confirmed that the party had overdrafts in the
two provinces. Mr Vause Raw, the NRP leader, said that despite the party's overdrafts it had assets which exceeded its liabilities but they were invested. Party sources said that the main reason the NRP was experiencing financial difficulties was because some of its large backers in the sugar and timber industry had withdrawn their support. Despite reports of increasing dissatisfaction with his leadership, (see 1979 Survey, p 15), Mr Vause Raw remained the party's leader. It had been expected that Mr Raw would come under increased pressure to relinquish the party's leadership following the spate of resignations from the party. The resignations were linked to the breakdown of renewed negotiations between the NRP and PFP. Contact groups had found that the main differences remained: (a) constitutional - the NRP believing in group parliaments for white, coloured, Indian and non-homeland Africans while the PFP wanted a geographic federation; (b) minority protection - the NRP favoured ethnic group representation while the PFP proposed consensus government with a minority veto, a bill of rights, geographic decentralisation, a rigid constitution and proportional representation; and (c) integration - the NRP believed in option at local government level on whether to open residential areas or public facilities while the PFP considered this unacceptable. Following the Pretoria resignations, the NRP's regional council in Pretoria passed a motion expressing full confidence in Mr Raw's leadership. Similar confidence in Mr Raw was expressed at the Cape congress of the NRP in August. The NRP announced that if its members were chosen they would serve on the President's Council. Mr Vause Raw said his party would have preferred it had Africans been included on the council. He said that while the council was an imperfect instrument it was a vehicle for political change and as such it would serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas and the development of a consensus concerning the future political dispensation in SA.

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)
The HNP continued to gain support among whites disillusioned with the NP government's policies. Party spokesmen interpreted NP policy and its constitutional proposals as a betrayal of the white man in SA. The SA Defence Force was accused of 'smuggling' integration into the country. According to Mr Jaap Marais, HNP leader, SA whites "have a right to choose and discriminate" against other race groups. Mr Marais said that the government forced whites to provide for the blacks. He said that "the black man is living in a welfare state in which he pays no tax" and described government policy as "kaffirboetie politics".
The party contested various by-elections during the year and improved its performance in each one although it failed to win any parliametary seats. Commentators interpreted the HNP's improved showing as a symptom of growing confusion among rank and file members of the NP on the direction in which the party was moving. They pointed out that by-elections were traditionally times when SA Party party supporters registered their disapproval of policy.
In February the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in parliament that a right wing group in SA had been in contact with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples' Republic in order to gain support to overthrow the SA government. Mr Louis Stofberg, HNP general secretary, laid a charge of treason on behalf of the party against Mr Botha. In August the Transvaal Attorney-general, Mr J E Nothling, declined to press the charge.

It was revealed that the editor of the party's newspaper, Die Afrikaner, had been under security surveillance. (See section on National Intelligence Service in chapter on Security.) Despite the HNP's policy of making Afrikaans the official language of SA, attempts were made during the year to broaden the party's base by including English-speakers. In August the party held public meetings which its speakers addressed in English although there was a majority of Afrikaans-speakers in the audience.

Two issues of Die Afrikaner were banned. A spokesman for the Directorate of Publications said that the issues, which dealt with land consolidation, contained material calculated to inflame racial feeling.

Political meetings held by the NP were characterised by an increasing level of heckling by HNP supporters. Commenting on this phenomenon during the Fauresmith by-election Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of the Department of Political Science at Unisa, said that the HNP's tactics bore great similarity to those of the NP during the 1930s and 1940s. He predicted that HNP supporters would increasingly attend NP meetings in order to disrupt them and that political meetings would become more heated. This occurred on a number of occasions during the year and prompted the NP's Cape Regional secretary, Mr Sakkie Louw, to warn that any attempt by right-wingers to disrupt meetings addressed by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Port Elizabeth in August would be countered by NP supporters. A meeting in the city in May which was addressed by Mr S P 'Fanie' Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation, was closed after less than an hour because of continual heckling. In September a meeting in the Transvaal addressed by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the NP in the Transvaal, was also disrupted, as was a meeting at the University of Pretoria. In July speakers at an HNP meeting at Young Park boasted of their success in disrupting Mr S P Botha's meeting.

SA Party (SAP)
The SAP, led by Mr John Wiley, disbanded during the year and he and its two other parliamentary representatives, Messrs Theo Aronson and Dan Rossouw, joined the NP. Explaining the reasons for disbanding the party, which was formed after the break-up of the old United Party in 1977, Mr Wiley said that the decision had been taken because of the positive way in which the Prime Minister was leading the country.22 Mr Wiley also announced that he would resign

National Conservative Party
his seat to fight a by-election as a Nationalist, which he subsequently won.

National Conservative Party (NCP)
Formed last year by Dr Connie Mulder, disgraced ex-cabinet minister, the NCP tested its electoral strength in a by-election in Fauresmith during the year. In a series of public meetings Dr Mulder spelt out the NCP's political position as being to the right of the NP but left of the HNP. The party's policy appeared to include Dr Mulder's belief expressed while he held office that at some point in the future there would be no Africans who had SA citizenship. Dr Mulder also repeatedly stated that his party opposed any form of power sharing with persons classified as 'coloureds' and Indians. Addressing a political meeting in Johannesburg he warned that NP policy under the present Prime Minister was leading to chaos. Dr Mulder said that the government should build fewer houses for Africans in order to encourage them to live in the homelands and warned that "nothing satisfies the black man until he comes to power". He opposed the NP's constitutional proposals for this reason.

He was attacked by NP leaders on various occasions. In an article in Pro Nat, the official mouthpiece of the NP in the Cape, Dr Mulder was accused of being "a man who announces a constitutional policy in which he does not believe, who tells a lie to parliament that there is no state money in the Citizen, (and) a man whose department is disbanded after commissions and investigations exposed a cat's nest of irregularities on a scale never before seen in SA".

Dr Mulder addressed meetings in the Transvaal, the OFS and the Northern Cape during the year. Although unable to win the Fauresmith by-election he said the results showed that the NCP had strong support and he expressed the hope that the next parliamentary byelection would be held in the Transvaal where the NCP had a sound party organisation.

Dr Mulder complained that he was being ignored by the Afrikaans press and attacked it for not attending or reporting on his public meetings, stating that it was "making him invisible".

Commenting on the new appointments to the cabinet, Dr Mulder said that 18 of the appointees were 'leftists'. He said that the only two right-wingers, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, had been included for cosmetic effect. Dr Mulder said that the Prime Minister was "moving step by step to black majority government", and offered his services as overall leader of the fragmented right in the country.

Blanke Volkstaat-Party (BVP)

During the year another right wing political party was formed, when the Afrikaanse Weerstand Beweging (which was involved in the tarring and feathering of Professor Floors van Jaarsveld last year) established a political wing, the Blanke Volkstaat-Party. The party's aim, as outlined by Mr Eugene Terreblanche, its leader, was to re-place the present form of government in SA with a peoples' state in which there would be a form of right-wing socialism. The emblem of the party was a three-legged swastika. Its registration brought the number of white political parties to six.

The party's political programme includes:
1. the creation of a white peoples' state (volkstaat);
2. the election, on merit, of peoples' representatives;
3. abandoning the Westminster form of government in favour of a peoples' state to bring about white unity;
4. strict maintenance of racial separation;
5. the establishment of a homeland for coloureds;
6. recognition of historical African areas;
7. decentralisation of industry in an attempt to remove the majority of blacks from white areas; and
8. nationalisation of gold, diamond and other mineral resources presently in the hands of alien elements.

Mr Terreblanche said that the party had support among English Afrikaans, German and Italian South Africans and that it would contest the next general election.

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15. Sunday Express July 6
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24. Blanke Volkstaat Party

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS:

COLOURED PEOPLE

Funds Voted for Coloured Affairs
Expenditure of the Coloured Persons Representative Council 1978/79
The total expenditure of the CRC on the various services it controlled, namely local government, education, welfare and pensions, rural areas and settlements and agriculture during the financial year 1978/79 was R267 930 730 leaving an unexpended balance of R4 554 270, of which R500 000 was 'retained by the council and R4 054 270 was refunded to the Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations.'

Expenditure of the Department of Coloured Relations
The department's total expenditure during 1978/79 was R292 480 584. In addition to the transfer payment of R267 950 730 to the CRC, R5 150 000 was added to the share capital of the Coloured Development Corporation, R6 385 164 was
spent on the University of the Western Cape and R49 427 on the promotion of sport and recreation.2

In the state budget for the financial year 1980/81 R401 617 000 was allocated to the Department of Coloured Relations. This included R371 718 000 for the CRC and R9 992 000 for the University of the Western Cape.3

Legislation

South African Coloured Persons Council Act No 42

The act establishes a council to be known as the SA Coloured Persons Council (CPC) which shall consist of so many coloured members as may be nominated by the State President but not exceeding 30. A member shall hold office for such period and on such conditions as determined by the State President at the time of his nomination. In terms of a senate amendment this period shall not extend beyond April 1, 1982. Persons employed by the state or by bodies established by the state and funded by parliament shall be eligible for membership.

The rationale for this clause according to an explanatory memorandum on the bill was to allow for the nomination of "prominent and knowledgeable persons", especially those employed at universities and educational institutions.

Clause 2 of the act stated that the executive of the CPC would consist of an Administrator of Coloured Affairs who would be chairman of the executive and four other members of the council designated to be executive members by the State President. The State President would also be responsible for nominating a member of the council to fill a vacancy on the executive, should one arise. The Administrator of Coloured Affairs would be responsible for designating a member of the executive to temporarily perform the duties of another member who was unable to do so himself.

Until the designation of an executive, the Minister of Coloured Relations would, through such persons as he might deem fit, perform the functions and duties assigned by the act to the executive. The memorandum stated that this was a transitional stipulation to cover the period between the commencement of the act on April 1 and the time when the council and its executive were able to function.

Any reference in any law to the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) or its executive would be deemed to be a reference to the CPC or its executive, and any reference to the chairman of the executive of the CRC would be deemed to be a reference to the Administrator of Coloured Affairs. Any actions which had been done by or in relation to the CRC or its executive before its dissolution would be deemed to have been done by the CPC or its executive.

From the date of the proclamation dissolving the CRC, that is from April 1, 1980, until a date determined by the State President the CRC would not be constituted. During the committee stage of the debate on the bill, the minister said that the CRC as an institution did not end with the bill, it was just not being elected. It could not be reconstituted under the act with the membership it had at the time. However, the State President could, if necessary, issue a proclamation under the act calling for the election of the council. He said that he thought it unlikely that this would happen but that it was necessary to include this clause as a precaution.
in case it became both necessary and advisable to reconstitute the present council with a new election. Those clauses in the Coloured Representative Council Act No 49 of 1964 (section 12A) which provided for the continued existence of the CRC after its formal dissolution would be suspended.

Until a date determined by proclamation by the State President the following sections of the 1964 Act applicable to the CRC would not apply to the CPC: those relating to the composition of a party elected executive; those pertaining to the representation thereon of two nominated members of the Transvaal and the registration of voters; and those containing references to the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs and the Administration of Coloured Affairs for the purpose of the delegation of powers.

Clause 5 stated that any reference in any law made by the CRC, and in any act of parliament to the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs and the Administrator of Coloured Affairs should be con-

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Political Affairs: Coloured People

strued as a reference to the Secretary for Coloured Relations and the Department of Coloured Relations respectively. According to the explanatory memorandum the Department of Coloured Relations and the Administration of Coloured Affairs would be joined together in one administrative organisation "for the sake of greater efficiency and rationalisation". The memorandum stated that the department would work through the executive of the CPC in respect of powers and functions delegated to the executive and through the minister in respect of powers which had not been delegated. The provision in the 1964 Act for a coloured post structure to cope with the administrative duties of the council and its executive would be maintained.

Section 17(b) of the 1964 Act would, until a date determined by the State President, be changed so that the function of the executive to assign to its members certain powers, functions and duties in matters defined by the act would become the function of the State President. That is, the State President would allocate portfolios.

Until a date determined by the State President those sections of the 1964 Act which related to the power of the CRC to pass legislation and to have the same powers in this regard as those vested in parliament, would not apply to the CPC. The CPC, in terms of Section 7 of the act, would have the function of commenting on and/or making recommendations on any bill referred to it by the Minister of Coloured Relations. Subject to certain conditions and on the recommendations of the CPC the State President might, until a date determined by him, make laws by proclamation in the gazette in respect of those matters affecting coloured people which were formerly under the control of the CRC; namely finance, local government, education, community welfare, pensions, rural areas and settlements as well as any other matters he might determine. The memorandum stated that the right of the State President to promulgate legislation
relating to coloured affairs would not impinge on the right of parliament to make laws in this terrain.

The powers of the executive of the council to prepare estimates of expenditure remained as in the previous act. However, a clause was added making it mandatory for the executive to go into committee to discuss the separate votes. The reason for this as stated in the memorandum was to ensure that each member of the executive was called upon to account for the administration of matters assigned to him, something which the CRC had refused to do.

The memorandum documented the historical development of the government’s plans for political institutions for the coloured people and the opposition to these plans by the Labour Party. Its opposition to the CRC and its request that it be dissolved, together with the rethinking by the government on a new constitution for SA, was the reason given for the legislation being introduced. The CPC would, according to the memorandum, fill the vacuum created between the time of dissolution of the CRC and the introduction of a new constitutional dispensation.

Parliamentary Debate

In moving the bill, the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, said that the Labour Party, in spite of repeated appeals by the government, refused to co-operate in respect of the expansion of the council into a body with “real authority”, that it refused to sit on the cabinet council and refused to pass the annual budgets of the CRC. The fact that only 42% of the estimated number of potential coloured voters applied for registration indicated a lack of confidence in the CRC and a disinclination to take part in the election of a new council. The continued existence of the CRC would only lead to deterioration and stagnation as far as the promotion of the interests of the coloured community in the fields of education, welfare, local management etc was concerned.

The existence and work of the CPC, he said, could lead to the cooling off of the existing overheated political climate, as such a council would actively concern itself with the elimination of existing grievances and problems instead of exploiting such matters for immediate political gain.

The PFP opposed the bill moving that it be read "this time in six months" on the grounds that it failed to provide coloured people with the elementary right of direct representation in the government and denied them any real say in the laws which affected them. Mr Eglin said that the reason for the failure of the CRC was that it had been foisted on the coloured people without negotiation, consultation or consent. It was seen by them as part of a government plan to deprive them of their remaining rights in the sovereign parliament of SA. It was not a symbol of self-determination and freedom, but a symbol of apartheid, a system they rejected. It wielded no real power in its own right but was always subject to the overriding authority of the white parliament.

During its existence its appeals and motions were largely ignored by the government and this was partly why it was rejected. The government was now replacing elected leaders with nominated leaders and taking away from the
council the power to pass legislation. The CPC members would be responsible to no one but the government which appointed and paid them. The CRC had not asked to be replaced by an "emasculated, misshapen body" but by a body that would have a meaningful say in the parliament in SA. The government, he said, was cynically misusing the CRC's request for its dissolution, by replacing it with a nominated body with no legislative power.

The NRP moved an amendment that the house decline to pass the bill because it left the coloured people without an elected representative body with which a new constitutional dispensation providing political participation at the highest level could be negotiated.

The NRP suggested amendments to the effect that a time limit be placed on the existence of the CPC and that the chairman and executive and any vacancies on the executive be elected by the council itself rather than designated by the State President. These were rejected by the minister. However, in the senate he accepted an amendment by the NRP imposing a limit, namely April 1, 1982.

The SAP supported the bill on the grounds that the Schlebusch Commission of Inquiry into a new constitution would have to consult with all races if it was to be successful. As the CRC had refused to participate in the consultations it was necessary for it to be dissolved and replaced by another body. The SAP accepted the bill as an interim measure although it was opposed to the idea of a permanent body which was not elected. However, until the introduction of the new constitution it was necessary for a body to exist to look after the interests of the coloured people, something which the Labour Party had failed to do.

CPC and President's Council - Coloured Reaction and Government Responses
The position of the Labour Party with regard to the CPC was that it would not participate and any members of the party who accepted nomination would be expelled and subjected to a rigidly enforced social ostracism. It was viewed as a retrogressive step. The nominated leaders would have no credibility within the community and participation by coloured people would discredit them in the eyes of the rest of the black population who had rejected collaboration with apartheid.

Mr Curry, national organiser of the party, said that certain sections of the act indicated that the government, in establishing the CPC, did not want so much to abolish the CRC as to get rid of the Labour Party. The CPC would be used to give credibility to legislation formerly opposed by the CRC.

The Freedom Party expressed its support for the CPC as an interim body until a future constitution had been devised and expressed its willingness to participate. The party's view was that it was important for the coloured people to be represented on some platform while the government was planning a new constitution as this would ensure an influence over any decisions taken with regard to their political future.
In March prominent members of the coloured community met with the minister, Mr Steyn, to discuss who should serve on the CPC. He said that more than 200 people had offered to serve. However, the minister announced in the assembly debate on his vote that he had decided to delay the establishment of the CPC until the unrest was over.7

In April the Council for Coloured Education passed a motion disbanding itself, giving as its reasons the fact that it had been constituted by the State President on the recommendations of the CRC executive and it wished to afford the new CPC the opportunity of making its own recommendations for the constitution of an Education Council.8 The chairman of the council, Dr Frank Quint, said that the creation of the CPC had been the real reason for the decision as they saw it as yet another step in the whittling away of rights and powers of coloured people. They did not wish to be associated with this process.9

At a meeting between the representatives of the Labour Party and the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, in August, the latter agreed to abandon plans for the CPC. In addition to the creation of the CPC the government also proposed the creation of a President's Council consisting of 60 white, coloured and Indian members. (For further details see chapter on White Political Developments.)

With regard to the President's Council, the attitude of the Labour Party was that it would participate on condition that Africans, both rural and urban, were included. Mr Hendrickse, the leader of the party, said that all plans to reach separate constitutional Labour agreements with racially segregated bodies would be boycotted. In addition to this, said Mr Curry, the President's Council, consisting of nominated members, would have no credibility.10 The Freedom Party leader, Mr W Afrika, said that while he was dissatisfied with the exclusion of Africans, his party would be prepared to participate in order to achieve its goals.1

At the abovementioned meeting with the Prime Minister, the Labour Party maintained its rejection of the President's Council but afterwards Mr Hendrickse said that the matter would be discussed again at a meeting of the national executive. Mr Steyn, Minister of Coloured Relations, said that the CPC had been scrapped because the two political parties were opposed to its being nominated and it would thus have been a bone of contention with the government at a time when relations were improving.12

The national executive meeting of the Labour Party in October reaffirmed the decision to boycott the President's Council but to continue the process of negotiation. They would participate only if blacks were included and if certain preliminary steps were taken to create an atmosphere in which consensus could be reached. These were the abolition of the Group Areas, Mixed Marriages and Immorality acts and the use of detention measures against those opposed to apartheid. The call for a national convention was repeated. See section on constitutional amendments in the chapter on White Politics for the names of members of the President's Council. Messrs Adams, Du Preez, de Fleur and Leon were former members of the Labour Party and of the CRC. Mr Afrika was
national leader and Mr Sanders OFS leader of the Freedom Party and Rev April was chairman of the George Management Committee. Responding to the government’s proposal for a confederation of Southern African states, Rev Hendrikse said the proposals provided for no real shift in political power which would remain in white hands. The plan denied a common citizenship to all South Africans, which only a unitary state with one man one vote could provide.

Labour Party

The government's constitutional proposals, the closing down of the CRC and the announcement of the CPC, elicited different responses from members of the party and were a cause of division within it.

The annual congress in January ratified the decision taken in 1979 to suspend Mr Lofty Adams. He said that his suspension was unconstitutional and announced his intention to contest the matter in court. After the decision of the party not to submit the Du Preez report to the Schlebusch Commission, Mr du Preez resigned from the party, saying that it lacked direction. He as an individual submitted the report to the Schlebusch Commission, an act which raised strong objections from the party.

30 In January Mr Sonny Leon resigned from the party giving as his reason the decision by the party not to submit the Du Preez report to the Schlebusch Commission and the solidarity expressed by the Labour party with leftist organisations. He also announced his resignation from the CRC, both to take effect from March 31. The administrative committee demanded that he resign immediately if he wished to do so at all. Mr Hendrickse said that he found the reasons for Mr Leon's resignation superficial. Mr Leon had been present at the national executive meeting which decided the fate of the Du Preez report and had raised no objections. Mr Leon said that this was correct but he had nevertheless disagreed with the decision. Mr Hendrickse said that Mr Leon had been found wanting when the Labour Party moved out of the period of protest politics into the period of negotiation politics.13

Mr Leon said that he had resigned from the CRC because of the acrimony between himself and his Labour Party colleagues on the executive, who conferred behind his back and took decisions without either informing or consulting him. It was for this reason that he had not attended the meeting in November with the Prime Minister, whom he had informed of his decision by means of a private letter, also saying that his views contrasted too greatly with those of his colleagues. He did not respond to a request by the annual congress of the party to give an account of his actions in this matter.'4

In April Mr Leon indicated that he might make himself available for the CPC and said that he was thinking of forming another political party. He said that there was room for a party which would strive to attain the ultimate aim of the coloured people, namely full citizenship, but which would be realistic enough to compromise if there were good reasons for doing so."
By April three other people had resigned from the party - Mr M D Arendse, Mr de Fleur and Mr D Cairncross - giving as their reasons the fact that they were dissatisfied with the party leadership which was bent on confrontation with the government. In September a new movement - Congress of the People - was initiated by Mr Lofty Adams. It aimed to act as a catalyst for change by researching the problems of the community and demanding solutions to them on a national basis. A steering committee, consisting of Mr Sonny Leon, Mr E de Fleur, Mr Lofty Adams, Mr Peter Marais (a Cape Flats civic leader), and Mr Cecil Kippen (a member of the Wentworth Management Committee), was elected.

Several members of the party alleged that they had been approached by the National Intelligence Service (NIS). Mr Hendrickse said that the government was using NIS to lay the groundwork for the CPC by persuading party members to resign, to make a statement against him as party leader and to forward their names to the minister as people willing to serve on the CPC. He saw this as an attempt to isolate him from the party. He said that the government wanted people from the Labour Party to serve on the CPC to give it public credibility. The lure of personal prestige, high salaries and status was being used to persuade coloured leaders to make themselves available for nomination. The head of NIS, Mr Alec van Wyk, said that it was possible that NIS was involved in soliciting the opinions of members of the coloured community but later asserted that NIS officials had not been engaged in the activities alleged.

The Labour Party welcomed the dissolution of the CRC, seeing it as the vindication of its strategy of participating on the body in order to destroy it. The party, said Mr Hendrickse, had been vindicated in the eyes of many who agreed with its policies but had been critical of its participation in a government created institution.

The dissolution of the CRC necessarily changed the focus and direction of the party. A national executive meeting was held in April to discuss strategy and organisation and it was decided that emphasis would be laid on strengthening the party, establishing new branches and increasing membership. A plan was announced of initiating a campaign to establish a black convention to be followed by a convention of all progressive forces, including bodies such as Nusas and the Black Sash, ultimately petitioning for a national convention. The view was expressed that being outside of the CRC enabled the party to talk to people and organisations on both the left and the right which had previously shunned them. The party expressed its identification, with the goals of the ANC, PAC, BPC and SWAPO - namely a common citizenship and full participation at all levels - though it differed on the question of strategy as it was opposed to violence. The meeting decided that the Labour Party should work towards creating a solidarity front and should move closer towards organisations such as AZAPO, WASA and COSAS. It also decided to launch a concerted, nationwide black consciousness awareness campaign to make people realise that any collaboration with apartheid in the existing black political climate was suicidal. *The meeting expressed its support for the 'Free Mandela' campaign.*
In July Mr Hendrickse said that the Labour Party was working on a strategy of organizing worker and consumer power to exert economic pressure on whites so that they would be forced to question the system and introduce constitutional change. He expressed support for external economic boycotts and foreign disinvestment.

In June the Labour Party called on the government to release all students and leaders detained during the school boycotts. The national executive committee expressed its unconditional support for and solidarity with the students boycotting school and called on the government to heed their legitimate grievances. It also condemned the brutality of the police and the statement by the Prime Minister that the CRC was responsible for the schools crisis as it had failed to do its job. The Prime Minister was fully aware, said the NEC, that the CRC did not satisfy the political aspirations of the coloured people.

A rapprochement between the government and the Labour Party commenced in July when representatives of the party met the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Steyn, to discuss the detention of students and leaders which had caused great anger in the coloured community and become a focal point of the protests. Mr Steyn agreed to arrange a meeting with the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, in an attempt to secure the release of those detained. After the meeting Mr Curry, national organiser of the Labour Party, said 32 that the government must swiftly and convincingly demonstrate that moderate coloured leaders prepared to talk could achieve real results. He warned that an inadequate response would irrevocably tip Labour the balance of power in the coloured community in favour of the exParty tremists. Mr Hendrickse said that the Labour Party had initiated the meeting in order to keep the channels of communication with the government open, an essential if peaceful change was to be achieved by negotiation.

In July at a student meeting at Stellenbosch University, Mr Hendrickse said that there was a growing radical element in SA which believed that the time for negotiation was past. It was useless to begin negotiations from a position of certain non-negotiable principles on the part of both the Labour Party and the National Party as what was not negotiable one day might become so the next under some sort of compromise. Following the talks with the Prime Minister at which it had been agreed that further talks would be held on constitutional matters and matters affecting the coloured community generally, Mr Hendrickse said that both sides were seeking "the togetherness of the middle of the road".

While the Labour Party understood the problems the Prime Minister faced with an increasing radicalisation of the white right wing, the Prime Minister had understood the problems that the Labour Party faced with the radicalisation of the left. He said that the radical attitudes adopted by coloured leaders had motivated him to resume negotiations with the government in an attempt to prevent violence
and to establish a medium between the extreme right and extreme left. Non-violent change could only be achieved through negotiation. He said that after the breakdown of the talks with the government in November 1979 there had been a vacuum in terms of communication. The Labour Party felt that protest politics was not the only means of communication. While he regarded the radical left as being necessary, he saw it as being complementary to communication. Ideological and strategic differences should be overcome to achieve black unity.23

Regarding strategy on the local level, the national executive committee in April considered a resolution proposed by the Natal region calling on all local affairs and management committees, 80% of which were controlled by the Labour Party, to disband. It was decided that party members would continue to serve on government-created institutions at the lower level despite their limited powers as it was important not to allow opportunists and government stooges to gain control over them. They served the short term needs of the community such as housing, street lights, rentals and amenities. At the annual conference of the Natal Association of Management Committees in June the Labour Party representatives demanded that the government abolish the management and local affairs committees. If it failed to do so, the Labour Party would cling tenaciously to its control over them.24

In June, however, the Newlands East branch of the Labour Party in Durban refused to participate in the election for the local affairs committee saying that it fell far short of the community's aspirations for municipal representation. The national executive meeting in October expelled three members of the party who had agreed to serve on the government-appointed Relations Committees.

The Labour Party continued to be a member of the SA Black Alliance (SABA), adopting a joint stand in relation to the President's Party Council. At an Inkatha-organised meeting in KwaMashu in June Mr Hendrickse said that no attempts to buy out the coloured people would succeed in shifting them from the black camp. The time of coloured people being semi-whites with semi-privileges and jammed between whites and Africans was finished. In August he indicated that there had been some conflict with Chief Buthelezi on the part of Labour Party leaders in the Transvaal and Natal. However, overall support for SABA still existed despite differences over issues such as foreign investment.25

Freedom Party

The leader, Mr W Africa, welcomed the dissolution of the CRC saying that it could have achieved much more in its ten-year existence if it had not adopted such a negative attitude toward the government. The Labour Party had made it impossible for the government to make a statutory body out of it. He said that the Freedom Party considered the Schlebusch Commission to be an important instrument of the government to work out an acceptable political dispensation for SA.

Opening the annual congress of the party on January 10 in Port Elizabeth, Mr Africa said that there were forces outside SA intent on bringing about its
downfall. This influence had its effect inside SA as there were thousands of people who were against their country. He accused the leaders of the Labour Party of being unpatriotic in calling for boycotts and sanctions. The Freedom Party, he said, rejected revolution, confrontation, the inciting of racial hatred and the formation of power blocks, believing that the solution to SA's problems would only be achieved through friendly co-operation. He believed that the Prime Minister was sincere and had good intentions in his attempts to co-operate with all groups. He had the full support of the Freedom Party in his political and economic initiatives.

CRC
The last meeting of the CRC was held on March 27 and criticised the budget, expressing disapproval of the fact that the sum earmarked for coloured services for the 1980-81 financial year was not sufficient to cover the costs of implementing a system of equal salaries for white and coloured teachers as requested by the executive.

Other Matters Concerning Coloured People
Political Attitudes
After the school boycotts, the associated violent confrontations between the community and the police and the deaths of people during these events, commentators spoke of the emergence of a generation of radical and militant youth. Mr Vincent Farrel, chairman of the Teachers' Action Committee, said that a new awareness of social injustice had been created in the community at large. Parents had given their full support to the demands made by the students. Administration Black people had reacted in concert and it would no longer be possible for the people to be compartmentalised into ethnic categories. Relations The process of political polarisation was complete, with most people opting for a strategy of pressure rather than armed struggle. Ms Erika Theron led a group of community leaders, including Professor E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, to meet with the Prime Minister, the Minister and Secretary of Coloured Relations and the Minister of Community Development to discuss the situation facing the coloured people. In a statement issued afterwards the group said that while the protests had initially been aimed against the education system, the root causes were social, economic and political and would only be solved through political equality. Commentators also attributed the violence to the frustration and bitterness caused by the removal of people from District Six to the Cape Flats in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Relations Committees
According to the report of the Department of Coloured, Nama and Rehoboth Relations for the year ended March 31, 1979, six regional conferences had been held during the year under review. The terms of office of the relations committees had ended on December 31, 1978 and all the committees were reconstructed with
effect from January 1, 1979. As at March 31, 1979 there were 128 committees consisting of 1,243 white and 1,042 coloured members.
During the debate on the Coloured Relations vote, the Deputy Minister of Coloured Relations said that there were 148 relations committees involving 2,664 people.

Department and Administration of Coloured Relations

In reply to a question in parliament on progress in implementing the recommendations of the Theron Commission which had been accepted, the Minister of Coloured Relations said that the majority of the recommendations had been implemented, and attention was being given to the implementation of the remainder. Mr Eglin (PFP) accused the government of having done very little about the recommendations, while Professor van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, said in an address at Port Elizabeth University that since the publication of the report coloured people had seen improvements in the fields of labour, agriculture and sport, but retrogression in the political sphere.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Coloured Relations said that at as at December 31, 1979, 1,194 teaching and 345 nonteaching posts in the Administration of Coloured Affairs were filled by whites. As at March 31, 1978, 96.22% of teaching and 93.31% of non-teaching posts were filled by coloured staff.

According to the departmental report for the year ended March 31, 1979 the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations continued to render the same services as before in SWA/Namibia but political power vested in the Administrator-General since his appointment in 1977. The SA Minister of Coloured Relations still controlled the Department's SWA personnel, the SWA branch of the Coloured Development Corporation and the Rehoboth Development Corporation. The Nama Council had been established, but the legislative council for the Rehoboth had not yet been formed due to a pending court case.

The department continued to purchase land to extend coloured rural areas and two interdepartmental committees were established to consider specified purchases. As at March 31 the Administration of Coloured Affairs was administering 23 coloured rural areas. The Deputy Minister of Coloured Relations said that the total land area owned by coloured people was 21 million hectares. The department had decided to establish an agricultural college in Upington under its Directorate of Rural Areas and Settlement to train coloured farmers.

In reply to a question in parliament as to whether any coloured farmers had received financial assistance during 1979 to purchase farms in terms of the Coloured Farmers Assistance Act passed by the CRC, the Minister of Coloured Relations said that two people had received R32,500 and R1,160,000 for farms of 2,713,331 ha and 477,014 ha respectively. Funds for rendering assistance to coloured farmers for the year ended March 31, 1980 had amounted to R889,900.
In February the Minister of Coloured Relations announced the appointment of an
interdepartmental committee to investigate the desirability of the Griquas being
classified in their own group and to look into their land claims. According to the
1970 census there were 13 000 Griquas living in the northern and eastern Cape
and in East Griqualand. The paramount chief of the Griqua community in
Griqualand West, the Reverend D Kanyiles, was opposed to the idea of a Griqua
homeland. In March an executive meeting of ten centres in the region had drawn
up a memorandum and submitted it to the investigating committee. The
memorandum expressed support for the concept of a Griqua identity but rejected
the idea of a homeland because Griqua people were too scattered, had no trained
staff and no financial resources.37

Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the Western Cape
See chapter on Employment.
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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS:
INDIANS
Legislation
Period of Office of Members of the SA Indian Council Extension Act No 13 of 1980
The Act extended the SAIC’s term of office for a further year. It had been extended previously. On November 2, 1979 Proclamation No 263 extended the life of the SA Indian Council (SAIC), which was to have expired on November 5, 1979, to January 15, 1980. Act No 13 extended the period of office of persons who were members of the SAIC as at January 15 to November 5, 1980. This extension would be deemed to have been promulgated by Proclamation No 263. An assembly amendment provided that the period of office could not be extended beyond November 5, 1980.
The first elections to be held for the council, postponed to March 1980, were postponed again. Proclamation 262 of 1979 which was promulgated to cause certain sections of the SA Indian Council Amendment Act of 1978 pertaining to elections, to come into operation on January 16, was repealed and deemed not to have been issued.
Parliamentary Debate
In moving the bill the Minister of Indian Affairs said that, given the possibility that the Schlebusch Commission would make recommendations affecting the continued existence of the SAIC, there would be no purpose in holding an election that would involve considerable expense. A knowledge of new constitutional developments, he said, might alter the issues around which the election was fought and also might affect the level of participation of the Indian community. The PFP opposed the bill on the grounds that, although it was against separate racial or ethnic institutions, it believed that the SAIC, while it continued to operate, should be a fully elected body which could claim to be representative of the Indian community. It opposed the extension of the life of a body that was partly indirectly elected and partly nominated. The government had only acceded to the request of the council for an extension out of convenience. Mr R Swart suggested that the reason for the extension was that the government was afraid that it would receive the same sort of rebuff to its constitutional proposals from the elected representatives of the Indian people as it had received from the elected representatives of the coloured people. He suggested that the SAIC, as a result of the Indian extension, would lose further credibility with the Indian community.
Reform
The NRP and SAP supported the bill insofar as they thought that it would not be practical to hold an election on March 26. However, Party neither party would support a further extension beyond November 5. An NRP-introduced amendment, accepted by the minister, meant that any further extension would again require an act to be passed in parliament.
Political Parties
As was the case with the Coloured Labour Party, there were different responses to the government's constitutional proposals. These, and the postponement of SAIC elections, were a source of conflict both within and between parties representing the Indian community.

Reform Party

In their evidence to the Schlebusch Commission, Mr J N Reddy and Dr A M Moolla said that the Indian community wanted a single parliament for all races, though this did not mean one man one vote. The SAIC had served its purpose. The government must issue a declaration of intent to eliminate racial discrimination thereby creating a climate for political detente and facilitating the process of planning a new constitution.2

In January there was conflict in the party, which controlled the SAIC executive, when Mr Ebrahim, a founder member, moved at the national executive committee that Mr Rajbansi, public relations officer, and Mr J N Reddy be expelled. He claimed they had unilaterally decided, without consulting or discussing the issue with the national executive, to request the postponement of the SAIC elections; they had, without a mandate from the party, presented evidence to the Schlebusch Commission on an alternative constitution; they were responsible for the new wave of conservatism that had taken over the party; and Mr Rajbansi's participation on the SAIC executive was inconsistent with furthering the interests of the party. Mr Ebrahim said if they were not expelled he and six branches which supported his view would resign.

In turn Mr Ebrahim was attacked for breaking the party's rigid code on speaking to the press and for trying to bring the names of senior officials and the party into disrepute in the public eye. He was forced to apologise and the executive issued a statement saying that Mr Reddy and Mr Rajbansi had in no way acted contrary to the party's policies or decisions.3 In March Mr Ebrahim resigned from the party.

In February five branches - Northdene, Marianhill, Shallcross, Motala Pan and Welbedacht - withdrew from the party. Mr Ishmail Patel, a member of the breakaway group, said that the party no longer met the aspirations of members and the Indian people generally. There was dissatisfaction that a decision had been taken without a mandate about the postponement of elections.4

In March at an executive meeting it was decided that the Reform Party's attitude with regard to the future of the SAIC would be decided at a national conference. Prior to this it would request the secretary of the Black Alliance, of which it remained a member, to convene a special meeting specifically to discuss the question of future participation of its members in government created institutions.5

Mr Y S Chinsamy, leader of the Reform Party, said the party rejected the President's Council if Africans were excluded, stating that there could be no
assurance of peaceful change if Africans were not given full participation. He also objected to the fact that the State President would appoint members to the council. In accordance with the policy of the SA Black Alliance the party undertook to expel any member participating in the PC. Mr Chinsamy cautioned Indians against alienating themselves from coloured people and Africans, who had already rejected the restricted membership of the new body.

In September the national executive of the party suspended Mr Rajbansi, Mr G Munsook and Mr B Dookie for having publicly criticised their leader's view that the SAIC should be abolished. They resigned from the party and the SAIC. Mr Rajbansi claimed that the suspensions were unconstitutional and announced his intention of forming a new party. In protest against the suspensions, Messrs Kajee, Abram Mayet, Dasoo, Reddy and Seedat resigned from both party and SAIC. Mr Abram Mayet announced that he had accepted nomination to the President's Council.

Natal Indian Congress
The Natal Indian Congress, in accordance with its previously articulated policies, called for the abolition of the SAIC and for nonparticipation in the President's Council. The vice-president, Mr M J Naidoo, said that SAIC members had lost credibility and if they were to redeem themselves they should have no association with either body but instead call for the involvement of all South Africans in a new dispensation which would determine the future of the country on a non-racial basis. Mr Naidoo said that the SAIC had lost further credibility during the educational unrest, when it had been attacked by student and other political groups. Mr George Sewpersadh, president, said that the government had postponed the elections as it feared the embarrassment which would be caused by a low percentage poll.

The NIC also urged the Natal Association of Local Affairs Committees to disband to demonstrate to the government their frustrations in serving on these 'dummy' institutions which had little impact.

During the school boycotts, Mr George Sewpersadh, Mr Thumba Pillay, Mr Rabbi Bugwandeen, Mr M J Naidoo (vice-president), Mr Paul David and Dr Farouk, all members of the NIC executive, were detained. A mass meeting was held to protest against the detentions and students said that they would not return to school until, among other demands, the NIC leaders were released.

On June 11 hundreds of shops and offices in several areas of Durban closed in sympathy with the detained leaders and students. The conflict between Chief Buthelezi and the NIC leaders continued. In reply to an attack made by him at a mass meeting at Currie's Politics Fountain on January 20, (see Black Political Activity - Inkatha), the NIC executive issued a statement saying that his accusations were factually incorrect and unfortunate. The NIC had, throughout its history, been committed to a united, democratic, non-racial SA where every possible political, cultural, social
and economic need of all its citizens could be met. It had always rejected any
form of racism, elitism or discrimination so as to enable every South African to
realise his/her full potential. Indian people and the NIC had always been an
integral part of the national liberation struggle and could hardly be accused of
opportunism. The NIC had conducted its struggle outside statutory bodies created
by and for the minority government. The present stage of the struggle required
that they continue in this manner. However, strategies need not conflict but could
run parallel to one another. Only the future would tell which was the correct
strategy, but the NIC insisted on its right to fight the battle in its own way without
intending any slight or insult to the efforts of others. The statement said that it was
only unity and solidarity which would ensure victory against racism and
oppression and democratic forces must strive to cultivate and maintain this unity
in the face of forces attempting to divide it.1°

In September the vice-president rejected the Lombard plan for a federated Natal
saying it was intended to rescue white sugar farmers from the possible
disadvantages of consolidation. The congress reiterated its call for a unitary state
with one man one vote as the
only solution to SA's problems.

Other Parties
There was not much reporting on the Democratic Party established last year. It
expressed its support for the President's Council
as a means towards an equal society.

At a meeting of 2 000 people in Lenasia in May, the previously Lenasia based
People's Candidates Party under Dr R A M Saloojee, announced that it would
form itself into a national organisation. In a declaration of intent it stated that at
the local level it would bring pressure to bear for the improvement of existing
facilities, the establishment of currently non-existent amenities and the
improvement of the quality of life. It would strive for those rights which Indians
had
been denied because of colour, minority status and lack of power.

I At national level it would be committed to equal rights and privileges for all and
would associate and co-operate with all those involved in the peaceful struggle to
establish a non-racial, just society.

It expressed its belief that all South Africans through their popularly elected
leaders, banned, imprisoned or otherwise, should resolve, at a national
convention, on the establishment of a just, non-racial society.1

Proceedings of the SAIC
In February the chairman of the SAIC, Dr Moolla, criticised the PFP for opposing
the bill extending the period of office of members of the council. The PFP had
failed, he said, to consult with the SAIC on the matter. The SAIC had taken a
decision in December that it would be in the interests of the Indian people for the
scheduled elections to be postponed.12 and had been partly responsible for the
final decision by the government to postpone the elections.
In March three members, Mr Joe Carrim, Mr I Kathrada and Mr Abu Ebrahim, resigned. They claimed that the SAIC had testified before the Schlebusch Commission when it had no mandate from the people, and they thought an election should have been held, as it would have been the decisive yardstick to gauge whether the Indian people fully accepted or rejected the SAIC. They claimed the SAIC had outlived its functions and was a powerless, voiceless body, acutely irrelevant in the changing political climate. Mr I Kathrada and Mr Joe Carrim indicated that they would be willing to serve on the PC which the SAIC had rejected because of the exclusion of Africans. In May Mr Kathrada said that only by sitting on the PC could representations be made to have Africans included. He believed that the PC could be used to achieve the equal representation of all people.
Announcing his intention in August Mr Carrim said he would serve on the council provided Africans were considered as co-partners. Although his reservations about the SAIC applied also to the PC, the latter would be engaged in more fundamental issues on a national level. He believed that the government was sincere about fundamental change and that it was crucial to the future well-being of all South Africans that all racial groups spoke together as equals. He saw the PC as the forerunner of a non-racial society. It was later announced that he had accepted nomination to the PC as did another SAIC executive member, Mr Abram Mayet.
In April the chairman of the SAIC, Dr A M Moolla, died and the leader of the Reform Party, Mr Y S Chinsamy, assumed the post.
Pressure for the abolition of the SAIC increased. In June, Mr Rajbansi said that the time had come for the government to replace the SAIC with a more meaningful body which would meet the political aspirations of the Indian people. When the SAIC met the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, and Mr Schlebusch on June 7 they would request that the SAIC and the local affairs committees, with their parallels in the Transvaal and the Cape, be dismantled. This pressure intensified following the government's decision to discard its plans for a Black Advisory Council and a Coloured Persons Council, and following the protests by Indian students. The chairman of the SAIC Mr Chinsamy expressed his support for the abolition. A meeting between the Minister of Indian Affairs and the SAIC was held on August 5 to discuss the future of the SAIC. It was later reported that the SAIC had deferred its decision pending discussions with the incoming Minister of Internal Affairs (which included Indian Affairs), Mr Heunis. A meeting was held on September 22 at which it was decided that the matter be referred to the cabinet. The SAIC delegation's view was that they wanted chan-
nels of communication to be maintained in order that outstanding issues could be resolved.

On October 22, Mr Heunis announced that the SAIC would be dissolved on October 31 as this was the general consensus of all parties consulted. The members of the existing SAIC would continue to serve until the next meeting of the executive. The next SAIC would also consist of 15 elected and 15 nominated members who would be elected under the current electoral system early in 1981. The chairman of the council Mr Y S Chinsamy said that the SAIC had pressed for a fully elected council. With the completion of the preparations for elections, he could see no reason for a delay in constituting a fully elected council. Mr J N Reddy and Mr Chinsamy announced their resignations from the council as from November 5. Others resigned as well (see Reform Party). Two SAIC members, Mr Abram Mayet and Mr Kathrada, were made members of the President’s Council.

In May the Cato Manor Residents' Association criticised the Minister of Community Development. In reply to a memorandum requesting direct representation on the part of the association because of its direct involvement with the problems of the community, the minister had stipulated that all representations should be directed through the SAIC. The chairman of the association said that the available channels of communication were inadequate and not in the best interests of the people.

In May the Minister of Indian Affairs met with executive members of the SAIC to discuss the cost of houses and rents. In July he met an SAIC executive member, Mr I Mayet, and officials of the Pageview Residents Association to discuss their plea that traditional Indian suburbs in the centre of Johannesburg, namely Pageview, Fordsburg, Burghersdorp and part of Newtown, be restored to the Indian community. The minister agreed to take the proposal to the cabinet which subsequently rejected it.

In July Mr Chinsam called on the government to remove officials who had been listed as belonging to the Broederbond from the control of Indian education. He claimed they were responsible for the deteriorating situation in Indian schools. According to the report of the Department of Indian Affairs the number of registered voters as at June 30, 1979 was as follows: Natal - 240 145, Transvaal - 37 687, Cape Province - 7 141, giving a total of 284 973.

The minister, in reply to a question in parliament, said that the Slatter Commission of Inquiry into the Establishment of Local Authorities in Indian Group Areas had submitted its report.

For further information on local government see section on Coloured and Indian Local Government.

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Political Developments:
Indians

COLOURED AND INDIAN
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In reply to a question in parliament the Deputy Minister of Coloured Relations said
that the Committee of Inquiry into the Establishment of Autonomous Local
Authorities in Coloured Group Areas (Yeld Committee) had submitted an interim
report to the government which had decided that the recommendations contained
therein would be considered in conjunction with the report of the Browne
Committee of Inquiry into the Financing of Local Authorities. The terms of
reference of the Yeld Committee had been extended to include a possible
management system for the smaller, non-viable coloured areas not likely to
develop into autonomous local authorities.'

The Browne Committee of Inquiry into the Financing of Local Authorities in SA2
recommended, inter alia, that a system of regular transfer payments from white to
coloured and Indian authorities should be introduced whereby the payments
would be equal to the calculated need minus the ability to pay of coloured and
Indian authorities. The system should be controlled by the provincial
administrations.

The provision of joint services to white, coloured and Indian local authorities
under the supervision of joint services committees should be integrated with the
system of transfer payments. Predetermined amounts should be collected monthly
from municipal authorities which are affected directly or indirectly by the
secession or establishment of local authorities for coloured people and Indians. A
definite policy should be pursued to develop the revenue sources of the local
authorities for Indians and coloured people in order to reduce, as rapidly as
possible, their dependence on transfer payments. With this in view home
ownership by coloured people and Indians should be encouraged and a general
policy of developing their local communities, including the establishment of
business enterprises, should be deliberately pursued.

All existing local authorities which would be directly affected by the
establishment of local authorities for coloured people and Indians should be
urgently requested to make arrangements for the intensive training of coloured
and Indian people in order to provide for the most essential personnel
requirements of the new local authorities. The government departments concerned
and the provincial administrations should keep the process of disengagement of
local
authorities under careful surveillance and apply the following criteria in order to determine whether the process should be retarded or speeded up:

1. The availability of the required personnel; Coloured and Indian financial controls and accounting procedures; Local
2. The extent to which deficiencies occur in the observance of Indian financial controls and accounting procedures; Local
3. The tempo of increase or decrease in unit costs; Government
4. The extent to which current expenditure was covered by current income and the anticipated trend in the estimated deficit or surplus.

The Departments of Education and Training, and Coloured Relations and Indian Affairs should take the lead in conducting special investigations into the expected personnel needs of the local authorities and should make the necessary preparations to meet such needs.

In the development and establishment of separate local authorities for coloured people and Indians, the advantages of the joint provision of services should be exploited as far as possible, and to this end joint services committees should be established in which the core city or town retained a say commensurate with its financial responsibility in the provision of such services.

The provincial administrations should be requested to ensure that the principle of joint provision of services was applied as far as possible in the case of both urban and rural local authorities, and that subsidiary local authorities - such as village boards and health committees - were not raised to full municipal status if this was likely to prejudice the joint provision of services or the joint utilisation of equipment or personnel. The provincial administrations should be requested to instruct their local government departments to give high priority to the joint provision of services in the planning of urban areas, the approval of township establishment schemes and the consolidation of smaller local authorities.

Commenting on the recommendations, Mr. Nigel Mandy, chairman of the Johannesburg Central Business District Association, stressed that transfer payment to separate coloured and Indian municipalities was an unrealistic solution which could lead to the bankruptcy of existing local authorities. He supported one municipality for all races and a metropolitan authority to provide services and other matters jointly concerning existing municipalities.

In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Coloured Relations said that all of the 150 management committees throughout the country were elected, with no nominated members. The same applied to the six local affairs committees. The distribution of committees as at December 31, 1979 was as follows:

Cape 149 management committees
Transvaal 16 management committees
OFS 6 management committees
Natal 6 local affairs committees
Total 177
committees could not be filled, phenomena all related to a sense of dissatisfaction with their limited effectiveness.

In February the Natal Association of Local Affairs Committees (NALAC - both coloured and Indian) gave notice that it would probably withdraw from all participation and would resign from all local authorities because the Prime Minister had vetoed the 'Natal plan'. There was reported to be widespread dissatisfaction and frustration with the local affairs committees, partly due to the lack of proper consultation between them and their parent local authorities.' At the annual conference of the association on February 16 in Dundee the coloured members indicated that they were prepared to disband the system, but their Indian counterparts were unwilling to do so. It was decided that collaboration with management committees in the Transvaal and the Cape would be sought in order to take up the matter with the government. The conference adopted a resolution calling for the extension of the municipal franchise to all those represented by the association.

In April representatives from management committees in the Transvaal, consultative committees in the Cape and local affairs committees in Natal met in Stanger and established an Ad-hoc Committee under Mr Yunus Moolla, chairman of NALAC. The committee would approach the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Steyn, with a view to setting up a meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss the extension of the municipal franchise. The meeting felt that failure to reach some settlement regarding civic rights would probably mean the collapse of the local affairs advisory system. Mr Moolla said that he was prepared to resign if by June they had had no undertaking of being restored to the common voters roll. In April the Natal MEC in charge of local government, Mr Derrick Waterson, said that the local affairs committee system in the province had outlived its usefulness, and if not improved upon could lead to the withdrawal of co-operation on the part of the Indian and coloured communities.'

The Cape Association of Management Committees met in June, and once again reiterated its demand for the abolition of the management committees and for direct representation on a non-racial basis on city and town councils. The congress decided against boycotting the system as this would allow government supporters to take over, but would instead use the system to achieve its goal of direct representation. The above-mentioned Ad-hoc Committee had taken up the matter with the Prime Minister who had said it would be examined during the parliamentary recess. The congress decided to seek affiliation with the Cape Municipalities Association.

In April this Association decided to reject an application for membership by the Port Elizabeth Indian Management Committee, saying that this would be detrimental to the Cape Association of Management Committees which dealt with matters relating to theses committees. In July, at the annual meeting of the Cape Association of Municipalities, the chairman, Mr T Schlebusch, said that a working committee established by the Administrator of the Cape, Mr L A Munnik, had investigated the full representation of management committees and had proposed amendments to the provincial ordinances to make this possible."
According to the annual report of the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, the Cape Provincial Administration had been requested inter alia to grant management committees plenary powers in respect of matters such as applications for trading licences, the allocation of residential and business units, the control of staff and amenities, full participation in the planning of housing schemes, the preparation of annual estimates and representation on standing committees of councils. It had also been requested that management committees should have the right to make representations directly to the Administrator or government departments where this was justified by circumstances. The other provinces were to be approached likewise at a later stage. At a meeting in August between Mr Marais Steyn, then Minister of Coloured and Indian Affairs, and a delegation from the Ad-hoc Committee, Mr Steyn conceded the shortcomings of the present system of coloured and Indian local government. He said the Yeld and Slatter Commissions had been appointed to investigate the situation and when their findings were made known suitable arrangements to negotiate with interested parties would be made. He agreed to the delegation's request for machinery to ensure regular contact with him and other relevant ministers.

In June the coloured management committee of Johannesburg refused to carry out its functions until two of its members, Mr Ismail Richards (chairman) and Mr Mohammed Dangor were released from detention. They had been detained in May at the height of the school boycotts. On their release from detention Mr Richards said that his experience had hardened his attitude against working in government created institutions and as an executive member of the Labour Party he would encourage it to withdraw from them.

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Coloured and
Indian
Local Government

AFRICAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS
This chapter deals with those political organisations which have gained prominence over the years or which have long been active. For a more overall picture of political and other forms of resistance during the year the chapters on Education, Urban African Affairs, Security and Labour should be consulted.
Inkatha
The membership of Inkatha was given by the Secretary-General, Mr Oscar Dhlomo, in March as 300 000 distributed over the four provinces. The Youth Brigade claimed a card-carrying membership of 120 000 people over the age of 14, 15 000 of whom were in Natal where most junior and secondary schools had branches.
In its evidence to the Schlebusch Commission of Inquiry on the Constitution, Inkatha accused the commission of being unrepresentative of SA's population and called for a national convention to discuss the constitution. This would have to include those in exile. Certain non-negotiable principles were enumerated:
1 SA must have a unitary state and constitutional rights should not be based on ethnicity. There should be one nationality, one passport, one citizenship, one economy and defence force and one communications system;
2 blacks demanded to share power within one political system and to be included in the process of making and administering the laws;
3 as a first step towards political normality, discriminatory laws should be repealed. Constitutional changes were not a prerequisite for improving the quality of socio-economic life;
4 blacks would consider proposals which would effectively consolidate existing homelands and locate them as provinces in a political system which made provision for regional responsibility;
5 while blacks were prepared to listen to suggestions from whites on the protection of minority interests, whites must accept that such interests could not continue to be protected by total white monopoly of power and control over other population groups. The final protection of minority rights lay in the protection of individual rights.'
It was further stated that SA should have a bill of rights entrenching the following principles:

1 political rights of all national groups should be protected within a constitutional framework which outlawed discrimination;
2 individuals should be equal before the law and equality of opportunities and of benefits from the institutions of the state African should be guaranteed;
3 no social, economic or political impediments should hinder the free movement of individuals from one cultural milieu to another; Inkatha
4 the state should provide opportunities to enable every underprivileged individual to develop to the maximum of his ability;
5 the resources and wealth of the country should belong to all the people of SA;
6 as SA was facing a crisis of poverty, it was essential that all people enter into a partnership with the state to effect the greatest possible redistribution of wealth commensurate with maximising the productivity of commerce, trade and industry
whether state-controlled or privately owned; 
7 secrecy in public administration should be eliminated; 
8 practices acceptable in civilised nations should characterise the methods and procedures used by the police in the enforcement of the law; 
9 there should be both a criminal and a judicial code with the right of appeal to the highest courts guaranteed for all persons; 10 individuals should be free to attend any educational institution; 11 the development of trade union guilds and associations should be encouraged. Responsible leadership should publicly declare its commitment to bringing about a just society within the foreseeable future.2 
Inkatha rejected the recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission and refused to participate in the proposed black advisory council. The proposals did not move in the direction of a national convention and extended the principle and practice of ethnic separation and white domination. Chief Buthelezi said he would have accepted participation in the President's Council if it included representatives of all races as a means of getting people working together before a national convention. Until steps were taken to bring about the latter and to achieve a political consensus there should be a moratorium on constitutional experiments.3 
In September he criticised those members of the Indian and coloured communities who had accepted nomination to the President's Council saying they were participating in a process of separating black from black. The Inkatha central committee gave Chief Buthelezi a mandate to canvass the opinion of black people about participation in a committee, proposed by the Prime Minister in February, to draw up a statement of intent concerning SA's future. At a mass meeting in April at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, attended by an estimated 15 000, participation in the committee was overwhelmingly rejected. The matter was also raised by Chief Buthelezi in an address in Umlazi in March and the views of Inkatha branches were solicited. Inkatha then decided not to participate as the committee would not be a step towards a national convention and power sharing. 

50 Inkatha continued with its policy of dialogue with the white political parties as one means in a multi-strategy approach to bring about peaceful solutions. In January the fourth meeting with African National Party MP's was held in Pretoria. A joint statement afterwards said that the meeting had contributed greatly towards a better understanding of each other's principles and problems and had resulted in the improvement of already excellent personal relationships between the participants. The convenor, Mr Tom Langley, said meetings with other black groups might follow but only with those connected with the homelands. Mr Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said after the talks that if whites and Zulus could stand together in friendship they could not be overcome. Mr Oscar Dhlomo said that there had been a breakdown over major issues at the talks, and it was reported that NP representatives had objected to
Inkatha's statement of beliefs and to its warnings of violence. Mr Langley said that there had merely been the expected conflict.4
Representatives of the Inkatha Youth Brigade met with the SRC of Stellenbosch University in February and in July attended the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) in Potchefstroom after a meeting between the ASB executive and the Inkatha central committee. Despite right wing opposition the congress passed a motion pledging itself to continue dialogue with Inkatha. In March in Ulundi Inkatha representatives and Dr van Zyl Slabbert (leader of the PFP) and Mr Ray Swart (PFP MP) held a meeting. In a memorandum presented to them, Chief Buthelezi called for a political partnership between Inkatha and the PFP, saying that as far as black South Africans were concerned, the PFP had failed as a political party. Mr Slabbert accepted the proposal of a political partnership and suggested the appointment of a steering committee to explore thoroughly how Inkatha and the PFP could co-operate. This was agreed upon.
A meeting with the NRP took place in April after which the leader, Mr Vause Raw, said that dialogue between the Inkatha ‘thinktank’ and the NRP constitutional consultative committee in Natal should continue in order to find consensus on the remaining unresolved points of difference. In a memorandum presented to the NRP representatives, Chief Buthelezi said that the NRP had a crucial role to play in Natal by joining forces with KwaZulu and thereby establishing a formula for power sharing. In May the Inkatha central committee decided to establish a commission, called the Buthelezi Commission, to investigate the future of the KwaZulu government and the possibility of power sharing in Natal. It was hoped that the commission would add a new dimension to the political evolution of SA and serve as an example for the rest of the country. This initiative was ratified by the KwaZulu government in May. Representatives from political, economic, agricultural, industrial, commercial, educational and religious sectors would be invited to sit on the commission, to be chaired by Professor Schreiner, principal of Natal University. Speaking in the KwaZulu legislative assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that one of the reasons for the establishment of the commission was the realisation that the political impasse in SA could not be circumvented by protest. The time had come for a formal black initiative in planning the collective political future which in the past had been dominated by whites.' The commission formally came into being in October. African
In July the Inkatha Institute, directed by Professor LawrencP Schlemmer of the Institute for Social Research at Natal University, Political was established. Professor Schlemmer said that the institute would Affairs: strengthen Inkatha's ability to pose alternatives to strategies em– Inkatha ployed by other black groups which lead to the growth of a violent revolutionary consciousness. Services to Inkatha would include defining and analysing national problems,
seeking constructive ways of co-operating with private enterprise, arid pinpointing those government created institutions for blacks which could promote the interests of blacks without facilitating the system of apartheid. Proposed projects included developing strategies for coping with unemployment among black youth, the development of an informal economic sector and the monitoring of employment policies.6 During the year Inkatha representatives reiterated support for the free enterprise system and its opposition to disinvestment. At a public meeting in April in Vosloorus, Boksburg, attended by 8 000 people, Chief Buthelezi supported the idea of dialogue through government-created councils, saying that these could be used for the benefit of the black liberation struggle. One council could be joined to another so that structures of decision were turned into mechanisms of unity. Individual community councils could join the SA Black Alliance. At the public meeting in Soweto mentioned above, Chief Buthelezi urged blacks to adopt a multi-faceted strategy to bring concerted political pressure to bear on the authorities to force them to hold a national convention. He said that the conditions for armed struggle, namely a regime plagued by deep internal problems and a set of logistic and geographic circumstances which allowed bases to be established inside the country, were non-existent in SA. Inkatha intended to participate in the Soweto community council elections scheduled for October (but later postponed) on condition that the problems of the financing of community councils were clarified by the government. In July the West Rand branch decided against participation because the councils were not economically viable and participation would damage Inkatha's image. However following the announcement by Dr Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, that full municipal status would be granted to community councils, the executive committee of the branch decided to participate in the elections. Before doing so they said they intended discussing the matter with other organisations in Soweto such as the Committee of Ten and AZAPO. Conflict between Inkatha and students at Ngoye University and school children boycotting schools in the Umlazi and KwaMashu townships outside Durban are detailed in the chapter on Education. Inkatha condemned the boycotts as protest politics and attacked 'elitist groups' - who were not part of the liberation struggle - for manipulating the school children. A resolution passed by the KwaZulu legislative assembly stated that Inkatha had a clear strategy for

52 liberation and the boycotting of classes and damaging of school buildings which were black property, was not part of that strategy.7 At a mass rally in KwaMashu, attended by 10 000 people, Chief African Buthelezi said that the battle for black liberation would succeed only to the extent that all people formed a disciplined and united task force for change. Inkatha regarded education as a priority in the liberation struggle. Evil political forces, he said, thought that they could attack Inkatha by mobilising children. There was a total onslaught against Inkatha and the boycotts had been engineered to try to show that the youth were spurning the leadership of Inkatha. Inkatha officials accused the ANC of
pouring funds into SA to support the boycotts. Later, in the KwaZulu legislative assembly, Chief Buthelezi attacked certain lawyers in Natal for encouraging children to continue the boycotts. He called for the creation of vigilante groups which would 'shoot to kill' if they found anyone interfering with school buildings. This step, he said, should be seen against the background of the violence which people were prepared to commit against him, Inkatha and members of the legislative assembly because of ideological disagreement. KwaMashu residents alleged assault and harassment by Inkatha members. The annual conference of the Women's Brigade in October expressed its opposition to school boycotts and called on its members to oppose them by every possible means.

In March Chief Buthelezi said that the establishment of a youth corps was being considered. Youths would be required to work for a year without pay after leaving school in community projects in the rural areas. In June Chief Buthelezi said he wanted to train an army to keep order, to prevent the destruction of schools and to control riots. Training camps would be established and every Inkatha region would have its own para-military corps. Peaceful solutions required the prevention of chaos. Inkatha, he said, was committed to eradicating disorder in black politics and had failed in its responsibilities because it had been unable to contain the school boycotts and undisciplined students. The Inkatha Central Committee endorsed this proposal at its meeting in July.

The meeting also resolved that, in the light of the threats made against Chief Buthelezi by the ANC (see below) and the attacks on Inkatha, it was necessary for the organisation to close its ranks. The Women's Brigade would become one of the president's own areas of activity, a smaller executive structure should be established around the president to assist him and the secretary-general in mobilising people, and the members of the central committee were warned against making statements without the approval of the president.

In a memorandum presented to Leon Sullivan in September, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha was formulating an industrial strategy with both medium term and political goals. It was based on the assumption that Inkatha was in a position to exercise powerful pressure and to secure the discipline and co-operation which black advancement and economic growth needed.

During the year a campaign for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was launched. (See section on political prisoners in chapter on Police, Justice and Prisons.) In response to the campaign Chief Bu-

thelezi said that the names of certain ANC leaders were being built up at his expense. He said that no-one had approached Inkatha to support the campaign. He would have cautioned against it if he had been approached as at the time he had been conducting private African negotiations with the government for Mr Mandela's release. The Political prospects of his success had been upset by the campaign which had Affairs: a better chance of succeeding if conducted in a low key. At the public meeting in Soweto in April he said that he had told Inkatha mem-

Inkatha bers not to support the campaign because some people were using
Mr Mandela's name to create a political image for themselves. He accused the 
ANC of using Mr Mandela's name in an attempt to destroy his (Chief Buthelezi's) 
political leadership and credibility. The central committee, expressing its concern 
over the campaign, said that Inkatha would continue with its quiet moves to have 
Mr Mandela and other political prisoners released.

Inkatha's relationship with the African National Congress (ANC) deteriorated 
during the year. The ANC was reported to have attacked Chief Buthelezi for his 
role in the school boycotts and his attitude to the Free Mandela campaign. The 
ANC said that his actions were not those of someone genuinely supporting the 
struggle, that he had always publicly attacked the very pillars of the movement 
and more and more had identified himself with the SA government. He was 
described as an 'interloper' between oppressor and oppressed.

Chief Buthelezi stated that he had not initiated the discord but that he would 
respond to attacks made on him, which he attributed to ideological rifts within the 
ANC and the problems of exile politics.

In April, at the public meeting in Vosloorus, he said that the ANC had been 
engaged in the armed struggle for 20 years but little had been achieved. Armed 
struggle was futile without massive internal political action. It was untrue to say 
that non-violent methods such as the use of worker and consumer power had been 
exhausted. There were only two alternatives - to join the political or the armed 
struggle.

On June 8 at a public meeting in KwaMashu, Chief Buthelezi said in respect of 
the ANC-linked sabotage at Sasolburg and Secunda, that he would not stand by 
and watch the ANC commit political suicide by attempting to establish itself on 
the lunatic fringe of society. The ANC was probably the oldest political 
organisation in Africa but would not be able to liberate SA. The people might or 
might not employ the ANC as part of their liberation strategy but they had seen fit 
to employ Inkatha and to give it massive strength. The ANC had, he said, lost 
touch in many ways with the feelings and attitudes of the majority of blacks. The 
ANC must be disabused of the illusion that the blowing up of a refinery here or 
there was all they needed in the way of communication with the people of SA on 
matters of central importance. It would be naive of them to believe that such acts 
would intimidate whites. Subsequently he said that he could understand the 
ANC's failure because of the logistic problems of guerrilla warfare in SA. The 
ANC had been more effective in keeping alive the debate on apartheid at 
international diplomatic level.

At a central committee meeting in July Chief Buthelezi warned ANC leaders that 
if they did not acknowledge Inkatha as having a 

role in the struggle, an impasse would be reached with terrible conj 
sequences. He accused the ANC of being responsible for the grow, 
ing discord amongst blacks in SA. African 
Political 
Affairs: the ANC had threatened to assassinate Chief Buthelezi. ANC sourcesi
in London were reported to have denied these reports saying that Inkatha had they were a ploy by the SA government to discredit the ANC. The Inkat ha central committee warned the ANC not to carry out their threats, saying that by making them they had assumed responsibility for whatever might happen to Chief Buthelezi in the future, had laid the foundations for a black civil war and had lost the possibility of ever ruling the country.

In October in an address to the European Parliament Chief Buthelezi demanded international recognition for Inkatha and said that international support for the military wing of the ANC would not help to bring about meaningful liberation for SA's blacks. The ANC he said, was not a government in exile and could not claim to be representative of SA's black people. The SA struggle would be won by political means by those inside the country.

In August the Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, accused Chief Buthelezi of choosing the path of confrontation by refusing to attend a meeting between the homeland leaders and the Prime Minister. Chief Buthelezi, he said, was seeking favour both with the ANC and with "moderate and responsible" persons in SA and could in the process destroy himself.

At a meeting of the Inkatha central committee in July it was decided to establish an Inkatha mission abroad to initiate direct diplomatic contact with SA, to promote Inkatha and to organise overseas scholarships for blacks and intercontinental visits. In a memorandum presented to the American Secretary for State, Mr Richard Moose, in January Chief Buthelezi had criticised the policy of the state department for apparently favouring those radicals, such as the leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement, who were involved in protest politics. Inkatha was the only broad based, representative organisation, he said, and as such had a central role to play. He requested that the USA overtly ally itself with Inkatha by understanding its viewpoint and responding sympathetically to its demands.

During the year representatives of Inkatha attacked white journalists for attempting to create division amongst blacks and to choose their leaders; white radicals for attempting to colonise blacks intellectually by defining a destiny for them; the black newspapers Post and Sunday Post for fomenting disunity and sowing the seeds of a black civil war by carrying letters, some of them allegedly by fictitious authors, which were critical of Inkatha; and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) for being provocative and irresponsible in adopting a negative attitude to Chief Buthelezi and engaging in a calculated campaign to vilify him. Chief Buthelezi said that the NIC did not represent the majority of the people and that its elitism would retard the struggle for liberation. (For the NIC response see chapter on Indian Politics.)

In March the leader of the Inkatha Women's Brigade announced
that it was to unite with the Women's Brigade of the Indian Reform Party to form the Women's Brigade of SA. Regular meetings and rallies would be held throughout the country to promote better relations between the women of SA.

Black Conflict over the election of Inkatha representatives developed in Osizweni township near Newcastle. Chief Mhlabitizima Maphumulo, a long-standing opponent of the KwaZulu government, came into conflict with Inkatha in March when he banned meetings in the Mbambangane location. The matter was later resolved when the chief apologised in the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

SA Black Alliance At a meeting in January the four constituent members of the SA Black Alliance (SABA) - Inkatha, the Coloured Labour Party, the Indian Reform Party and the Inyandza National Movement (KaNgwane) - decided to organise a mass conference of regional branch units as a preliminary step towards calling for a national convention. SABA’s belief in peaceful negotiations to bring about change was reaffirmed. Chief Buthelezi was unanimously re-elected for a further two year term as chairman.

Members of SABA adopted a united stance against the Schlebusch Commission's proposals and against participation in the President's Council because blacks were excluded from meaningful participation in power sharing at all levels of government, and also because the council's members would be nominated by the government. A meeting in June resolved that no members would serve on the council and Chief Buthelezi said that those defying the resolution would probably be expelled.

In accordance with its belief in a non-racial education system, SABA expressed its support for the students' protest but warned against methods of protest which would be 'counter-productive'. It called on students to return to school so that their studies would not be detrimentally affected. The call for the release of political prisoners and for the return of those in exile was reiterated. Chief Buthelezi issued a warning to Indians to stop interfering in KwaZulu schools or face the consequences.5

In response to the statement by Chief Buthelezi on the necessity for impis to be established to maintain law and order, Mr Lukhele, Minister of KaNgwane, warned of the dangers of a proliferation of private armies among blacks and said that the Inyandza National Movement would reconsider its affiliation to SABA if the proposed impis acted against students. The creation of these impis, he said, would be a collaboration with the white central government in suppressing the often valid protests of students. He expressed dismay over the alleged assaults by Inkatha members on students in KwaMashu.16

The constituent bodies of SABA undertook at the quarterly meeting in October to organise a boycott of the government organised Republic of SA Festival in 1981.

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In January the organisation underwent a crisis when the national council decided by a vote of nine to five to suspend the president, African Mr Curtis Nkondo, until the annual congress later in the year. The
Political reasons given for the suspension were inter alia as follows:
Affairs: a he had nullified the policy of non-negotiation by asking Mrs Azapo Suzman (PFP) to negotiate with the government on his behalf for the release of his brother, Mr Zinjiva Nkondo from detention;
" his unwarranted attack on other black organisations when AZAPO was trying to win over these organisations to its side;
* his description at a press conference of black trade unions as 'spineless' when AZAPO was attempting to create a working relationship with them. Its efforts to redirect the trade unions were thus thwarted;
" his violation of an AZAPO resolution that all press statements be made through black journalists belonging to the Writers' Association of SA (WASA);
" his meeting with a visiting US senator when AZAPO policy was not to talk to officials of the Western Five countries because of their involvement in Africa.17
As Mr Nkondo was later banned, his replies to these accusations cannot be reproduced.17
Statements condemning the suspension and demanding the unconditional reinstatement of Mr Nkondo were issued by WASA, COSAS and the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO). On January 17 a meeting of AZASO, AZAPO, WASA, COSAS, the Solidarity Front, the Committee of Ten, the Black Lawyers' Association and Mdali was held to discuss the issue. After the meeting Mr G Wauchope, publicity secretary of AZAPO, said that the only way in which Mr Nkondo could be constitutionally reinstated was for the annual congress to take such a decision. The executive would recommend to the branches throughout the country that the national council be asked to reconsider its decision.
Mrs Nombulelo Melane, based in Cape Town, became the acting president. On assuming the post she said that there would be no deviation from the policy of non-negotiation and that she would try to foster better working relationships with other liberation movements.
During the year AZAPO became involved in the campaigns against bus fare increases in Soweto and Seshego and rent increases in Soweto; it also gave support to the schools boycott and meat boycott and the strike by the Johannesburg Municipal workers in August. It participated in the organisation of commemoration services for the dead of Sharpeville and the 1976 revolts, and a celebration service for the election victory of Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. Branches were formed in Tembisa, Seshego (near Pietersburg) and Sekhukhuneland (Northern Transvaal).
The annual meeting of the Soweto branch on April 13 endorsed the decision of the national council to suspend Mr Nkondo, saying it was legitimate and constitutional. Motions were passed suggesting that AZAPO establish labour committees to investigate the problems of workers, hold seminars, run clinics and study the economic and labour situation; involve itself in sport and give recognition to SACOS; forge links with the Teachers' Action Committee and establish an education committee to examine the education structure. The African Soweto branch introduced
membership fees of R3.00 for adults and Political R1.00 for scholars. Sub-branches had been established in Jabulani, Affairs: Chiawelo, Mofolo, Klipspruit and Rockville.”

In a policy statement issued in May AZAPO reaffirmed its adherence to the black consciousness philosophy which was described among other things as an irreversible process of self-understanding and self-assertiveness of black people in the face of an oppressive socio-political structure imposed by the white government; a philosophy that translates itself into active opposition to government policies intent on estranging black people from themselves and, therefore, an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to blacks; and a philosophy which expresses and ensures black solidarity.

AZAPO condemned the homelands policy as depriving Africans of citizenship of SA, destroying black unity and facilitating continued economic exploitation of blacks. The political and economic exploitation of blacks by whites had created a rigid class structure in which blacks constituted a class. AZAPO envisaged a state in which all persons would have the right to ownership of property and complete participation in the political machinery of the country. Capital and profits accruing from labour would be equitably distributed. In order to achieve this goal, AZAPO emphasised the workers and acknowledged trade unionism as an agent that could play a supportive role in bringing about the redistribution of power. Trade unions should not only be confined to problems of management and labour but should also challenge discriminatory laws.

It was announced that AZAPO and WASA would hold a seminar to review black consciousness in the seventies and eighties. Some black consciousness proponents said that the movement should abandon its exclusivity and welcome whites. This view was rejected by AZAPO which said that black consciousness was an ideology for national liberation which by its nature excluded whites. While it envisaged a future non-racial society, it also acknowledged that the tactics to achieve liberation were not the same as those required to construct a new society. Integration belonged to a post-liberation era.

AZAPO defined blacks as the oppressed people of the country and it was only the black working class which had nothing to lose in a radical overthrow of the present system. The liberation struggle should be guided by the interests of black workers. White workers formed a labour aristocracy which benefited from and defended the system. White liberals would have no effect on the transformation of the SA situation. The most they could do would be to diffuse black anger and militancy. This had to be resisted. Integrationists wished to create a black middle class to strengthen capitalism and create a buffer against meaningful change. Integration meant black acceptance of white institutions, white norms and white values with its implied inferiority of blacks. White liberals were only interested in leadership positions in the black struggle. Black exclusivism would end when white exclusivism ended.

In July there were fears that AZAPO would be banned when the African Minister of Police accused it, as well as AZASO and COSAS, of fur
thering the aims of banned organisations or being directly or indiAffairs:
rectly inspired and financed by the ANC. A statement issued by
AZAPO said that as much as it recognised the important role played Committee
by organisations such as the ANC, PAC and BPC, AZAPO was inof Ten
dependent and had its own constitution and policies.
Many AZAPO officials were detained during the school boycotts (see section on
Detentions).
Committee of Ten/Soweto Civic Association
During the year branches of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA were opened in
Moletsane, Tladi, Naledi, Meadowlands, Jabulani,
Dlamini, Pimville and Klipspruit.
The SCA branches, under the leadership of the Committee of Ten, involved
themselves in campaigns against bus fare and rent increases, the Free Mandela
campaign and the meat boycott and expressed their sq or't - iJK6- school
boycotts. The Committee of Ten was also involved in the organisation of
commemoration services
during the year.
As regards policy towards negotiation, the chairman of the committee, Dr
Motlana, said that he would be prepared to negotiate once whites had made a
commitment to majority rule. Negotiations would then be concerned with the
methods and pace of its actual implementation. The transfer of power would
eventually come through negotiations, but the SCA was opposed to negotiations
at all levels in existing conditions as blacks would be negotiating from a position
of powerlessness. Negotiations would only be meaningful once blacks had a
power base. At a conference in Stellenbosch in April he said he felt a strong
opposition within his power base against talking to whites. Blacks demanded
fundamental structural change and were becoming increasingly disillusioned with
the idea of a national convention. SA, he said, needed a revolution but the
chances of this happening without bloodshed were small.2"
With regard to the President's Council, Dr Motlana said that as an alternative
there should be a declaration of intent, involving a commitment to a common
citizenship, a common SA and power sharing. After that there should be a
meeting, comprising representatives of all groups elected on the basis of one man
one vote, which
would draw up a constitution for SA.
The SCA decided against participation in the Soweto community council
elections. Dr Motlana said the SCA did not see itself as a possible alternative to
the community council, but as a pressure group on it. While there was agreement
on the necessity of improving the living conditions of the people, there was
disagreement in that the SCA saw the possibility of these changes being effected
only when the whole political superstructure had been overthrown. The SCA
would only agree to serve on local bodies when blacks had representation in the
central government.

Dr Motlana said in March that he did not wish to perpetuate the 59 feud with
Chief Buthelezi, though they differed fundamentally. In May he said that conflict
with the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) had risen in Soweto as they
were appealing for mem-
bership from the same constituency. Several meetings had been held Political to
discuss the issue.22

In August a member of the Committee of Ten, Mr Douglas Lol-
Affairs: wane,
in a letter to Post, wrote that support of the people in Soweto PEBCO for the
Committee of Ten had dwindled over the past three years. The Committee, he
said, lacked direction and was indecisive. He questioned its policy of non-
participation in the Community Council. As a result of these criticisms, several
branches of the SCA requested an urgent meeting to call for his resignation. He
resigned of his own accord from the Committee of Ten, while remaining a
member of the SCA. Dr Motlana said they had fundamental policy differences
over issues such as negotiation.23 In September a member of the committee, the
Reverend M Mayathula died.

Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO)
For the establishment of PEBCO see 1979 Survey p 50.

At a public meeting on January 6 PEBCO decided to launch a stay-at-home
campaign and a peaceful demonstration to protest against the proposed relocation
of Walmer residents. Both would coincide with a visit to Walmer on January 14
by the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr G de V Morrison.
It was also decided that white business would be boycotted to pressurise Ford
Motor Company into reinstating dismissed workers (see Labour Relations).
Before a public meeting took place in Walmer on January 9 two executive
members, Mr Conjiwa and Mr Hole, were detained for questioning by the security
police and then released. The president, Mr Botha, and other executive members,
Mr Phalo Tshume, Mr Mono Badela and Mr Thozamile Botha were detained
under the General Law Amendment Act. Another member, Mr Dan Qeqe was
detained on January 16.
The planned stay-away and demonstration were called off because the tour of
Walmer was cancelled. At a public meeting attended by 6 000-9 000 people on
January 13 the detention of the leaders was condemned. Despite demands for
protest action, it was decided to await the expiry of the 14 days allowed for
detention in terms of the General Law Amendment Act. An acting committee
under the chairmanship of Mr Wilson Skosana was elected on January 18.
After the expiry of the stipulated 14 days the detention of the leaders, with the
exception of Mr Qeqe, continued under the Terrorism Act.
Another public meeting was held on January 27 at which the acting executive
encountered strong opposition to its decision that no action to protest against the
detentions be taken. The meeting decided to launch a fund-raising campaign to
assist the families of the detained men.

On February 24, at a public meeting in KwaZakhele, PEBCO
tried for a boycott of all liquor outlets of the Eastern Cape Adminisagtion Board
from February 29, to protest against the detentions and African of’ainst the
refusal of the community council to allow PEBCO the use
Political b( halls in the townships for meetings. A boycott of white traders, to
Affairs: gin on March 15, would continue until the leaders were released. Student att, The leaders were released on February 28 and were all immediately served with banning orders, including Mr Qeqe (see Banning Activity of -ders 1980). The liquor boycott officially continued over the issue community halls though it was reported to be a failure. bq At a public meeting in KwaZakhele on March 9 the decision to to boycott liquor outlets and white traders was suspended in order not to jeopardise the outcome of the applications made by the leaders for the relaxation of certain clauses of their banning orders. re\n
On March 12 a new executive was elected which included representatives from the Malabar Ratepayers' Association representing dian residents of Malabar, and from the coloured township of Gelarindale. Mr Skosana, elected president, said that the constitution would policy of PEBCO would be reviewed. He said that PEBCO was essentially a civic body dedicated to improving the living standards and general conditions of all blacks and was not a political organisation. In April Mr Conjwa, the general secretary, resigned and Mr May, ie chairman of the Zwide branch, was expelled. br, In August the Zwide, KwaZakhele, Kwaford and New Brighton branches sent a letter to Mr Skosana calling for his resignation. He in /as criticised for ineffective leadership, his silence during the crisis in the townships, his violation of PEBCO policy by having meetings with the community council and Eastern Cape Administration Board, his failure to come to the rescue of branches struggling to survive after the detention of PEBCO leaders and the failure of PEBCO to be involved in the schools boycott, the Zwide rents crisis and the issue of the hostel dwellers in KwaZakhele.

After receiving the letter Mr Skosana resigned. In September the former vice president, Dr Moodliar, took over the position of acting president. He affirmed PEBCO's commitment to taking up worker issues and said that he hoped that PEBCO would become an umbrella body incorporating representatives from trade unions and parent and student committees.

For further information see forthcoming SAIRR publication or PEBCO.

Student activity
Branches of COSAS and AZASO involved themselves in community problems such as rents and bus fares in their areas of operation and participated in the organisation of commemoration services and funerals. Their involvement in educational matters is documented in the chapter on Education.

Political Refugees and Movements in Exile
According to the 1979-80 Annual of Power and Conflict published by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, 10 000 blacks had left SA illegally in the wake of the 1976 revolts, and many were being trained in camps in Angola and Zambia. The US Committee on Refugees estimated that SA contributed 0.17% of the total of refugees in Africa. The actual figure was 6 950, more than half of which had gone to Swaziland. In July there were 4 000 refugees in Swaziland according to Swaziland officials.
In March SA refugees in Gaborone moved to the Dukwe camp in north-eastern Botswana under pressure from the Botswana government. They were reluctant to move as they feared the camp was more vulnerable to attack by the SA security forces.

The building of a school for SA exiles, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School in Tanzania, was undertaken by the ANC. The school would eventually accommodate 900 students and offer education at junior, middle and secondary levels. In May 1978 150 students began studying there. Other SA refugees in Tanzania settled in Mizumbu.

The position of exiles in neighbouring countries was proved vulnerable after attacks on ANC officials in Maseru, Lesotho and Manzini, Swaziland by suspected right wing groups.

The ANC’s operations inside SA, being underground and thus unreported, were only revealed when ANC guerrillas, caught by the police, appeared in court and when acts of sabotage were committed. (These are documented in the section on Left Wing Political Violence.) The most serious was the bombing of the oil storage tanks at Sasol and Secunda, an act which drew acclaim from the PAC and other international anti-apartheid organisations. After the siege of the Volkskas bank in Silverton, the Lusaka and Maputo offices of the ANC claimed responsibility saying that in future acts of this nature the guerrillas would match the ruthlessness of the police by killing all the hostages. The London office said that questions of military action inside SA were the responsibility of the internal wing of the organisation. The London office was only responsible for its international affairs.

It was reported that the ANC had at least three training camps in Mozambique, with 4 000 trained guerrillas who had received instruction from East Germans and Cubans, and three camps in Angola. The Deputy Minister of Defence and National Security estimated the number of trained guerrillas to be 2 000. He said that the ANC had progressed far with the infiltration of key positions in government installations and with the establishment of underground cells. Having progressed with its organisational phase, he said, it had now begun the guerrilla phase.24 Caches of arms had been stored in remote areas. There were reports of caches of arms and ammunition found by the security police in northern Zululand and northern Transvaal.

The development of intensified guerilla warfare was hindered by the reluctance of countries, neighbouring SA and vulnerable to its reprisals, to allow their territories to be used as bases for launching attacks. With the independence of Zimbabwe the newly elected president, Mr Mugabe, said that although his party had historical associations with the ANC and PAC he would not allow them to operate from Zimbabwe. He would however support them diplomatically.

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Exile Movements

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If he were to offer a base to them, the existence of Zimbabwe as an independent state would be jeopardised.

In June it was reported that the ANC was unofficially operating in Zimbabwe looking for funds and recruits, and that a group of guerrillas had carried out a reconnaissance mission in western Zimbabwe to chart a safe corridor from Zambia through Zimbabwe and Botswana to South Africa. In July the president of the ANC, Mr Tambo, visited Zimbabwe, allegedly to request permission to open an ANC office and to appeal for recognition and financial assistance from the Zimbabwean government. There were indications that the financial assistance being received from international sources was inadequate. After Zimbabwe's independence, the 13 ANC guerrillas imprisoned there since the early 1960s were released. In October it was announced that the ANC would open offices in Salisbury.

Following attacks on a trading store in northern Zululand in February, the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs threatened retaliatory action against Mozambique for harbouring guerrillas. The Mozambican foreign minister denied that military assistance and bases were provided to SA liberation movements although the ANC was permitted to have an office in Maputo.

In March a Botswana citizen and suspected PAC guerrilla was charged with being in possession of arms and ammunition. In July the Swaziland government stated that it would not allow its territory to be used by any organisation or political group as a springboard for launching attacks on its neighbours. Asylum would be granted to refugees subject to the strict condition that they refrain from engaging in political activity or acts of violence against SA. Those violating these conditions would be subjected to severe penalties including the withdrawal of refugee status and consequent expulsion.

Links between the ANC and PAC and the government of Iran were strengthened after the political changes there. In June the secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, held discussions with the West German foreign ministry on how majority rule could be peacefully achieved in SA. In September the Nigerian government pledged its support for the SA liberation movements.

There were indications of conflict within the ANC when four of its members - Mr Rob Peterson (editor of the SACTU official journal Workers Unity), Ms Paula Ensor, Mr David Hemson and Mr Martin Legassick were suspended in January. The conflict was reported to be about the direction of the ANC's internal operations.

Mr Barend Schuitema, former leader of the Dutch anti-apartheid movement who returned to SA at the beginning of the year, alleged that there was conflict within the ANC between the communists and the black nationalists. He alleged that the SACP feared that black nationalists together with whites in Okhela were setting up an alternative ANC inside SA. The black nationalist group, led by Mr Makiwane and based in Algiers, opposed the decision taken in 1969 to include white Marxists and were engaged in a power struggle with the SACP, which they felt was denying them a large area of political action by prohibiting any contact with homeland leaders.
After the nationalist faction was expelled in 1975, it united with Okhela in a plan to undercut communist influence in the ANC. Mr Makiwane, living in the Transkei, was shot by unknown persons during the year. Documents allegedly belonging to the International University Exchange Fund made public by the exposed security branch agent, Mr Craig Williamson, also revealed conflicts between the nationalist and communist factions within the ANC and between the ANC and the black consciousness movement. The IUEF had allegedly attempted to support and strengthen the latter against what it saw as a communist dominated ANC. After 1976 the conflict between the ANC and the black consciousness movement had allegedly focused on the recruitment of the refugees leaving SA.

A message by Mr Mandela, allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island, was said by commentators to indicate that he maintained his commitment to violence and to the involvement of whites in the liberation struggle. This message printed on a pamphlet was distributed at the funeral of a Committee of Ten member, the Reverend Mayathula in September.

Six of the PAC members detained in 1978 by the Transkei government were released in September. They were Mr M Magoza, Mr S Mapundalo, Mr Z Gushu, Mrs S Madlebe, Mrs V Mketi and Mr V Mketi. Nine others were kept in detention and faced the possibility of being charged.

In August Messrs Daniel Monnakgotla, Garbet Nhlapo, Abraham Zwane, Ingram Mazibuko, Shindo Mahlungo and Titus Soni went on trial in Tanzania on charges of murdering PAC leader Mr David Sibeko in Dar es Salaam in June 1979. At the trial Mr Soni, in a statement to the court, said that a PAC group had been concerned about mismanagement in the party and were frustrated because the leaders did not visit them in the camps. The leaders lived abroad and only came to Dar es Salaam to attend meetings or collect money. Some of the accused requested that the case be treated as a political rather than a criminal one.

In February PAC’s new chairman Mr Vusumuzi Make said that the ineffectual leadership and divisive activities of former chairman Mr Potlako Leballo, had thrown the organisation into a serious crisis which resulted in the death of Mr Sibeko. SA agents, he said, had heavily infiltrated the PAC and the leadership had taken steps to purge the party of all people collaborating with the enemy. Mr Sibeko’s death was part of a wider strategy of the SA government to eliminate the PAC. After the purge, he said, the PAC would intensify its efforts to seek unity with the ANC. There was an intense international campaign to isolate the PAC and to divide the national liberation movements. Recounting the history of the organisation, he said that there had been conflicts between the military high command and the central committee after the death of Mr Robert Sobukwe. The central committee accused the military command, led by Mr Templeton Ntantala, of not carrying out its directions. The entire military command had been expelled in June 1979.

In November it was alleged that two dissident factions of the PAC, one under the leadership of Mr Potlako Leballo and the other, the Azanian Revolutionary
Peoples' Party under Mr Templeton Ntantala, had been formed in Tanzania. The Tanzanian government was
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alleged to be supporting the major faction under Mr Vusumuzi Make. The group led by Mr Leballo alleged that seven of its members had been murdered on March 11 and that there were more than African 500 PAC members including members of the military high command Political in detention.

At a 'Redefinition and Rededication' conference in London in Affairs April the Black Consciousness Movement of SA (BCMSA) changed its name to BCM of Azania (BCMA). Mr Barney Pityana resigned his post as secretary-general and regional chairman of the United Kingdom branch. A report that this was because of his dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of the organisation was denied by its officials, as was a report that the external director, Mr Harry Nengwenkulu based in Botswana, had been expelled because his doctrinaire Maoism had caused conflicts.

An interim committee, elected to represent the various regions, consisted of Messrs Basil Manning (general secretary), Vincent Segwai (secretary), Molefe Pheto (organising secretary), Andrew Lukhele, Gerald Phokobye, Mkhalelwa Mazibuko and Dod Motsisi. The interim committee was instructed to draw up a constitution and work towards a principled unity with all 'patriotic forces'. The conference decided to strengthen and consolidate BCMA's programme through the creation of a unitary structure incorporating all exiled activists who had while inside been involved in such organisations as BCP, BPC, SASM, SASO, NAYO and others, such as the SA Youth Revolutionary Council which was based in Nigeria and which had formed a military wing. The interim committee would also attempt to work more closely with the ANC, PAC and the Unity Movement.

A statement issued by the conference stated that the BCMA was moving closer ideologically to the ANC and PAC. The conference had reaffirmed its belief in black consciousness as an ideology of liberation, basing it on the principles of socialism. It therefore recognised the role of the black worker as a major factor in the struggle for liberation and recognised the necessity for waging a mass based armed struggle to achieve its ends.

There were reports that BCMA was losing support because of its inactivity and lack of unity, leadership and direction. Miss Tenjiwe Mtintso resigned and joined the ANC in Lesotho, Mr Thami Zani resigned as the regional representative in Lesotho and as a member and Mr Ben Khoapa resigned as treasurer of the North American branch.

References
Cape Times January 17
The act amended the provisions of the South African Citizenship Act No 44 of 1949, relating to the status of persons ceasing to be SA citizens. The amendment act provides that a person who ceases to be a SA citizen in terms of sections 16, 19, 19 bis, 20 or 20 bis of the original act shall be deemed to be an alien who is not in possession of a permanent or temporary residence permit.

Section 16 of the original act provides that persons who are SA citizens may renounce their SA citizenship. The amendment act provides that persons who cease to be SA citizens in this manner shall not be entitled to regain their SA citizenship and shall not be issued with a permanent residence permit.

Sections 19, 19 bis, 20 and 20 bis of the original act all deal with grounds for depriving a person of his SA citizenship. One of these is the renunciation of citizenship by applying for citizenship of another country. The deputy-minister motivated the amendment relating to the deprivation of citizenship under section 19 of the original act by stating that such a person showed no interest in SA citizenship and should therefore not be entitled to enjoy the privileges of living in SA without accepting the responsibilities. He stated that it was particularly aimed at those persons who renounced SA citizenship with the intention of avoiding military service.

The amendment act was amended during the committee stage to provide the minister with greater discretionary powers. The minister is empowered to exempt a person or a category of persons from this provision either unconditionally or for a specific period. This exemption may be withdrawn at any time. It was supported by all opposition parties.
Population Registration Amendment Act No 35
The act provides for the issue of certificates of particulars of birth, in lieu of the present identity documents, to persons who have not attained the age of 16 years. The certificate of birth will only be issued to such persons as have not been issued a certificate of citizenship in terms of the Black States Constitution Act 1970, as is the situation at present in respect of identity documents.
The information to be contained in the certificates and the identity documents issued under the act are to be reduced. Clearly this was a response to the review of the identity document which was decided upon last year.

Population Estimates and Vital Statistics
In May the decennial census was held. Several criticisms were reported. The questions on the census forms were criticised for being loaded, while Mr John Rees, the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said that the way questions on race and citizenship were framed was deplorable. Mr Leonard Mosala, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said that the census had obviously been designed to make a demographic analysis of the African population in terms of tribal culture and geographic origin, because there was no way "in which an African who fills in the form can avoid identifying himself with one or another of the so-called homelands". Mr Wally Langschmidt, chairman of a leading market research agency criticised the forms as being "out of date and unnecessarily complicated".

The conduct of the census was severely criticised by Professor Gerhard Schutte, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand. He said that the results could be inaccurate by as much as 20% to 30% and that for statistics to be meaningful they had to be accurate to between 7% and 10%. He said three factors contributed to the unreliability of the census. These were the month-long delay between supplying people with forms and collecting them, the poor phrasing of questions which left them open to misunderstanding and the poor control of the count of the so-called illegal African residents of SA.

According to Mr Joe Smallberger, chief statistician of the Department of Statistics, more than 30 000 enumerators were employed to assist in the census. He said that the full results, comprising approximately 50 volumes, would not be published until 1985 and the first of the final results would be published by mid-1982.

In September the Department of Statistics released the preliminary results of the census at a press conference given by the Secretary for Statistics, Dr Tjaart du Plessis. Estimates of the population of SA on a de facto basis (excluding Bophuthatswana, the Transkei and Venda) in mid-1980 compared with 1970 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4 453 273</td>
<td>4 453 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2 554 039</td>
<td>2 081 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>15 970 019</td>
<td>15 800 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>794 639</td>
<td>784 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total       | 15 970 019   | 15 800 000   |
Population Estimates
1970
3 767 000 2 048 000 630 000 12 206000
23 771 970 18 651 000
(1970 figures were calculated on the same area basis as the 1980 figures.)

This represented an overall increase in the country's population of five million or 27% since 1970. The percentages of each race group who were urban dwellers in 1970 and 1980 were as follows: Population Urban Dwellers - %
1970 1980
White 86,8 88,9
Coloured 74,1 77,3
Asian 83,7 91,3
African 33,1 37,8

Despite the percentage increase in the overall number of Africans who were urban residents, Dr du Plessis said that the past 10 years had seen a major population shift of Africans away from the urban areas to the homelands. He said that while the number of Africans in white areas increased by 13% in the last ten years the increase in the homelands population was 59% for the same period. If correct, these figures represented an opposite to the established trend in all other developing countries. A possible explanation for the high population growth rate of the homelands is the inclusion within their borders of large urban African townships such as KwaMashu in Durban and Mdantsane in East London. Another explanation is the possibility that migrant workers were defined as being residents of homelands rather than of urban areas despite the fact that migrants on average spend 11 out of 12 months at their places of work. The population of QwaQwa which was given as 232 226 in 1980 was, according to statistics supplied by the Bureau vir Ekonomiese Navorsing: Same Ontwikkeling in 1979, only 94 900 in 1978 - an increase of 244,47%.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>2 684 084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>5 420 882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>715 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Ndebele</td>
<td>380 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Ndebele</td>
<td>236 883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Sotho</td>
<td>2 264 544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Sotho</td>
<td>1 792 687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1 215 732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangaan/Tsonga</td>
<td>888 879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>185 058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>185 443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15 970 019</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population of the Homelands
The following projections for 1980 were provided by Benso (Bureau vir Ekonomiese Navorsing: Same Ontwikkeling - Bureau for Economic Research: Co-operation and Development). They are based on mid-year estimates of the Department of Statistics and take into account relocation figures and border alterations as far as possible.4

De Facto Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Not available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>630 353</td>
<td>476 694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>159 882</td>
<td>166 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>3 177</td>
<td>569 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>232 226</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>6 501</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>3 177</td>
<td>569 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>232 226</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>6 501</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3 177</td>
<td>569 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6 501</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population

The estimates were based on the preliminary results of the census conducted during the year. Censuses were also conducted in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda but the results of these were not available. De jure population estimates were also not available for this reason. The most recent estimates of de facto and de jure population of the homelands were given in last year's Survey, p 71.

Replying to a question in the assembly, the Minister of Statistics said the natural increase rate per 1 000 population was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Dr Tjaart du Plessis the preliminary findings of the 1980 census indicated that the SA population had the following percentage growth rates per year since 1970:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department of Statistics gave the following statistics in relation to birth and death rates. Statistics for Africans were not available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immigration and Emigration

Recent migration figures were as follows:

Population
Immigrants Emigrants Nett gain/loss

1978
18 669 20 686
-2 017
1979
18 680 15 694 +2 986

Despite the nett gain last year as opposed to 1978 the country continued to experience a net loss of persons in the following categories in 1979:

Professional, Technical and Related Workers
Administrative and Managerial Workers

Available comparisons as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Emigrants</th>
<th>Net Loss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2310</td>
<td>2479</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>512</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1979 and the current year were

Jan-Sept 1979
13 137 11 891 +1 246

Jan-Sept 1980
3 012
641
+2 371

During 1979 49% of immigrants to SA came from Rhodesia.

Admission of Indian Aged Parents, Wives and Children

According to the Report of the Department of Indian Affairs the following number of applications were received, approved, refused and still outstanding for the period July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979. Statistics relating to the previous year reviewed are given in brackets for purposes of comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applications received</th>
<th>Applications approved</th>
<th>Applications refused</th>
<th>Outstanding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aged Parents Wives and Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17(17)</td>
<td>34(104)</td>
<td>8(7)</td>
<td>17(99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(5)</td>
<td>17(5)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Replying to a question in the assembly the Deputy-Minister of the Interior said that all applications for the admission of aged parents were considered on merit and reasons for the refusal of applications were not divulged.

Race Classification

The Report of the Department of the Interior stated that the racial classification of 152 South Africans was changed during the year. Details of the changes in classification were as follows:

| Cape coloured to white | 101 |
| White to Cape coloured | 2   |
| Indian to Malay        | 4   |
Malay to Indian 10
Cape coloured to Indian 10
Cape coloured to Chinese 3
Indian to Cape coloured 11
White to Indian 2
Chinese to Cape Coloured 2
White to Chinese 6
Chinese to white 1
Total 152

Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts
In 1979 one appeal for reclassification from African to coloured was rejected by the Appeal Board on the grounds that the appellant did not meet the requirements for reclassification. Two appeals were upheld and the appellants' classifications were changed from Cape coloured to white, and from African to Cape coloured respectively. No appeals were heard by the courts in 1979.

Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts
Replying to a question in the assembly, the Minister of Police said that during the period July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979, 350 suspected contraventions of section 16 of the Immorality Act were investigated. As a result 355 people were charged.

The Minister of Justice gave information relating to the number of cases under section 16 of the Immorality Act (which outlaws sexual intercourse between white and black in SA) that were referred to each attorney-general in SA, the number of persons prosecuted, convicted and still awaiting trial at the end of 1979 on these charges.

Attorney-general
at
Bloemfontein Cape Town Grahamstown Kimberley Pietermaritzburg Pretoria
Total
Number of Cases Referred
19 48 52 18 34 87
258
Prosecutions
21 29 79 23 27
120
Number of Convictions Awaiting Trial
15 2
21 8
65 11
13 7
16 4
92 14
222

The Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, referring to the matter at the Transvaal and OFS Congresses of the NP, repeated his statement first made last year that the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts were not 'holy cows' and should be
improved. Addressing the OFS congress Mr Botha said that all immorality and not only that between black and white, was undesirable. He told the congress that "Moses had a mixed marriage" and that he had asked friends who had "a better training in theology, and they said yes, it couldn't be denied that Moses did have an 'otherwise' wife".

Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts

Commenting on Mr Botha's call to improve the acts, leading law academics said that they could not be improved and suggested their repeal. Professor Barend van Niekerk of the University of Natal and Professor S A Strauss, of the University of SA said that the laws were archaic and unnecessary and any suggestion, such as the one at the Transvaal NP congress to broaden the Immorality Act so as to include immorality between whites as well as between white and black, was unacceptable in a modern society. Professor van Niekerk said that the only way the laws could be improved was to reduce still further the number of prosecutions and "if the Prime Minister is prepared to go that far, why does he not scrap the legislation completely?" Other commentators pointed out that the acts were in fact necessary for the overall strategy of grand apartheid. Their repeal would create problems in respect of the Group Areas Act, the country's education policies and the franchise. They said that while the repeal of the acts appeared an inconsequent act, such an action could have significant effects on the other props of apartheid.

A possible example of the way in which the government intended to improve the laws was reported during the year. Following the refusal of a magistrate to marry a couple because one of the couple had been classified as 'coloured', special permission was given for the couple to marry before she was re-classified white. Administrative techniques such as this can only be used in SA law in fringe cases. In April a Port Elizabeth magistrate warned that the courts might have to start imposing jail sentences again for contraventions of the Immorality Act.

Sentencing a couple convicted of conspiring to commit immorality, Mr P P J van der Merwe said that the rise in the incidence of section 16 offences in Port Elizabeth was worrying. Mr van der Merwe's warning ran counter to the prevailing policy of imposing suspended sentences on Immorality Act offenders. In September the United Congregational Church warned at its General Assembly that the church would go ahead and marry anyone regardless of their racial classification. It was expected that the Anglican and Presbyterian churches would follow this example.

References
1 Sunday Express February 10
2 Sunday Times June 1
3 Hansard 1 Q col 24
6 Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the period July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979, RP 113/1979
ECONOMIC SITUATION

The SA Reserve Bank stated that the official policy of encouraging economic growth was continued in early 1980. The real gross domestic product increased by 6.5% in 1979/80. Declines in the real product in agriculture and gold mining—the latter mainly as a result of the mining of lower grade ore—were offset by the high increase in the real value of the major non-agricultural sectors of the economy.

Economic growth was based on an increase in real gross domestic demand. One of the main objectives of the 1980/81 budget was to support the recovery in private consumption and investment by increasing the real disposable income of individuals and by enhancing the financial capacity of companies to expand fixed and inventory investment. In addition, with effect from March 31 the ceilings on banking institutions' credit to the private sector were raised. Real private consumption expenditure continued to increase sharply due to wage adjustments and the reduction in income tax rates, and real fixed investment showed an increase.

Real government consumption expenditure and real inventories increased only slightly in 1979/80. Much of the scope for the more rapid economic expansion during 1980 was provided by the continuous strengthening of the current account of the balance of payments. This was almost entirely due to an exceptionally large increase in the value of the net gold output, resulting from a sharp increase in the price of gold. However, most of the current account surplus was absorbed by an unusually large net outflow of capital.

A major reason for the outflow was the large-scale switching of trade financing from foreign to domestic sources because of the considerable difference between the levels of short-term interest rates in SA and those in other countries particularly the United States. The rate of inflation decelerated slightly in the first quarter of 1980 and consumer as well as wholesale prices showed lower rates of increase. It was anticipated that large increases in salaries and wages and the tax reductions announced in the Budget would show their effect at a later date. Inflation later became a problem.

The higher economic growth rate, which was designed to counter unemployment, resulted in an increase in employment and a slight decline in unemployment. However the acceleration in the rate of economic expansion created bottlenecks,
such as shortages of skilled labour and of certain products, which caused upward pressures in wages, salaries and prices. The Governor of the Reserve Bank, in his outgoing address, warned that the high and increasing inflation rate could harm further growth.

Conditions in the capital market remained buoyant during most of the first quarter of 1980. Towards the end of this period, however, the market for fixed interest securities became characterised by a change in expectations regarding long-term interest rate movements and a hesitancy on the part of investors to acquire additional long-term securities. As a result, long-term yields in the secondary market increased to somewhat higher levels at the end of March and during April. In the share market, turnover and prices, which had risen to new record levels in early 1980, declined during the second half of the first quarter and during April.

Senator Horwood stated that at the end of 1978 total foreign investment in SA exceeded R22 000m of which 42% represented direct investment or investment which was accompanied by an effective say in the policies of businesses in which the money was invested.

The question of investment by US companies in SA was again debated this year by church, student groups and congressional committees. No major policy statements were released or definitive initiatives taken by the US government. Six weeks of congressional hearings were held by the House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Africa under the chairmanship of congressman Stephen Solarz to examine whether congress should enact laws to regulate trade and restrain investment in SA. Consensus was reached that America should act firmly to help bring about a society in SA in which all South Africans had real political participation. However no consensus emerged on how best America should go about persuading the SA government to move towards peaceful change. During the hearings Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of Transafrica, a leading black pressure group, said the time had long since passed when the US could rely on gentle persuasion or diplomatic reprimands. Transafrica proposed a comprehensive sanctions plan through the United Nations, including a total two-way trade embargo and bans on new investment, the transfer of funds and air travel between the two countries. Mr Robinson stated that the arguments that sanctions would hurt Africans in SA had little merit. Most of the US firms in SA were capital intensive or employed a disproportionate number of skilled whites. Mr Solarz, in summing up the hearings, stated that there was clearly a call for the US to play a more aggressive and assertive role in promoting racial harmony, social justice and political equality in SA. Mr Solarz stated he would visit SA again to meet African and white leaders with a view to further hearings.'A series of hearings on the US-SA business connection was also held by the 48-member Congressional Ad Hoc Monitoring Group. The bipartisan group, formed in 1979, drawing members from the
louse and Senate, was headed by senators Mark Hatfield, Paul Tsongas and representatives Tom Downey and Paul McCluskey. In 1979 Mr McCluskey wrote letters to more than 300 companies informing them of the group's interest in the Sullivan principles and asking companies whether they had signed the code and requesting information on steps they had taken to put the code into effect. The group envisaged that legislation limiting or circumscribing US business activities in SA and limiting or ending bank loans to SA would emerge from the hearings. Among those who advised the group on the hearings were exiled East London editor Donald Woods, Mr T Smith of the Interfaith Centre for Corporate Responsibility, the Congressional Black Caucus and Mr Richard Moose, Deputy UnderSecretary of State for Africa.

Disinvestment hearings also took place in the Massachusetts State Legislature in May. A bill was read aimed at blocking any Massachusetts state money, including state pension funds, from being invested in any company having SA subsidiaries or handling SA contracts.2

While visiting SA in January, Senator Tsongas stated that if the SA government was not seen to be serious about change the disinvestment campaign would continue and would be increasingly successful.3

In a first move of its kind the conservative US state of Nebraska voted that firms and banks investing in SA should be struck from the approved investment list for Nebraska state funds. The motion was introduced by a black member, Senator Ernest Chambers of Omaha and received the support of all 28 other members.

For the tenth year in succession American churches filed resolutions with major US companies urging them to withdraw their investments in SA. Thirty-two resolutions were filed with 29 corporations and banks in a campaign spearheaded by the Interfaith Centre for Corporate Responsibility under the auspices of the US National Council of Churches. A spokesman stated that one of the 1980 resolutions filed with American Express had resulted in a new investment policy. American Express had agreed to prohibit any further loans through its bank to the SA government or any of its agencies.4

In March the National Council of Churches and several other religious groups announced they were withdrawing R50,4m from Citibank of New York because it refused to change its policy on loans to SA. A Citibank board of directors' statement to stockholders presented at the annual general meeting of Citicorp, Citibank's parent company, said Citicorp "continues to deplore apartheid" and that its increasing employment in a particular country does not connote approval of that country's politics, its form of economic organisation or its record on civil liberties or human rights issues. To employ a human rights standard in international transactions may be an appropriate strategy for a government body, but it is not a policy which can be effectively or appropriately implemented by private business organisations lacking powers of sovereignty.'

During the congressional hearings the biggest US labour organisation, the AFL-CIO, renewed its call for legislation governing the conduct of US firms in SA and urged that the US prepare for more
Foreign Investment

76
Foreign Investment
severe action against the country if necessary. This could range from a progressively selective ban on SA imports to a full boycott barring new investment, invoking complete disinvestment and cutting all ties. The director of the organisation's legislation department, Mr Ray Denison, stated that the major weakness of employment codes such as the Sullivan principles was that they lacked an effective enforcement and monitoring mechanism. General Motors (SA) employed only four Africans in salaried jobs out of a workforce of more than 4500. IBM had only four African managers out of 1443 employees. Colgate Palmolive was trying to thwart the formation of an African union at its Boksburg plant in direct violation of a Sullivan principle.8 (See also codes for employers in chapter on Employment.) A year-long investigation by the SA Foundation into the US disinvestment campaign against SA revealed:
* there were more than 2000 local, state, regional and national organisations across the US committed to some action in this area;
* these groups had a total financial power (operating funds, institutional support and personal donations) estimated at nearly R87 000m;
* during 1978 and 1979 they were able to compel US universities to divest R40m in stock;
0 they had succeeded in getting nearly all major US banks to stop lending money to the SA government and to parastatal corporations;
* a total of 35 out of 50 states had some kind of organisational network devoted either to the anti-apartheid movement, disinvestment or corporate governance issues - with nearly 50 000 individuals active in some way related to the movement;
* a recent study by a New York-based research firm (Corporate Data Exchange) showed that more than R10 000m of union controlled pension funds were currently invested in nonunion companies. In addition, the companies in which the union funds were invested held more than R8 700m worth of stock in companies which were lenders to SA. "By withdrawing their substantial pension fund money from banks that lend to SA, unions can exercise a form of serious political-economic leverage against corporations."12
UK
In September a member of the Foreign Office visited SA and together with the British Ambassador to SA, Mr John Leahy, had talks with Bishop Tutu, general secretary of the SACC. The talks centred on British investment in SA with the Bishop calling for a halt to such investment (Post 19/9).
In October the British anti-apartheid movement announced it would stage a consumer boycott and crusade against bank loans to SA in its overall campaign for complete and compulsory economic sanctions. Its annual report urged activists to "expose the role of transnational corporations operating in SA". The AAM's national committee unanimously adopted the report which proposed this action along with a tightening of the United Nations arms embargo against SA and a widening of the oil boycott.  

Foreign Investment  
Europe  
Bayerische Motoren Werken AG (BMW) announced it would invest a further R52m in SA to cope with the growth in demand for its cars. The investment programme would ultimately lead to the creation of a further 800 job opportunities.  

SA negotiated a $250m loan from an international bank consortium to finance programmes for its black population. The loan was granted for seven years with an interest rate of seven-eighths of a point over Libor, the London interbank rate. The Luxemburg subsidiary of West Germany's Dresdner Bank directed the consortium. Escom announced it had borrowed loom deutschmarks ($55m) from an international consortium headed by Dresdner Bank and the Commerzbank of West Germany.  

SA opinion  
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi informed a 17-man delegation from the Rockefeller Foundation in January that the view widely held among Western analysts that African South Africans supported disinvestment was a fallacy. This viewpoint, he said, came from "theoretical liberals" - people who saw society in stark terms of right and wrong and theorised about Utopian situations which bore no similarity to hard realities. He stated that an unpublished survey conducted by the University of Natal's Institute of Applied Social Sciences had shown that 74.7% of those interviewed supported continued investment in SA. Only 20% of the respondents favoured disinvestment and 5.3% were undecided.  

The secretary-general of the National Union of Clothing Workers Mrs Lucy Mvubelo came under fire from leading Africans for making "pro-foreign investment" statements in an interview with SATV in June. Mrs Mvubelo stated that foreign companies should be encouraged to invest in SA for the good of the African people. Her statements were rejected by Mr T Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Motlana and Mr Tom Manthatha, both of the Committee of Ten.  

In delivering the keynote address to the 'Outlook for the '80s' investment conference in Johannesburg in February the Minister of Finance, Senator Owen Horwood, said he did not believe that disinvestment from the SA economy by foreign investors was remotely Possible. He said disinvestment would place foreign investors' dividend interest and branch profits of more than R1 174m a year in jeopardy. He stated that disinvestment, if it could be put into effect, would mean hardship for "many thousands, particularly for the blacks, where unemployment and loss of earnings would be a serious matter". Over the past few
decades just over 11% of SA's investment requirements had come from abroad. In the last couple of years, however, SA had become a capital exporter. He stated that in

1975, a year of serious recession in the world economy, 548 of the largest SA companies with total shareholders' equity of nearly R7 000m had achieved pre-tax profits of R1 300m - a 20% return on Sanctions equity. At the same time the 500 largest companies in the United States had shown a median pre-tax return on equity capital of only 11.6% with the exceptional performances of oil companies included.

Sanctions

USA and Canada

President Carter this year extended the United States' arms embargo against SA until December 1980. In a letter to the US Congress he stated that a lifting of the ban would harm American credibility both in black Africa and with the SA government. The ban covers the export of arms and equipment for military and police use in SA. The only exemption allowed was for medicines, medical supplies and equipment "not primarily destined for military or police entities or their use". The US allows American aircraft and helicopters to be exported to SA only if written assurance is given against military, paramilitary or police use. Computers could be exported to SA provided they "would not be used to support the policy of apartheid". President Carter stated that the arms embargo was meant to distance the US from the practice of apartheid, strengthen the UN arms embargo and support racial justice throughout Africa. He stated further that there had been no movement towards fundamental social and political change in SA and the US had failed to influence Pretoria through other means such as cutting back diplomatic and other relationships.

He said rough estimates of the effects of the controls on US exports showed that in general terms the US share of the SA market dropped from being the largest at 13% in 1977 to 11% in 1978 when it was overtaken by Britain and Germany.1 (See also section on arms in chapter on Defence.)

Britain

Shell gave a guarantee that it would not deliver crude oil to SA from any country operating an oil embargo against the Republic.

Western Europe

In June the Dutch parliament voted by 106 votes to 44 in favour of the immediate introduction of independent oil sanctions against SA. The introduction of sanctions would not follow automatically on the vote, as the cabinet had the power to decide whether or not to accept the demand.2 The cabinet failed to take a decision on the issue in two further debates before it closed for recess.13

Africa

In June Nigeria threatened reprisals against shippers of petroleum to SA and called on the Security Council to ban such shipments. Mr A Clark, the Nigerian
chief delegate, appealed to the council to help speed the process of the 'crumbling' of apartheid by adopting a resolution in support of the opponents of the system in SA. He said the council should require the establishment of a democratic system of government leading to majority rule in SA and request all states to use their influence to this end.14

Taxation

SA Opinions

The chairman of Iscor, Dr Tom Muller, stated that the threat of sanctions was a two-edged sword. If SA were to withhold its minerals from the West, the West would suffer. He cited the following estimates of SA's reserves as a percentage of world reserves:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA- %</th>
<th>Russia- %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Platinum</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanadium</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manganese</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrome</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluorspar</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbestos</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uranium</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His statements did not receive the backing of the heads of the mining houses. Mr D Etheridge, president of the Chamber of Mines, stated it would be a grave step to take. He said he would prefer SA to continue to deal commercially rather than to treat its strategic resources as a political weapon.15

Commenting on the threat of sanctions over the SWA/Namibia issue, the SA Agricultural Union pointed out that SA had become a major source of supplementary food for southern and some central African countries. The BSL countries also derived benefits from the customs union agreement with SA. Countries which conducted considerable trade with SA would also suffer.6

Trade

According to preliminary statements of trade statistics released by the Department of Customs and Excise, imports and exports for the first quarter of the year, compared with figures for the first quarter of 1979 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rm</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>64,9 53,9</td>
<td>264,2 137,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>1 186,7 968,4</td>
<td>1 239,1 1 072,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>438,4 325,2</td>
<td>473,8 304,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>22,1 16,4</td>
<td>25,0 15,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taxation

The minister gave the following figures in relation to the numbers assessed for normal income tax for 1978 (including loan levy):17

Cape Province: Natal:
Orange Free State: Transvaal:
White Coloured Indian White Coloured Indian White Coloured Indian White Coloured Indian
No of taxpayers
438 522 202 866
6 204 198 229 13 638 97 403 107 774 2 657 5 796 744 25 170 21 021
Amount assessed
Rm
406 407 29 208 2 780 215 279 2 801 20 642 107 415 312
1 028 487 5 261 11 116
The number of individual taxpayers in each income category and
the percentage of tax assessed for each category lows:18
Income Category
Loss
1- 1 000
1 001- 2 000 2 001- 3 000 3 001- 4 000 4 001- 5 000 5 001- 6 000 6001- 7000
7001- 8000
8001- 9000 9001- 10000 10001- 12000 12001- 14000 14001- 16000 16001-
18000 18001- 20000
20 001- 22 000 22 001- 24 000 24 001- 26 000 26 001- 28 000 28 001- 30 000 30
001- 40 000 40 001- 50 000 50 001- 80 000 80 001- 100 000 100 001- 150 000 150
001 and over
No of individual taxpayers in income category
15 731
157 446 186 474 223 338 179 841
150 055 133 976 124 630 118 405 111 568 96 998 145 321 89 800 51 061 30619
19 928 12 544 8 256 5 675 4 042 2 834 6 266 2 014 1 524
260 197 102
in 1978 was as folTax assessed in income category as percentage of total tax
assessed
0,05 0,05 0,61 1,68
The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that R85 616 522 was collected from Africans for 1978-79 in terms of the Taxation of Blacks Act. The preliminary figure for 1979-80 was R74 409 893. The number of Africans paying income tax was 3 889 683.19

The act made further provision for the phasing-in process whereby the taxation of Africans would be placed on an equal footing with that of other races. (See 1979 Survey pp 185-7.)

Local tax (also called 'hut tax') was abolished. This tax was paid in certain African areas in respect of residential stands. Almost all the land on which local tax had been payable had over the years been incorporated into the homelands. The government thus felt that the amount collected no longer justified the administrative expenses incurred.

The act also raised the threshold above which Africans become liable for tax from R1 201 to R1 801 and provided for the scaling-down of the tax rate by 20%. The Minister of Finance announced that the government would contribute an amount of R25m to the homelands to compensate them for the losses sustained as a result of this amendment. The new measures would apply from March 1, 1980 although in practice they were implemented from May 1 when the PAYE tables were ready. The minister stated that all those who would still be eligible for tax would be refunded for the excess tax for the months of March and April. However, all those who would no longer pay tax as a result of the increase would not be able to claim a refund for these months. The amendment act also changed the name of the principal act from the Black Taxation Act to the Taxation of Blacks Act.

The Minister of Finance gave the following figures relating to income tax collected in the financial year 1978-79 from various sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>1 974 043 948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold mining companies</td>
<td>666 051 025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other mining companies</td>
<td>127 418 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other companies</td>
<td>1 549 542 985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (excluding interest)</td>
<td>4 317 056 382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total loan levy collected in that year was R518 727 735.
EMPLOYMENT COST OF LIVING

Consumer Price Index

The monthly increases in 1980 over 1979 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Jun</th>
<th>Jul</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>13,8</td>
<td>14,3</td>
<td>13,1</td>
<td>13,4</td>
<td>14,1</td>
<td>14,6</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>11,9</td>
<td>12,8</td>
<td>14,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in past issues of Survey, estimates different areas are given below. The Bureau UNISA also draws up estimates but does publication by other bodies.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Nov 1979</th>
<th>May 1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>103,26</td>
<td>111,59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and footwear</td>
<td>21,53</td>
<td>22,74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Fuel and light</td>
<td>18,72</td>
<td>18,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>12,45</td>
<td>12,09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>12,38</td>
<td>12,38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning materials</td>
<td>15,2</td>
<td>15,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical expenses</td>
<td>11,9</td>
<td>11,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>13,4</td>
<td>12,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockery, cooking utensils, etc</td>
<td>12,8</td>
<td>12,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>14,1</td>
<td>14,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Level</td>
<td>2,50</td>
<td>2,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muni</td>
<td>2,62</td>
<td>2,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of living standards in of Market Research at not release them for May 1980</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>185,27</td>
<td>196,05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
increase
over May 1979
14.3
8.4
18.9 10.19
-72.2
24.8
14.1 7.1 9.2
10.0

Item
incomes and Writing materials, etc
Wages Amusement and sport
Personal care
Savings and emergencies
Grand Total
Nov 1979
R
4.64 2.34 3.46 5.08
May 1980
R
6.10 2.38 3.56 5.32
increase
over May 1979
40.5
6.7
8.5 14.5
200.79 213.41

Institute for Planning Research
The estimates of the Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth, for the Household Subsistence Level (HSL) for an, African family of six persons and a coloured family of five persons foe various centres are given below:
Benoni Bloemfontein
Boksburg Brits
Cape Town Durban East London Germiston Johannesburg King Williamstown
Kimberley Krugersdorp Peddie Port Elizabeth Pretoria Queenstown Springs
Uitenhage Umtata Vaal Triangle
African HSL October 1980
181.62 196.20 182.24 186.77 206.89 193.27 196.00
184.83 200.12 184.51 191.25 191.54 170.66 184.16 195.67 198.42 183.26
186.29 178.86
194.46
EARNINGS
Income Levels and Wages
At the beginning of the year trade unionists reacted strongly to a call made to workers by the Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, to avoid making "excessive salary and wage demands". Unionists indicated that they would continue with plans to demand substantial wage increases, which they believed were necessary to maintain their members' living standards. Senator Horwood's statement was seen as an attempt to pre-empt wage negotiations. The effect of wage increases on the economy was widely discussed during the year. Volkskas stated that the average real salary or wage of whites dropped by 6.2% between 1974 and 1978, and of coloured people by 1.4%. In contrast the average real salaries and wages of Indians and Africans rose by 13.3% and 23.3% respectively. Employment of whites had continued to keep pace with growth; that of coloured people was slightly short of the increase in population growth; African employment increased by only 0.8% from 1974 to 1978 and showed a decline in 1977 and 1978. Mr M de Klerk, an economist at the University of Cape Town, stated that of 90 countries surveyed by the World Bank, SA showed the most inequitable distribution of income. Estimates by the World Bank, the Ford Foundation and UCT showed that the top 10% of income
earners received 58% of the national income; the top 20% received 75%; the lowest 40% received 6% and the lowest 20% received 2%.

It was estimated that the 1980 disposable incomes of Africans would be over R9 000m forming nearly 40% of the consumer market. But Africans' share of this would be a mere R1 800m. This pattern could be changed if the CBDs were opened to all races and with increased development of trading facilities within townships.

National Minimum Wage

The advantages and disadvantages of the introduction of a national minimum wage were also widely debated.

The chairman of the National Manpower Commission (NMC), Dr H Reynders, stated that the commission had received representations from the private sector which were generally in favour of the idea and the NMC was giving it top-level consideration.

At its annual conference the SA Allied Workers' Union called for a national minimum wage of R50 a week linked to inflation for all workers employed in commerce and industry.

Among the disadvantages of a national minimum wage mentioned were the following:

"that it would increase the cost of producing articles, lead to a decline in profitable businesses and a reduction in the work force;
* if there was a compulsory increase in wages firms staying in business would reduce labour at a time of slack economic activity;
* by increasing the relative cost of labour, minimum wage laws encouraged the move from labour intensive to capital intensive methods of production.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut produced the following estimates of average earnings (excluding earnings in kind) for the different races for the years 1975 to 1979 in the non-agricultural sectors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>85 Incomes and Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Average earnings (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Percentage change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Consumer Price Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Real earnings (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Percentage change in real earnings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Employment (1975=100=1 217 217)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Percentage change in employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African</th>
<th>Average earnings (R)</th>
<th>Percentage change</th>
<th>Consumer Price Index</th>
<th>Real earnings (R)</th>
<th>Percentage change in real earnings</th>
<th>Employment (1975=100)</th>
<th>Percentage change in employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 592</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>2 592</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>2 921</td>
<td>9,0</td>
<td>124,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 114</td>
<td>11,4</td>
<td>1 114</td>
<td>11,4</td>
<td>-0,6</td>
<td>103,6</td>
<td>1 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6419</td>
<td>9,0</td>
<td>124,6</td>
<td>5 152</td>
<td>-2,2</td>
<td>105,0</td>
<td>6419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 092</td>
<td>9,6</td>
<td>123,3</td>
<td>1 697</td>
<td>-1,5</td>
<td>105,4</td>
<td>2 092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 095</td>
<td>6,6</td>
<td>103,6</td>
<td>1 095</td>
<td>-0,7</td>
<td>106,1</td>
<td>1 095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 336</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>1 278</td>
<td>16,7</td>
<td>-0,6</td>
<td>103,6</td>
<td>2 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 048</td>
<td>9,6</td>
<td>1 278</td>
<td>109,5</td>
<td>-1,5</td>
<td>103,6</td>
<td>2 048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 095</td>
<td>6,6</td>
<td>103,6</td>
<td>1 095</td>
<td>-0,7</td>
<td>106,1</td>
<td>1 095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2 092</td>
<td>9,6</td>
<td>123,3</td>
<td>1 697</td>
<td>-1,5</td>
<td>105,4</td>
<td>2 092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 713</td>
<td>1 909</td>
<td>1 713</td>
<td>1 723</td>
<td>-11,4</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>1 713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The PE Consulting Group produced a survey of black remuneration in various job categories for 1980. The table below gives some of their findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Category</th>
<th>Average Wage Rates: 1980 Rand per month</th>
<th>% change over 1979</th>
<th>% change over 1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>2,651 13,6 123,3 2 152</td>
<td>2,1 109,7</td>
<td>-1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitress/tea maker (female)</td>
<td>1,451 13,5 121,2 1 197</td>
<td>2,6 101,7</td>
<td>-1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messenger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scooter driver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light motor vehicle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copy typist (3 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General clerk (male) (3-5 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General clerk (female) (2-5 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>2,291 13,0 136,7 2 194</td>
<td>2,0 110,7</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,618 135,3 1 211</td>
<td>1,2 99,6</td>
<td>-2,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asian: 272 175 256 268 280 323 285 297 369 382
% change over 1979: 13,8 15,1 26,7 18,2 1'0,7 28,3

Average wage rates: 1980 Rand per month

Asian over 1979: 190 13,1
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>23,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,4</td>
<td>342</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'7,5</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>518</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>440</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>40,7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>532</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,6</td>
<td>489</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>13,8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
<td>42,2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>7,8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>16,5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 627</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156,4</td>
<td>4 872</td>
<td>-4,2</td>
<td>107,2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 468</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,7</td>
<td>154,8</td>
<td>1 594</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4,9</td>
<td>112,5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 280</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,4</td>
<td>154,8</td>
<td>2 119</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3,4</td>
<td>114,4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 831</td>
<td>11,8</td>
<td>152,1</td>
<td>1 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0,6</td>
<td>100,4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0,8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

job Category
personnel officer Training officer Operative grade one (male) operative grade one (female) operative grade two (male) operative grade two (female) operative grade three (male) Operative grade three (female) Operative grade four (male) operative grade four (female) Watchman
Shift supervisor Semi-skilled operator (not artisan) Skilled operator (not artisan) Salaried foreman Artisan assistant Sales representative
African
793 604 190 179
224
251
279
% change
over 1979
15,3 36,3
5,0
18,5 16,7
age wage rates: 1980 Rand per month
% change
Asian over 1979 Coloured
229     29,8     256
164     11,8     215
208     11,8     259
147     12,2     193
251     8,7      293
-       -       185
347     4,2      356
-       -       213
491     -        -
355     5,02     451
330     -        230
--      663
Markinor produced the following estimates of African household incomes for
April 1980 from a survey of 804 African women:
% of total sample
6,1 2,5 5,0
13,6 8,8 13,2 14,6 14,7 7,4
13,4
Johannesburg
6,0 2,8 6,0 13,0 10,2 10,2 14,4 13,0 9,3 15,3
Reef
2,6 1,9 2,9 9,8 10,4 14,9 18,6 18,1 6,8 12,9
Durban
6,4 3,2 7,2
12,0 7,2 14,4 16,0 12,8 8,0 12,8
PE EL
17,6 4,9 6,9 25,5 5,8 8,9 5,9 7,8 4,9 10,8
Pretoria
2,2
3,2
14,0 6,5 19,4 12,9 20,4 6,5 14,0
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
The Minister of Statistics gave the following figures regarding the total
population in the Republic and the number of economically active People as at
June 30, 1979:
Estimated population:
Over 18 years
2 895 324 434 467 1 303 355 8 208 307
Under 18 years
1 550 676
357 533
1 229 645 8 111 593
% change over 1979
6,7 9,1
39,2 12,2 24,7 10,8 25,8
8,8
27,4
Household Income
up to R69 R70-R89 R90-R99
R I 00-R129 R1 30-R149 R1 50-Ri 69 R170-R199 R200-R249 R250-R299
R300+
White Indian Coloured African

88
Unemployment
Economically active population:
White Indian
1 895 000 252 000
Coloured
846 000
African
6 614 000
The National Manpower Commission gave the following information regarding the actual and projected economically active population for various years:
The Minister of Manpower have six million unemployed at growth rate remained at 3,5%. Indian
95 126 182 267
348 426 563 570
Speaking during the manpower vote in parliament, Mr R Miller, labour spokesman for the NRP, stated that SA needed a minimum growth rate of 7% per year if it was to reduce unemployment. A 5% growth rate would create 475 000 new jobs per year, while about 220 000 school leavers entered the labour market every year. He estimated that current unemployment stood at 1 500 000. He called on the government to investigate trends away from labour intensity to capital intensity which exacerbated the problem.

Mr R Lorimer, PFP, stated that those who wished to incite revolution would find fertile fields among the unemployed. He stated that even if economic growth was at a maximum SA would still be faced with the problem of what to do with 'enormous numbers' of unskilled workers. Dr Alex Boraine, PFP, called on the government to remove laws which restricted the employment of people and to lift the restrictions on African labour in the Western Cape-a 'coloured labour preference area'. A positive step which could be taken by the government to overcome unemployment was the intensification of education and industrial training.

The government's current population survey on African unemployment gave the following details for 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Not economically active</th>
<th>Economically active</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Unemployed as a percentage of economically active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 000's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>16907</td>
<td>16 946</td>
<td>16 985</td>
<td>11 506</td>
<td>11 516</td>
<td>5 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 440</td>
<td>5 469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>4 954</td>
<td>4 961</td>
<td>4 977</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>17 023</td>
<td>11 532</td>
<td>5 491</td>
<td>4 997</td>
<td>9 0</td>
<td>9,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>5 491</td>
<td>4 997</td>
<td>9,0</td>
<td>9 0</td>
<td>6,4</td>
<td>6,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its survey of coloured unemployment gave the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Not economically active</th>
<th>Economically active</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Unemployed as a percentage of economically active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 000's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>2 573</td>
<td>1 670</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>2 578</td>
<td>1 686</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>6,4</td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td>6,7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
April
2 588 1 685 903 844
59
Unemployment
6.6 6.5
The following numbers of African males and females were registered as unemployed in the area of each administration board as at March 31, 1980:11
Western Cape Eastern Cape Northern Cape Southern Cape Orange Free State Orange-
Vaal Port Natal Drakensberg West Rand East Rand Highveld Eastern Transvaal
Northern Transvaal Central Transvaal Western Transvaal
Males Females
4422 213
41 648 19 530 2 516 1 164
2 702 694
9 968 388
1 886 440
2 219 1 073
23 683 30 436 12 841 3 213 1 775 384
174 97
27 90
1 034 712
1 090 445
A resolution calling for government intervention to stop rising unemployment in Grahamstown was passed by the annual congress of the Association of Management Committees. Statistics showed that Grahamstown's unemployment problem was, on average, three times worse than in any other town in the country.12
There were also reports of rising unemployment in the greater Pietermaritzburg area. Over 300 000 people lived in the area with only 50 000 working in the city itself. It was announced that the cabinet had approved measures designed to attract industry to Pietermaritzburg and other parts of the country where African unemployment had become critical. The measures would include tax and rail Concessions, relocation allowances and housing subsidies.13 (See also chapters on Homelands.)
The mayor of Cape Town, Mr Louis Kreiner, announced that he foresaw soaring unemployment in the Peninsula during the next 20 Years. He stated that the council should contribute R50 000 towards the formation of a new organisation designed to promote the economic development of the Western Cape.4
More than 300 academics, government officials, businessmen and researchers attended a conference on unemployment in Durban

90
Unemployment
in September. It was pointed out that unemployment was heavily concentrated in specific regions of the country as a result of their under-development. Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal stated that official attitudes and
restrictions made it difficult for people in the informal sector to earn reasonable
incomes. Professor Jill Nattrass of the same university stated that a number of
guidelines could be applied which could help achieve an optimal mix between
technology and employment creation. These were:
* think men, rather than machines;
* think small, rather than big;
* think South African and traditional rather than foreign and
modern;
* think black first.”

Unemployment Insurance Fund
The table on page 91 details particulars concerning payments made by the
Unemployment Insurance Fund for the years 1970-79:16
The Minister of Manpower Utilisation stated that the balance in the UIF at the end of 1979 was R205 260 187. An amount of R86 373 574 was paid into the Fund and R82 899 786 was paid out to 264 696 applicants.17

**Workmen's Compensation**

The report of the National Manpower Commission published this year gave the following particulars concerning the Workmen' Compensation Fund for the years 1975-1979.18

**Particulars of the Workmen's Compensation Fund in South Africa, 1975-1979 R million**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Balance of Fund</th>
<th>Compensation paid</th>
<th>Medical assistance paid</th>
<th>Pensions paid</th>
<th>Amounts levied from employers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>167.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>167.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>167.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>167.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Services by Fund**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4 955 4 329 3 696 3 173 3 038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1 068 885 797 778 814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Benefits:**

- **Compensation**: 125 010 139 540 116 920 107 606 96 719
- **Medical assistance**: 372 008 435 408 401 407 364 992 360 739
- **Pensions**
  - Injured workers: 3 258 3 349 3 655 2 335 2 430
  - Dependants: 4 316 4 371 4 736 4 621 5 205
  - Disablement: 25 6 25 9 28 2 28 2 26 8

**Manpower**

The Minister of Statistics gave the following figures regarding numbers employed per race group in the different public sectors as at June 30, 1979:19
Central government Provincial administrations Governments of homelands SAR and Harbours administration Department of Posts and Telecommunications Local authorities Public statutory corporations Control boards Other statutory bodies
White
128 813 123 193
113 441
45 366
57 200 68 500
1 838
12 685
Coloured
57 933 23 716
24 600
7 639 25 800 4 200 286
1 124
Indian
11 106 4 024
1 836
1 189
5 600
500
34
76
African
116 717
91 138 83 1OU
125 659
21 519 135 100 84 700
706 9 894

Manpower shortage
The question of the shortage of skilled manpower and government policy on the issue came under increased scrutiny this year. In past years economists predicted that there would be a dire shortage of skilled manpower once the economy took an upward turn and this has been borne out this year. Faced with the skills shortage, the government announced its intention in January to recruit skilled workers from overseas. In order to promote this, immigration regulations were streamlined so that skilled overseas workers no longer needed a firm job offer if they fell into work categories where there was a proven shortage. The Minister of the Interior reaffirmed the government’s policy that immigrant workers would not be allowed to fill jobs where South Africans were available for the work. He also announced as part of the streamlining process that the assistance to immigrants would be raised above the current R275. He stated that all immigrants
except those from neighbouring states would receive a government contribution towards passage costs amounting to 80% of the actual fare as from April 1. This figure would be automatically adjusted in accordance with air tariff increases. The announcement was widely criticised. The Black Sash pointed out that skilled African workers from the homelands were continually refused the right to work in cities because officials stated that there were sufficient skilled workers. Mr Alec Erwin, general secretary of the Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU), which has a predominantly African membership, stated that SA’s resources should be spent on training SA workers. He held that the best way to solve the shortage of skilled labour was to lift restrictions on the training of African apprentices and scrap all job bars. Dr Francis Wilson, an economist at the University of Cape Town, stated that the importation of workers from overseas was a stopgap measure to avoid a fundamental restructuring of SA in the direction of a non-racial society. He stated: "As long as SA relies on overseas skilled workers we are going to avoid restructuring our education and training system to provide our own skilled workers".

In response the Minister of Manpower Utilisation stated that the government had never abandoned the policy of importing skilled workers to augment the local labour force. At the same time he had dedicated himself to training the maximum number of South AfriCans of all races to meet the demand created by a dynamic economy. It was the government’s firm intention to press ahead with intensive training programmes to ensure skilled worker shortages would not hamper economic growth in the future.

Various estimates of the skills shortage were given by experts in the field and other observers. Dr A Boraine (PFP) stated in parliament that there would be an estimated shortage of 50 000 skilled workers by 1984. The Chamber Of Mines estimated that the shortage of white skilled labour would be 750 000 in ten years' time. The Eenheid vir Toekomskunde (Unit for Future Research) at Stellenbosch University estimated that there would be 1,8m semi-93

Manpower

skilled and unskilled workers in 20 years' time if training woS not greatly increased. Professor P J van der Merwe, deputy chairman of the Manpower Commission, calculated that SA trained only about110 000 people of all races in private and state training schemes in 1978 and that this was inadequate. At the 'Manpower 80s' symposium in July it was revealed that SA would have to train nearly 5m extra workers in the next eight years - an annual 600 000 - if the country was to keep pace with its economic development rate. The break down per sector was: professional -1,8m; semi-skilled - 1,111; of. fice, clerical and sales employees -682 210; skilled employees 570 560; management employees -484 772; foremen and supervisors - 278 399.26
Businessmen attending the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in May agreed that Africans should be given a greater stake in SA’s economic system. They called for the creation of more labour intensive industries and increased training of African entrepreneurs to achieve this.

The deputy chairman of Sentrachem, Mr F le Riche, stated that 1 000 new work opportunities for Africans needed to be created daily. He stressed there was a need for manpower development to be part of an overall plan.

At a meeting of the Institute of Personnel Management, experts stated that in order to overcome the skills shortage employers would have to educate African workers through adult education, and commerce and industry would have to pressure the government to put policy into practice. There were calls for the provision of a system of incentives and rewards to encourage greater training efforts among employers.

A nationwide drive to raise R500 000 over three years for training and job advancement was launched in Cape Town by the National Development and Management Foundation. Half the target had been subscribed by 10 leading firms.

The report of the National Manpower Commission published this year gave the following figures for given years on (a) the numbers employed and (b) vacant posts in various occupational categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/semi professional/technical</td>
<td>267 676</td>
<td>361 891</td>
<td>387 532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial/executive/administrative</td>
<td>15 646</td>
<td>154 283</td>
<td>153 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>81 801</td>
<td>1 470 994</td>
<td>1 139 386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and related work</td>
<td>951 405</td>
<td>309 500</td>
<td>1 141 410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual mining and quarrying</td>
<td>428 8 288</td>
<td>532 9 070</td>
<td>2 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, delivery and communication</td>
<td>915 1 154</td>
<td>1 073 3 062</td>
<td>6 732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing of metal, plastics or machine parts and operators</td>
<td>182 413</td>
<td>123 532</td>
<td>225 508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 382 1 444</td>
<td>1 355 1 078</td>
<td>225 508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
categories
8 Operatives/semi-skilled workers in building and construction
9 Processing of wood/ furniture
10 Manufacture of clothes, textiles, washing, drycleaning
11 Food, drink, tobacco preparation and manufacture
12 Leather and shoe process work
13 Manufacture of glass, fibreglass, cement, lime, bricks, tiles, etc.
14 Skilled/semi-skilled operators manufacturing chemical/rubber products, soap, edible oils and fats, plastics, explosives, etc
15 Printing process and paper manufacturing
16 Supervisors/other skilled/semi-skilled employees not elsewhere classified
17 Service capacities
18 Labourers
1969
70 090 2 078
26 932
289
163 209
2 086
48 848
102
32 162
69
26 398
32
29 046
184
18850
168 138 221 1 861
384 609 7 173 3 725 132
52 260
168 961 99 769 111 867 161 370
1 931 2 398 2 523 5 363
37 679 31 283 34 444 32 792 190 96 51 60
177 922 195 267 188451 171 025 2 891 2 642 678 400
61 411 61 372 81 143 62 294
516 101 224 248
36488 37 160 34 207 23 310
455 104 97 38
29 876 35 486 38 295 40 293
231 111 196 170
36 197 34 582 38 538 49 236
286 342 153 368
19 594
214 179 215 3 703
442 837 9 215
4 324 339 4
71 364
19 020 63
173 539
2 763
450 913 11 331 439 549 55 029
17 575
82
216 108 2 885
532 325 14 401 4 732 246
62 156
22 896
125
276 753 5 015
Occupational Structure

The whole question of manpower utilisation and training was examined by the Wiehahn Commission, part II.

The occupational structure of the workforce in 1977 and the projections for 1987 were as follows:31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1987</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional workers</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial workers</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport workers</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production workers</td>
<td>1 525</td>
<td>1 953</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen and supervisors</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and apprentices</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>1 196</td>
<td>1 244</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 392</td>
<td>7 005</td>
<td>1 613</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This excludes farmers, agricultural workers and domestic servants.

Manpower

Productivity

At the 'Manpower 80s' conference the Minister of Manpower Utilisation claimed that the level of SA workers' productivity was not satisfactory. SA's productivity growth rate had increased by only a third of one per cent per year between 1972
and 1978 compared with the UK's 1.5%, Australia's 1.25% and Canada's 2.3%. He stated that labour productivity improvement was essential for continued growth.32

The National Manpower Commission report gave the following table on the average yield per worker and the average earnings per worker in the non-agricultural sectors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Average Yield per Worker</th>
<th>Average Earnings per Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1.25%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He stated that labour productivity improvement was essential for continued growth.32

The imbalance in training and past artificial restrictions on upward job mobility by Africans has led to a situation where in addition to a skills shortage there is an over-abundance of labour in lower categories of work. This poses problems of job creation.

The 1979 annual report of the Corporation of Economic Development stated that about 230 000 African workers would enter the labour market this year. It estimated that as many as 313 000 Africans would enter the labour market annually by the turn of the century. This meant that about 5.4m employment opportunities would have to be created over the next 20 years. The possibility of SA managing to mobilise enough capital domestically to create enough jobs was slim and it was clear that additional foreign investment and financing would be needed.

Economists estimated that the increase in the labour force in 1978 was 274 000 of which 77% comprised Africans and 9% whites. The annual increase in the labour force would amount to approximately 430 000 people by the year 2000 of which Africans would constitute approximately 83% and whites 4%.33
National Manpower Commission
The National Manpower Commission, appointed in line with the Wiehahn Commission recommendations, presented its first report this year. At its first meeting the commission decided on a comprehensive programme of education including programmes for:
* the creation of job opportunities;
* education for all;
* training and retraining of the workforce;
* systematic and continuing revision of the geographic and occupational mobility of workers;
* industrial peace;
* rationalisation of labour policy and legislation;
* the provision of necessary employment services;
* the proper remuneration of workers;
* social security; * housing for all;
* co-operation and co-ordination between various government departments and governments;
* research and information;
* forecasting;
* integration of all the programmes mentioned.
The functions of the NMC were identified as being fourfold:
* advice to the Minister of Manpower and Utilisation;
* continual research over a broad field;
* liaison with government departments and other bodies in connection with manpower matters;
* reporting on an annual and ad hoc basis.
At its first meeting seven standing committees were formed. These were: education and training; employment creation; industrial relations; international labour affairs; conditions of employment and social security; productivity; and employment services. Three areas were identified for priority attention – viz. industrial relations; education and training, and the problem of employment.
A project to inform the public on manpower issues and encourage the training of more Africans, called 'Manpower 2000', was launched by the State President on March 31.

Other Workseekers
The number of whites, coloured people and Indian workseekers registered and placed in work from 1970 to 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manpower
Apprentices and Artisans

The Minister of Manpower Utilisation stated in parliament that no Africans had been registered as apprentices during 1979. Fourteen applications had been received in that year and 26 by May this year. Of these 14 were approved, marking a change in government policy.

In a statement the Minister of Manpower Utilisation said that employers were free to apply to indenture Africans as apprentices "where shortages existed". One of the main stumbling blocks in the training of apprentices had been the system of apprenticeship committees. These had in the past refused to recommend to the Registrar of Apprentices the indenturing of applications from Africans. The minister, in stressing the need for the training of more skilled people, warned the committees that he would refer matters to the National Manpower Commission if he felt the committees were acting unreasonably in deciding against applications.

The following tables show the number of apprentices who attained artisan status and the numbers indentured respectively from 1923-79:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Apprentices Achieving Artisan Status</th>
<th>Indentured Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>1928</td>
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<td>1929</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1934</td>
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<td>1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manpower
### Manpower

The breakdown per race group follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>289</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2699</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>227</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>375</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2715</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>197</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In so far as Africans are concerned, artisan certificates are issued by the homeland governments. Details of these were not available but numbers tested by the Department of Education and Training for the years 1975-78 were as follows: 1975 - 71; 1976 - 128; 1977 207 and 1978 - 217.

The following number of trainees obtained artisan status and were undergoing training in terms of the Training of Artisans Act: 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
105
Manpower
E
0
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0) U)
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C) Ln '1-Q CD- - n - N- Cf-rn [ln r4r N
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L..
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'4
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'4
'4
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Wiehahn Commission Part II: Training

The Wiehahn Commission presented Part II of its report, dealing with training during the year. (For Part I see 1979 Survey p 274 et seq.) It investigated the following acts: Wiehahn
The Apprenticeship Act (37 of 1944); the Training of Artisans Act Commission (38 of 1951); the Black Building Workers' Act (27 of 1951); the Industrial Conciliation Act (28 of 1956); the In-Service Training Act (95 of 1979); and the Black Employees In-Service Training Act (86 of 1976).

The Apprenticeship Act

The commission pointed out that although the Apprenticeship Act was non-discriminatory only a few Africans had been indentured under it owing to official policy that Africans should receive training in the homelands and be employed there after qualification. The commission, in Part I of its report, accepted that any person should be eligible for indentureship as an apprentice in the RSA, provided that the terms of the act were complied with and group interests protected. Where possible public centres established in terms of the Black Employees' In-service Training Act 1976 should be utilised for the practical and theoretical training of African apprentices.

The Wiehahn Commission Report (Part II) recommended that:
* the National Apprenticeship Board vet blocks to the indenturing of apprentices and inform the National Manpower Commission of such instances;
* the Minister of Manpower set down guidelines for the consideration of applications;
* provision be made for the practical and theoretical training of African apprentices at the public centres established in terms of the Black Employees' In-service Training Act (1976) or other similar institutions where facilities do not exist or are inconveniently situated;
* where theoretical training facilities are not conveniently situated consideration be given to the utilisation of any existing
facilities;
* efforts to intensify apprenticeship training be made by the Department of Manpower Utilisation, National Training Board and public and private sector organisations;
* the training of apprentices be improved by:
  (a) the establishment of a trade test committee which would include representatives of the state, employers and employees and would examine curriculum, facilities, testing, etc;
  (b) increasing the number of inspectors;
  (c) utilising approved trade test facilities for the testing of all apprentices;
  (d) revaluation by the National Apprenticeship Board of the contents of courses in relationship to modern requirements and submission of its recommendations to the NMC;
  (e) the establishment of regionally based training centres for apprentices;
* the board should examine the effects of military service on apprenticeship training;

108 * employers' organisations examine ways of providing accommodation for apprentices.

Wiehahn Training of Artisans Act 1951

Commission The Commission recommended that
* where training centres are not conveniently available consideration be given to utilising any existing facilities;
* the minimum educational qualifications for admission to the training scheme be raised to Std 8 for certain trades;
* training be improved by:
  (a) the review of courses, equipment, etc, by the Department of National Education;
  (b) stricter control exercised by the Department of Manpower Utilisation over in-service training;
  (c) utilising approved trade test centres for trade testing of all trainees;
  (d) revaluation by the National Apprenticeship Board of the contents of courses in relationship to modern requirements and submission of its recommendations to the NMC;
  (e) the establishment of regionally based training centres for apprentices;
  * the board should examine the effects of military service on apprenticeship training;

In-Service Training Act

The commission recommended that the National Training Board advise the Department of Manpower Utilisation about implementing the recommendations of the Riekert and Wiehahn commissions regarding training; and that the technical committee consult the National Manpower Commission regarding amendments to the act and consolidating legislation on training.
The National Manpower Commission was given various tasks including the * identification of training needs; " consideration of ways of co-ordinating training between selfgoverning and independent African states;
consideration, in conjunction with the Manpower Board, of the utilisation of military trainees in various civil capacities; problems arising from the fact that only whites are compelled to undergo military training, and encouragement of the adoption of the levy system of promoting and financing industrial training and industrial relations training. The commission recommended that the scope of responsibility of the National Apprenticeship Board be broadened to enable it to serve as a National Training Board. This board would co-ordinate, undertake research into and monitor training and investigate a system of graded training; investigate the establishment of a central training fund; the merit of stipulating a basic minimum age in regard to apprenticeship training and adult artisan training in the proposed Employment and Training Act. The board should also give attention to the question of representativeness on apprenticeship committees with a view to making recommendations to the Minister of Man power Utilisation.

Industrial Relations Training
The commission reaffirmed the recommendations contained in Part I of its report and further recommended that:
9 the National Training Board specifically attend to the promotion of industrial relations training and that the training legislation be framed in such a way as to indicate clearly that industrial relations training is included in all references to training.

The commission's recommendations were widely criticised. Trade unionists pointed out that the 16 in-service training centres for Africans were not equipped to give apprenticeship training, and claimed that the training given to Africans there would be seconderate. In addition, where Africans attended white technical colleges they would attend different classes to whites. Mr Ike van der Watt, general secretary of the Boilermakers' Society, stated that the only way in which apprenticeship standards would be maintained was if both Africans and whites trained together.
There were doubts about the effectiveness of the commission's attempts to involve the private sector and it was felt that ineffective programmes would mean a drop in artisan standards.

Wiehahn Commission - Parts III and IV
Parts III and IV of the Wiehahn Commission's report dealing with Employment and Social Security were published in November.
The report dealt with the following acts: * Registration for Employment Act 1945
* Unemployment Insurance Act 1966 * Workmen's Compensation Act 1941
It also looked into the question of sheltered employment.

Registration for Employment Act
The Commission recommended inter alia that:
* the National Manpower Commission examine the system of employment;
* compulsory registration of workseekers and notification of vacancies be not enforced;
* government departments be encouraged to use official employment and vocational guidance services to a greater extent.

Sheltered Employment, Wage Subsidy Schemes, Workshops for the Blind

It recommended that:

* the existing scheme for sheltered employment be expanded to include all population groups and be modernised;
* it should not be enforced by legislation;
* the wage subsidy scheme should cater for all groups;
* subsidisation by the Department of Manpower Utilisation for workshops for the blind be extended to all population groups;

Wiehahn Commission

109

* the position in regard to the employment of handicapped persons be constantly monitored with a view to the introduction of suitable legislative provisions should this prove necessary; Labour

* social security schemes negotiated under the auspices of inControls; Labour

* strongly encouraged.

Unemployment Insurance Act 1966

The Commission recommended that:

* the Unemployment Insurance Board should examine the abolition of the wage ceiling;
* all population groups be represented on unemployment benefit committees and on the Unemployment Insurance Board;
* top priority be given by the Unemployment Insurance Board; to the introduction of schemes to allieviate unemployment.

Workmen's Compensation Act

The Commission recommended that:

* a Workmen's Compensation Board, be appointed which would be entrusted with the hearing of appeals and objections. The commission was criticised for failing to recommend that domestic and farm workers be covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act.

LABOUR CONTROLS

Job Reservation

There were no changes regarding the remaining categories of work which are statutorily reserved for whites. These were written into the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1979 following the repeal of Section 77 which had allowed for the promulgation of work reservation determinations. Two work reservation determinations are currently in existence. They are Determination No 4 relating to municipal undertakings, Cape Town, and Determination No 27 relating to certain categories of work in the mining industry. (See section on mining for further details.)

Labour Bureaux
The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 86 773 African males and 50 485 African females registered as workseekers in the 'white' areas of the Republic at the end of 1978.

The breakdown for each month during 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>102 329</td>
<td>56 507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>106 801</td>
<td>60 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>106 165</td>
<td>59 029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>104 176</td>
<td>58 446</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>102 215</td>
<td>57 932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>104 139</td>
<td>57 849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>107 961</td>
<td>57 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>106 982</td>
<td>60 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>111 141</td>
<td>56 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>108 628</td>
<td>56 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>105 716</td>
<td>57 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>96 556</td>
<td>52 616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures represent the actual number of registered workseekers at the end of each month and were arrived at by bringing forward the figures for registered workseekers from previous months, plus the total of those registered during the month and minus the total of those placed in employment during the month. (Figures furnished in previous years were in respect of workseekers actually registered during the month and did not reflect figures brought forward or engagements for the month.)

The following numbers of Africans were registered as workseekers at labour bureaux as at December 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration Board</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>4 555</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>36 230</td>
<td>16 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>1 712</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Orange Free State</td>
<td>3 051</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange-Vaal</td>
<td>11 009</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>1 959</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>1 812</td>
<td>1 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>21 078</td>
<td>30 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>12 051</td>
<td>1 715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>1 215</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Transvaal</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Transvaal</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Transvaal</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Transvaal</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of African workseekers registered at labour bureaux (cumulative) per administration area was as follows:
Number of African Workers Registered at Labour Bureaux in SA by Administration Board Area, 30 June, 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration board area</th>
<th>Total Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>95 680</td>
<td>84 999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>255 681</td>
<td>167 018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>90 882</td>
<td>75 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern 0 FS</td>
<td>335 134</td>
<td>263 598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranje-Vaal</td>
<td>316 679</td>
<td>223 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>394 499</td>
<td>304 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>267 938</td>
<td>196 720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>618 662</td>
<td>451 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>433 296</td>
<td>344 311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

112 Administration board area Total Male Female

| Highveld                  | 227 949    | 203 064| 24 885 |
| Eastern Transvaal         | 148 842    | 111 251| 37 591 |
| Labour Northern Transvaal | 142 173    | 114 461| 27 712 |
| Controls; Central Transvaal| 369 718    | 294 646| 75 072 |
| Moratorium Western Transvaal| 316 652    | 273 891| 42 761 |
| Total                     | 4013 785   | 3 107906| 905 879 |

In a document handed to cabinet ministers this year ASSOCOM criticised the system of labour bureaux saying they "run counter to the stated goals of the commission to avoid discriminatory measures". ASSOCOM believed that "the present system of African labour bureaux should be terminated and that official employment services should be established for all race groups under one government department". Mr Jaap Cilliers, director-general for Manpower Utilisation, replied that it made sense from an organisational point of view to have offices in the areas where people lived. He planned to investigate the system but with 600 bureaux this would take time.

A new labour centre costing R250 000 is under construction at Mason's Mill between Edendale and Pietermaritzburg and will fall under the jurisdiction of the Drakensberg Administration Board. The board's new director, Mr J Kruger, stated that new methods would be introduced at the centre, aimed at providing better results for the workseeker and employer. An innovation was an aptitude-testing centre. Results of such tests would be recorded on a card system together with details of the workseeker's training and experience, physical description, number of dependants, language ability, address and other details.

The board was investigating the purchase of two 16-seater buses to transport applicants into towns for interviews. Mr Kruger stated his staff were also investigating ways of eliminating long waits by jobseekers, including the feasibility of sending the applicant home once his details had been recorded. He would then be contacted at his home for interviews at the bureau once a prospective employer had approached the board.4" (See also sections on Migrant Labour, Black Labour Relations and Moratorium.)

Moratorium
It was revealed that administration boards on the Witwatersrand had been following conflicting policies regarding the treatment of African workers registered during the government's three month moratorium announced in 1979 (see 1979 Survey p392). The East Rand Administration Board refused to transfer such contracts once they expired and was endorsing out workers who had lost their jobs. The West Rand Administration Board had been transferring the contracts of workers registered during the moratorium on the same basis as those of other contract workers.

Later it was announced that workers whose contracts granted under the moratorium had expired would have to return to the homelands to obtain permission to continue working in the cities. They would have to obtain 'F' cards from the urban administration board office and would then be issued with a 'call-in' card which 113 would ensure that they would be re-registered. A WRAB spokesman said he expected that all contracts would be renewed. This ruling was in line with amended practices relating to migrant workers in Migrant general.46 (See section on Migrant Workers.)

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated in parliament that 84 379 Africans were registered during the moratorium for 'illegal' workers during August, September and October 1979. The breakdown per main urban area was as follows:47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>49 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>14 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>9 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakensberg</td>
<td>3 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Natal</td>
<td>1 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Transvaal</td>
<td>2 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following figures of foreign African workers registered as at June 30, 1979, according to their countries of origin:47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NC 1</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E L1 m col Lý .0 .0~ enl r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures relating to the number of SA workers (excluding workers from the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) and workers from these two areas per sector as at June 30, 1979 are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Bophuthatswana</th>
<th>Controls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>428 518</td>
<td>59 903</td>
<td>74 506</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>229 868</td>
<td>163 948</td>
<td>66 155</td>
<td>74 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>502 592</td>
<td>70 341</td>
<td>74 511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>231 516</td>
<td>48 882</td>
<td>32 437</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>244 832</td>
<td>24 949</td>
<td>53 555</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government services</td>
<td>325 632</td>
<td>57 155</td>
<td>54 599</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic services</td>
<td>434 841</td>
<td>50 393</td>
<td>126 677</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>240 255</td>
<td>23 441</td>
<td>67 555</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department of Co-operation and Development announced that citizens of independent homelands were required to obtain work permits before taking up employment in SA. The restriction would not apply to homeland citizens already working in SA when their homelands became independent. Work permits would be issued by administration boards which would have to satisfy themselves that work and suitable accommodation were available for applicants.

A spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development stated in February that contract workers from the homelands would be endorsed out of urban areas (prescribed areas) if they lost their jobs. According to him, this ruling disbaring the transfer of contracts of homeland workers to other employers was in line with the labour agreements with homeland governments. Contracts of African workers from non-prescribed areas - rural areas in 'white' SA - could, however, still be transferred to other employers when workers lost their jobs.

According to an official report from Lusaka released in October, the Southern African states of Swaziland, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana had appointed a commission to investigate ways and means of terminating the migrant labour flow from their countries to SA.

This year, in line with the Riekert Commission's recommendations, new regulations were introduced regarding the mobility of African workers. The changes introduced are summarised as follows:

i Urban Africans
(a) Workseekers
It is no longer obligatory for workers in prescribed areas to register as workseekers within three days of becoming unemployed. Employers need no longer inform the municipal labour officer of vacancies.
(b) Obtaining Work
It is no longer necessary for certain categories of workers to obtain permission to take up work. The categories concerned are the following: an African who is qualified in terms of Section
Labour Controls; Black Labour Regulations

10(1)(a)(b) and (c) of the Urban Areas Act to be in a specific prescribed area or any other prescribed area within the same administration board area; an African who is a pupil or student at an educational institution and who is employed outside normal instruction hours or is employed over weekends or during the holidays, provided his parent and the head of the education institution have no objection to such employment; an African who is already in other registered employment, if he is to be employed by another employer when off duty, provided the registered employer has no objection to such employment. People in these categories wishing to take up work in a prescribed area outside the administration board area still need permission. This cannot be refused if such a person has suitable accommodation in that area.

(c) Registration of Contracts

The regulations go further than the Riekert Commission as regards the registration of contracts. Employers of the abovementioned categories of workers are not required to make out or send a copy of the employment contract to the labour bureau, or fulfil other requirements in this connection. Registration of contracts of workers moving to another administration board area still applies. Once registration has been effected employers must hand workers a copy of the certificate so that they may produce it if asked to do so by an authorised officer.

(d) A relaxation in the requirements of details to be endorsed in reference books also accords Section 10(1)a)(b)(c) workers greater freedom of movement. Workers now require only a standing authorisation giving them permission to take up work. Details regarding the name of the employee, place of occupation and occupation itself are now excluded.

(e) In the old regulations a worker could be referred to the district labour bureau or aid centre if there was no suitable work available for the worker. Now referral is required if there is no suitable accommodation as well as no suitable work available.

2 Contract Workers

Recruiting

(a) Runners, recruiting procedures

The regulations provide for the abolition of the system of runners used by labour recruiters. Riekert found that this system was open to abuse. Employers may now appoint a person to recruit labour on their behalf without having to acquire a power of attorney. Furthermore, employers need no longer obtain permission to recruit 10C1)(d) people, i.e. contract workers, if such persons are officials. The regulations empower the minister to exempt employers from having to obtain permission to employ specified employees in urban areas. He may, however, withdraw the exemption at any time.

(b) Detached labour bureaux
One of the most important amendments is the regulation allowing for the establishment of 'detached labour bureaux'. These may be established in both rural and urban areas. These bureaux, in rural areas, are no doubt designed to fulfil the functions of 'assembly centres' mentioned by Riekert in his report. He found that tribal labour bureaux were proving ineffective and suggested that 'assembly centres' should be established on the borders of homelands. These would take over such functions as the selection of labour, medical examinations, attestation of contracts, collection of tribal labour bureaux' fees, and would "at all times ensure that the requirements in regard to documentation and entry" of workers were complied with. Detached labour bureaux will form part of already existing labour bureaux and have been allocated the function of attesting contracts. In urban areas such bureaux will probably fulfil the function of providing employment services for qualified urban workers.

(c) Repatriation fee
The regulations also provide for the introduction of a 'repatriation fee' payable by employers of contract labourers. In terms of the provisions a municipal labour officer may now refuse to give permission to an employer to engage a migrant from the homelands in a prescribed area unless an amount to cover repatriation costs is deposited with him, as well as an amount to cover the cost of a conductor necessary to accompany such worker to a labour bureau. Exempt from this are commuters, employers who have requisitioned labour and have already provided security, or employers who have made other satisfactory arrangements.

Workers in Non-prescribed Areas
Registration of workseekers, vacancies, etc
Women in rural areas may now register as workseekers as well as men, although this procedure remains optional. Employers in rural areas need no longer inform the labour officer of vacancies. A minor improvement has been the curtailing of a district officer's power to order an African person registered with a bureau to leave the area and move elsewhere.

Implications of the new regulations
These amendments introduce certain relaxations for urban people and will facilitate their mobility between prescribed areas in an administration board area. It allows such workers to sell their labour to the employer first and only then have the contract legitimised by the labour bureau where this still applies. The standing authorisation allowing workers to change jobs without clearance from the labour bureau each time, once initial permission has been granted, is a further improvement. However, the regulations tighten up influx control for people from homeland areas by the introduction of detached labour bureaux and the introduction of repatriation fees which will ensure that the worker will be endorsed out of an urban area if he loses his job.
Other amendments such as the relaxations regarding registration of workseekers legitimise practices already in operation. Riekert found this procedure to be ineffective.

117
Labour
Controls; Black Labour Regulations

118
Coloured Labour Preference Area
The Minister of Manpower Utilisation gave the following figures regarding the number of applications refused for the employment of Employment African labour in the Western Cape and the numbers of potential African employees affected by such refusals:4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Refused</th>
<th>Affected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>4884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>1270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>1375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Coloured Affairs mentioned that 944 700 African workers had been allowed into the Cape since 1968 in order to help meet the labour demands of industry in this area.5 In its first report published this year the National Manpower Commission stated it had received representations about the desirability of the continued existence of the Western Cape as a coloured preference area. The NMC decided that the matter merited urgent attention and instructed the Executive Committee to consider it. This committee's findings had not been published at the time of writing.

During the debate on the Coloured Relations vote in parliament, Mr C Eglin (PFP) stated that the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape had retarded the economic growth of the area.6
The Minister of Coloured Affairs, in support of the retention of the policy, stated that the number of coloured men in white collar jobs had increased from 39 100 in 1960 to 67 300 in 1973, and coloured women from 11 600 in 1960 to 43 000 in 1973. Over the same period the number of coloured men and women employed in semiskilled work increased by 86 100 and 79 000 respectively to a total of 334 100 in 1973. The number of coloured workers employed by state departments increased by 3 474 between 1976 and 1977, by 3 467 in 1978 and by 1 209 in 1979. During these years the total number of African workers employed decreased by 6 800. The average income (not real income) of coloured households in the Cape Peninsula rose from R1 586 in 1970 to R3 131 in 1975.

In a memorandum to Dr Simon Brand, economic adviser to the Prime Minister, at the end of 1979 the mayor of Cape Town, Mr L Kreiner, appealed for the abolition of the policy. The memorandum was drawn up after in-depth discussions with businessmen, industrialists and academics. He stated that industrialists agreed with the recommendation of the Riekert Commission that the Western Cape should not be a coloured preference area but that all race groups should be allowed to compete in the labour market.57
SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT
Agriculture

The ombudsman for the South African Council of Churches, Mr Eugene Roelofse, stated that the normal wage for labourers on a wheat farm in the Western Cape was about R12 a week and about half that in the wheat-growing areas of the Free State. In a survey conducted in the maize-growing areas of the Western Transvaal, 13 out of 23 adult labourers interviewed were receiving R12 a month or less in cash. Only six had cash wages varying from R25 to R50. In the winelands of the Western Cape the average wage was R13 a week plus wine.

Mr M. Braadfield, chairman of the Central Albany Farmers' Association, stated that some estimates placed unemployment among Africans in the Eastern Cape at 18%. He stated that the farming community should consider employing more people productively by inter alia adding another enterprise to their businesses. Mechanisation, he said, was short-sighted in SA.

The labour tenant system was abolished on August 30 this year in terms of a notice in the Government Gazette No 6663 of September 21, 1979 (see 1979 Survey p 237). As a result, thousands of African tenants and their families were evicted from farms, causing a great deal of distress and increasing unemployment. One of the most severely affected regions was Weenen in Natal. A large farming partnership, Messrs L A Becker senior and Becker junior made an out of court settlement in August to a parole prisoner, Mr Mofokeng, who had been working on their farm. Mr Mofokeng had accused them of assaulting him and other prisoners on a day-to-day basis. As a result, the prisons department stopped supplying prison labour to Mr Becker.

At hearings in London by a working group on Southern Africa which was to present evidence on conditions of rural Africans to the UN Human Rights Commission in February 1981, a witness, Ms B Rogers, an author of three books on Africans in SA, stated that many farm labourers were fed "if at all, on rotting, unmarketed vegetables", and that children worked in the fields from the age of eight.

There were reports of child labour on the farm of Messrs Manfred and Theo Wehold in Rustenburg. Women who were hired on a temporary basis to fill onion bags, were paid 25 cents a bag and filled about six bags per day. They were helped by their children who often were removed from school for this purpose. Agricultural economists estimated that the number of farmers had decreased from an estimated 106 000 in 1960 to about 70 000 in 1980 due to falling profits. Gross revenue from the industry rose over the year by 13.6% to R4 344m while net revenue increased by only 6% to R1 745m, giving a return of between 6% and 7%. Dr A S Jacobs, chairman of the government's standing committee on agriculture, pointing to the difficulties farmers had in surviving financially, estimated that the average annual income of cattle farmers was only about R4 000.

The risk factor in agriculture in SA had been intensified in recent years by the price inflation of essential input materials - fertilisers, fuel, wages and the costs of
farm machinery and vehicles. According to the Department of Agriculture's price index, farming costs increased by 25% last season.

Employment in Agriculture

Between 1972 and 1979 farmers' outstanding debts increased from R1 521m to R2 994m. In the same period farmers' indebtedness to agricultural co-operatives increased by 34.1%. In 1979 the farmers' Employment cut from the consumer price of grain was 35.7%, from meat 53.5%, fats and oils 32.3%, dairy products and eggs 62.7%, vegetables 34% and fruit 36%.3

The minister announced that 44% of farmers' debts were borne by the Land Bank, agricultural co-operatives and Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure. Twenty-three per cent was covered by commercial banks and 32% by private persons and other institutions.6

Efforts were made by the authorities, for security reasons, to stem the flow of farmers away from border areas. Up to April 30, 1980, 242 border farmers had been assisted through a special fund set aside in terms of the Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure Act. There were 57 applications for aid with land sales totalling R4 316 000 with 59 refused; 47 totalling R1 600 000 for payment of debt with 29 refused; 24 for purchase of stock totalling R350 000 with 11 refused; and loans totalling R6 495 000 for the purchase of implements by 142 farmers.66

Drought

Areas most badly affected by drought were northern Natal and KwaZulu, the Eastern Cape including Ciskei, and the north-western Cape, where many farmers were on social welfare relief. Other areas affected were the Little Karoo, western Transvaal, south-west Free State and the Greytown area of Natal.

The Minister of Agriculture stated that representations from organised agriculture for the introduction of drought relief measures in specific areas would be considered on merit. As a result of representations from the Berlin and Kei Road Farmers' Unions the magisterial district of King Williamstown was listed as a pasturage distress area as from June 3, 1980. Areas proclaimed drought distress regions received, as a first phase, a rebate of 75% on the cost of transport of fodder by the SA Railways. Depending on circumstances, the minister might, as a second phase, introduce a loan scheme for the payment of a subsidy on the cost of fodder purchases.66 See also the section on Homeland Agriculture and Health and Welfare for further information.

Coloured Farmers

It was announced that coloured farm labourers who had lost their jobs as a result of the widespread drought in the Cape could apply to the Administrator of Coloured Affairs for special nonrepayable cash grants. Only labourers who had left the employ of farmers who received state aid would qualify for the grant. An adult would be given R44 a month, a dependent child R10.67
The Minister of Coloured Relations mentioned in parliament that two coloured farmers had received financial assistance during 1978 to purchase farms in terms of the Coloured Farmers' Assistance Act. The land and amounts concerned were 2 713 331 ha and 477 014 ha and R32 500 and R1 16 000 respectively. Funds available for the financial year ending March 31, 1980 amounted to R889 900.68.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs announced that an agricultural college for coloured farmers was to be established in Upington under the department's Directorate of Rural Areas and Settlements. A matriculation certificate would be an entrance requirement and lectures would be the same as those presented at existing agricultural colleges. Agreement had been reached with the agricultural unions that candidates who obtained a diploma and who the department could not employ immediately would be employed by the unions.69

At the foundation congress of the North Western Cape Agricultural Union in February, the president of the SA Agricultural Union, Mr J Wilkins, invited all races to join. He stated that "the farmers of this country cannot afford division on grounds of economic, political, social or any other reason". The congress was one of three similar congresses at which affiliated unions for other races, with full provincial status, were elected.70

The concept of a rural foundation to combat poverty and underdevelopment in the rural areas was discussed by various organisations concerned with conditions in rural African areas.

Agricultural Amendment Act No 16 of 1980

The act made financial assistance available to Indian farmers under the Agricultural Credit Act 1966.

Previously assistance was available only to white farmers. (Coloured farmers may apply for assistance in terms of the Coloured Farmers' Assistance Law of 1973.)

The act also increased the number of members on the Agricultural Credit Board from nine to 12, in order to allow for Indian representatives to be included and to cope with the large numbers of appeals for assistance from farmers in the drought-stricken areas of the Karoo and north-western Cape and to administer the special scheme announced during December 1979 to assist farmers in certain strategically situated areas in the Transvaal.

During debate, it was stated that there were 2 090 Indian farmers in SA owning 72 000 ha of land. Of these 2 060 were in Natal and owned 69 000 ha of land. Most were vegetable, fruit, banana and sugar cane farmers, and only in a few cases did they own more than 20 ha of land each. Few had sole title to the farms, group ownership being common.

Mining Industry

Manpower

The mining statistics report of the Department of Mines gave the following figures for workers employed in mining for the year 1979.

121

Mining Employment
The percentages show the change in average numbers over 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold Mines</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>Coal Mines</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>All Mines</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>41 492</td>
<td>21,8</td>
<td>20 069</td>
<td>24,4</td>
<td>112 021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>26,3</td>
<td>3 398</td>
<td>52,8</td>
<td>14 040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26,3</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>32,0</td>
<td>1 594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>413 118</td>
<td>8,1</td>
<td>96 351</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>675 604</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chamber of Mines furnished the following figures regarding Africans employed as at July 31, 1980 on gold, platinum and copper mines which were members of the Chamber:

| RSA      | 109 536 |
| Transkei |         |
| Bophuthatswana | 153 378 |
| Venda    |         |
| Lesotho  | 1       |
| Botswana | 128 326 |
| Swaziland|         |
| Other    | 66417   |
| Total    | 457 657 |

The table below summarises the numbers employed (by companies and contractors) on specific mines as at December 31, 1979-71:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group and Company</th>
<th>By Company</th>
<th>By Contractor</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American Corporation</td>
<td>127 885</td>
<td>3 597</td>
<td>131 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo Transvaal Consolidated</td>
<td>29 793</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>29 889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Mining and Finance</td>
<td>35 343</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>36 005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Fields of SA</td>
<td>65 684</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>66 384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg Consolidated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investments</td>
<td>32 976</td>
<td>1 009</td>
<td>33 985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rand Mines</td>
<td>65 934</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>66 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Corporation</td>
<td>74 277</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>74 802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonrho</td>
<td>2 981</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: Gold, Platinum and Copper Mines | 434 873 | 6 848 | 478 559 |
Collieries | 36 838 | 32 | 36 870 |
Total 1979 | 471 711 | 6 880 | 515 429 |
Total 1978 | 449 985 | 5 736 | 455 721 |

Western Deep Levels goldmine announced it would spend R715m on expansion. The development would provide jobs for 8 000 Africans and 700 whites.72

A mine which would create employment for 550 whites and 7 000 Africans was to be developed by Betrix Mines, a subsidiary of Union Corporation. The company said it would apply for a mining lease for precious metals over an area of 3 220 hectares in the district of Theunissen in the Free State.
Hundreds of semi-skilled diamond cutters throughout the industry were declared redundant. The reason given was that there has a decline in the demand for smaller stones. Mr Robin Rich, general secretary of the Diamond Workers' Union, pointed out that, terms of a 1976 termination-of-employment agreement, no skilled workers should be laid off for six years. Semi-skilled workers were the worst hit as they were permitted to work only on smaller stones.

Gefco, the Cape blue asbestos producer in the Genmin group retrenched 600 Africans, 16 coloured people and 13 whites on its mines in the Kuruman area. Mr D Etheredge, in his presidential address to the Chamber of Mines, stated that the mining industry was short of about 1,600 skilled men.

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 1979 for all race groups. Percentage changes over 1978 are also shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mining Employment</th>
<th>All mines</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 880</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 384</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 432</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 146</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>R 954</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 363</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% change</td>
<td>Coal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R -5.6</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chamber of Mines gave the following information concerning novice starting wages per month:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Underground</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 240</td>
<td>R 75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 350</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

African workers were also provided with free accommodation, meals, medical attention and sports facilities. In September 1979 the value of fringe benefits supplied by the gold mines was R60 per month.

In 1979 there were approximately 900 mines in SA employing 800,000 people and paying R3,440m in salaries. Of the 900 mines, 33 had a turnover of between R2m and R3m per annum; 82 had a turnover of between R1m and R2m and 623 (82%) had a turnover of less than R1m.
Addressing the general council of the Mine Workers' Union in January the Minister of Mines, Mr de Klerk, warned that workers should not make unrealistic demands on the government for higher wages because of the gold boom. The country needed to guard its resources particularly in the light of growing inflation, the instability of oil prices, sanctions, escalating terrorism, and even a possible military onslaught against SA. Large percentages of the increased profits of mining companies also had to be ploughed back into development and expansion.

| % change | 0.2 | -2.8 | 30.5 | 15.6 |

Mining Employment

He stated that the value of SA's total mineral production was estimated to have increased by 45% from R6 876m in 1978 to R9 960m in 1979. Gold's contribution was estimated at R5 600m, a 43% increase on the 1978 value of R3 900m. The prices of other minerals such as platinum and diamonds had also risen sharply.

It was reported that Anglo American had approached other mining houses with a view to an agreement that surface workers should receive 58% and underground workers from 78% to 120% more. Comments from other mining houses were not forthcoming.

However, the rises, when announced, fell short of this. African novice underground wages were increased by 15% to R100 per month, while the minimum starting rate for novice surface workers was increased by 28% from R58.50 to R75 per month. Average underground African miners' wages would be R179 while African surface workers would receive R108. Anglo American stated that the increases were a "disappointment and a compromise". Mr G Langton, MD and chief executive of the Gold Division, stated that the increase did not reduce the differential in real terms between the lowest paid white and African workers. The new wages increased total costs by only 5.5% as labour costs constituted an average 25% of total costs and the new wages meant an increase of 22.5% in African labour costs.

A study undertaken two years ago demonstrated that African mine wages were lagging substantially behind market rates for African workers throughout the economy. The study showed that the wages of the highest skilled category of African miners lagged 108% behind general market rates in 1978 even after free board and lodging were taken into account. Workers in the lowest skills categories were 29% behind market rates.

Job reservation

In June proposals allowing for the granting of 'blasting licences' to African mineworkers in Bophuthatswana were made public. These were drawn up by an inter-state committee of SA and Bophuthatswana government officials and at the time of writing were under negotiation by the Mineworkers' Union and the
managements of the Impala and Rustenburg Platinum mines. In terms of the Mines and Works Act certain skilled mining work including blasting is reserved for whites and coloured people only.

The proposal created a new category of worker - the 'licensed mining assistant'. Such workers would be issued with 'blasting licences' after training and passing examinations. The certificates would be valid only for the mine for which they were issued. The document proposed that candidates should be over 25 years of age with a minimum of 900 shifts of practical mining experience and a minimum of 150 shifts as a team leader, leading-hand or similar job underground. It proposed special training for not less than 75 shifts followed by an examination by a committee. No certificated gangers or miners will be retrenched or dismissed as a result of the proposals. No changes were to be made, however, until agreement between the MWU and mining managements had been reached.80

A 'package deal' which would allow Africans to work as artisans on the mines was discussed by the Chamber of Mines and mine artisan unions. Part of the discussions concerned a 'security of employment' document which would protect white artisans from being dismissed to make way for African workers. As a quid pro quo for opening up artisan jobs the mines were willing to agree to artisan union demands for an '11-shift fortnight' which would give artisans every second Saturday off. This would be a precursor to the five-day week miners have been demanding for some time.81

The Underground Officials' Association embarked on negotiations with the Chamber of Mines on ways of scrapping job reservation Determination 27 which restricts the jobs of surveyor, sample and ventilation officials on the mines to whites.82

Representation
At the 60th annual general meeting of the 14 000-strong Mine Surface Officials' Association (MSOA), the Department of Manpower Utilisation offered to chair a meeting of management and labour representatives in the mining industry to form an industrial council. The MSOA attacked management and the Chamber of Mines over low wages and for allegedly causing job fragmentation in the industry.83 (See also section on trade unions.)

The Underground Officials' Association received government permission to admit African and coloured members. However, this fell short of full non-racial status as the union would have to have separate branches for Africans and coloureds.84

Other developments
East Rand Proprietary Mines awarded an African builder the contract to build 33 family units to accommodate 99 families at Comet township near Boksburg. The project would cost a quarter of a million rand to complete.85

Anglo American announced that it would spend a total of R10m on new facilities for its white and 38 000 African employees on the Vaal Reefs gold mining complex. A R6m stadium had been built and an extensive indoor recreation complex adjoining the stadium was planned.86

Mining accidents
Safety measures on SA's mines were criticised especially in the light of the Vaal Reefs accident in April in which 31 miners, (28 of whom were migrants from the Transkei) died.
The death rate on SA's coal mines was 1.3/1 000 as compared with 0.27/1 000 in the UK.
A retired mining engineer stated that apartheid increased risks on the mines.
Because skilled jobs had been restricted to white miners whose numbers were limited, unskilled Africans often did their work causing accidents in the process.
He claimed that African miners died four times as frequently in accidents as one would expect, proving that Africans were left unsupervised.87
125
Mining Employment
126
Mining Employment
A total of 912 men were killed on the mines in 1978 and 2529h were injured. The number killed on the gold mines in 1979 was 563 with 19 308 injured.88
During the past ten years the use of explosives underground caused the death of 365 people and injured 2 390. In 1979, 20 Africans were killed in accidents caused by explosives while 24 whites and 152 Africans were injured. In 1978 27 people were killed and 171 injured.89
The Minister of Mines claimed that the death rate was declining: in 1979 it was 1.15/1 000 and the injury rate was 31.8/1 000 as opposed to 1.28/1 000 and 36.1/1 000 in 1978 respectively.90
The report of the Nieuwenhyzen Commission appointed to investigate all aspects of disease in the mining industry had not appeared at the time of writing.
African mineworkers who are injured are at a disadvantage for although they are paid out in terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act they do not have the life insurance cover of R10 000 enjoyed by whites. For this whites pay R4.80 per month while the employer also makes a contribution.
Finance
The following figures give the average numbers employed and average wages in the finance sectors for the quarter ending June 1980 and the percentage increases over June 1979:91
Banking
White Coloured Asian African
Building Societies
White Coloured Asian African Insurance Companies White Coloured Asian
African
Average numbers employed
53 450 3 981 2 261 8 123
12 943
605 427 2 339
% change
6.6
49.8 12.5 9.6
Afribank recorded a profit of R33 000 for the 1979-80 financial year. Deposits by the end of the year exceeded R12.2m. However, the assistant general manager of the bank, Mr M Maubane, disclosed that the bank could be in financial difficulties as African businessmen were failing to repay money advanced to them. He also claimed that white-owned banks were competing with the African Bank for the limited number of African businessmen.

The NBS operates three branches in African areas - in Diepkloof, Sebokeng and Dube. Commerce; Employment

The table below gives the average numbers employed and average monthly wages for the wholesale, retail, motor and hotel trades for June 1980 and the percentage changes over June 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average numbers</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>% change</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>% change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale Trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>84 200</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>23 400</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>11 500</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>93 000</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>142 800</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>49 200</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>19 700</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Allegations that employers in commerce were underpaying Workers by making them sign for full pay and then handing over reduced pay were investigated by the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union. No conclusion was reached.9

The question of longer shopping hours was again debated widely this year. Many business interests including ASSOCOM, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Civil Service Association asked for more flexible hours. Mr T Martins, MEC for the Transvaal province, stated it would lead to increased crime, while the National Union of Distributive Workers continued to oppose the Move.96

**African Business**

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated in parliament that there were 1,585 traders in Soweto as at January 1, 1980.9'

128 The R250 000 Black Chain supermarket (200m2) opened in Diepkloof, Soweto on March 10.

At its third annual general meeting the National African Commerce; Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) announced a five-year plan Employment (1980-1985) for the development of African business. The plan included:

* the establishment of a milling company;
* the establishment, through branches, of training facilities for members;
* concentration on the development of industries, commerce and agriculture in African areas with Africans as entrepre. neurs;
* negotiating with the government to promote the fullest participation by all races in SA society. A new organisation, the NAFCOC Industrial Development Corporation, was formed to encourage the development of industries by Africans.9"

In terms of the Industrial Development Amendment Act No 96 the sphere of the Industrial Development Corporation was extended during the course of the year to include the establishment of businesses. The Amendment Act conferred on the corporation the power to establish, acquire or carry on any business undertaking in any area for which a community council had been established. The intention was to encourage the development of businesses in African urban areas. Objections to the act were raised in the Senate on the grounds that the Corporation

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Motor Trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>44 100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
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<td>4 500</td>
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<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>8 814</td>
<td>15,3</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
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</table>
for Economic Development already had powers to fill such a role in most African areas and that it would thus be more logical to amend the Economic Development of Black States Act No 460/1968 to include all African areas rather than to extend these powers to the IDC.

The controversy regarding the establishment of businesses with white shareholders in African areas continued. At its conference in January, NAFCOC announced its willingness to accept African/white partnerships, but only under certain conditions. These were that:

* all discriminatory regulations and policies affecting Africans in the economy be repealed as soon as possible;
* African businessmen trading in African areas should, for the time being, be protected against unfair competition from white businessmen;
* partnerships should not be imposed upon Africans against their will, but rather be left to emerge naturally; "as far as possible, business partnerships should be free from government participation;
* the primary objective in any partnership venture in African areas should be to maximise benefits to Africans. Partnerships should not always be thought of in terms of African and white;
* African-white partnerships should be fairly extended to both African and white markets;
* African access to capital and know-how should not primarily depend on the formation of African-white partnerships. Suitable conditions should be created whereby Africans could obtain the necessary know-how.

During the year African traders opposed attempts by whites to establish businesses in African townships. Traders of Katlehong, Daveyton and Tembisa on the Witwatersrand rejected plans by the Greatermans/Checkers group to build supermarkets in their areas. Katlehong traders stated that Africans needed facilities, not white partners. The Daveyton Traders' Association announced its intention to open its own hypermarket in Daveyton, while Tembisa traders were also planning to build their own supermarket. By February they had raised R2 000 each towards its development. 99

Daveyton traders also opposed a request made by the Milk Board to the Minister of Co-operation and Development to open depots in the township for the distribution of milk directly to householders. 100 Soweto traders alleged that a number of white companies were using Africans as fronts in order to establish white-controlled businesses in African townships. The Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry stated it was seeking legal advice with a view to taking action against the establishment of Soweto Bakery Ltd, of which the chairman of the Soweto Community Council, Mr D Thebehali, was a director. The chamber claimed that the company was white-owned, and that the site had not been advertised.

In August the Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry claimed that the bakery's owners had been bought out by Premier Milling and that the way was
clear for them to buy the company. Its price was R350 000. If they raised R1 50 000 Premier Milling was willing to give them the balance as a loan at 7.5% interest.

Soweto traders also opposed a move by Soweto Holdings to gain the lease of a proposed new 9 ha shopping complex to be established at Jabulani. They claimed the company was an African-controlled front company for Greatermans/Checkers. The Black Chain later announced its intention to apply for the site. The Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry announced its intention to have the Greatermans/Checkers application declared null and void because:

0 the availability of sites in Jabulani was not advertised and thus the Soweto Community Council allegedly contravened a procedural requirement;

* the government's decision to allow white business interests to participate in African areas on a 49/51 basis had not been enacted and thus the proposed projects were not legal.

The chamber sent a telegram to the Minister of Co-operation and Development stating: "The Soweto Chamber of Commerce has resolved to oppose the 49%-51% scheme for businesses. We believe the scheme will destroy the livelihood of thousands of Soweto traders. We urge you not to do anything to further advance the scheme, Pending representation".101

The Soweto Community Council said that it wanted the success applicant to be wealthy enough to develop a hotel, supermarkets

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and other businesses on the site; to bear the cost of removing the Jabulani amphitheatre which stood on the site; and to bear the cost of the outstanding debt on the amphitheatre.02

African garage owners voiced their unhappiness over the fact that petrol companies were paying the rebates on petrol sales to the administration boards. In the case of other race groups petrol companies paid the rebate to the petrol dealer.

Mr A H Stander, then chief director of WRAB, stated that rebates on petrol formed the basis of land use for petrol filling stations and as the board owned the land on which the garages were built, they recovered these rebates.1"3 In June the Black Garage Proprietors' Association decided, after being assured of the backing of the petrol companies, to make representations to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, the administration boards and community councils to change the system.104

Other Developments

NAFCOC announced its decision to launch a campaign to take action against companies practising race discrimination. Its 10 000 members were asked not to support businesses (including restaurants, hotels, etc) that practised discrimination or refused to employ Africans.1"5

NAFCOC also announced that increased efforts would be made to encourage coloured and Indian businessmen to join it. Both the Western Cape Traders'
Association and the Bosmont (coloured) Chamber of Commerce were affiliated to the organisation. About 100 'white' companies, including Anglo American and South African Breweries (SAB) were associate members with nominal rights only.

In August the newly elected president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce called on the business community to draw Africans into the free enterprise system and said the chamber should take an active role in their advancement. Other areas in which businessmen should involve themselves included the opening of trading to all races in the Johannesburg central business district; improvement in the standard of life in African areas; the financial situation of greater Soweto, and industrial relations.

The American Chamber of Commerce announced plans for a R4m co-educational commercial school in Soweto for 600 students. The school would be in operation by 1981.

At NAFCOC’s annual conference this year it was revealed that NAFCOC’s branches operating in the homelands were being harassed by homeland governments. President Mangope, who opened the conference, stated that his government would recognise only the territory’s own Bophuthatswana Chamber of Commerce. The Gazankulu Chamber of Commerce seemed on the verge of becoming defunct.

Calls to the government to abolish restrictions on African businessmen were made by a number of speakers at the small business and regional development conference held in Grahamstown in September. A member of the Prime Minister’s Economic Advisory Council, Professor M Treu, stated that it was his personal impression that the government was moving towards greater flexibility.

Manufacturing

The average monthly numbers employed and average monthly wages for workers in the manufacturing industry for July 1980 and the percentage changes over July 1979 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average numbers employed</strong></td>
<td>314</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% change</strong></td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average monthly wages</strong></td>
<td>R 979</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manufacturing; Employment

| % change | 23.3 | 28.0 | 21.5 | 29.7 |

Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries
The following figures give the average number employed in various sectors in these industries for the percentage changes over 1978:11

Average numbers employed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45 700 2 300 1 200 62 300</td>
<td>31 300 13 800 2 800 84 700</td>
<td>29 400 6 100 2 100 41 000</td>
<td>21 800 12400 2 600 31 000</td>
<td>21 800 12400 2 600 31 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>of persons emyears 1979 and</td>
<td></td>
<td>% change over 1978</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,7 21,1 20,0</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,3</td>
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<tr>
<td>17,7 3,8 3,7 15,9</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,8</td>
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<tr>
<td>-6,2 31,3 2,2</td>
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<td>4,3</td>
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<td>57,0 36,8 6,5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Concern was expressed at the shortage of professional and technical engineering staff - placed at between 15 000-20 000. It was estimated that this shortfall would increase to more than 100 000. The Institute of Civil Engineers stated that 650 first-year students registered in civil engineering at SA universities in 1974 while the figure for 1980 was only 348.

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A study by the manpower committee of the Federation of Soci. eties of Professional Engineers gave as reasons for the shortage the low proportion of suitable students studying for the engineering profession as opposed to other disciplines, and the lack of bursaries and shortage of women engineering students. The present demand for engineers was estimated at between 2 057 and 2 168, of which 350 could be met by SA graduates and 20% by immigrants.

The study showed that the percentage of white male SA graduates who chose engineering remained at about 9% for two decades, which compared adversely with the 15% level in advanced Western nations. A further factor contributing to this adverse state of affairs was the shortage of university teachers. There was a 27% vacancy rate for lecturing staff at the six university chemical engineering faculties in the country. 112

Department of Statistics estimates of the average monthly wages for workers in the different race groups for 1979 and the percentage changes over 1978 are given below:1.3

Basic Metal

White Coloured Asian African Metal Products
Wh ite Coloured Asian African Machinery
White Coloured Asian African Electrical Machinery
White Coloured Asian African
Average monthly wages
R
855 467 537 236
813
306 325 209
857 368 382 247
791 272 361 240
% change
16,1 21,7 35,3 16,6
13,8 15,8 8,8 17,2
21,2 22,5 14,0 29,6
17,7 20,4 22,4 18,5
It was stated in parliament that by 1984 the engineering and mining industries
would be short of a minimum of 50 000 artisans.114 Iscor's Pretoria works signed
up 700 apprentices this year. It costs R1 2 000 to train an apprentice over a period
of three years.15
A pay increase of 14% effective from July 1 was granted to the approximately
500 000 workers in the metal industry. The negotiations were attended by 250
delelegates from employers and trade unions. The wage award raised minimum
wages by 14% and pro vided for a 14% 'across the board' increase in actual
wages. Workers, holiday leave bonuses were also increased by 14%. Employer
and
worker contributions to the industry's pension funds were also increased in order
to boost the benefits offered by the funds.
The increases raised the wage of the lowest paid labourer by 12 cents an hour to
92 cents. Artisans received a 39 cents an hour increase, placing their minimum
wage at R3,14 an hour.
Mr Ben Nicholson of the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions stated that
unions had wanted artisans' minimum rates to rise by more than 14%. He stated
that the minimum rates in these jobs were substantially lower than the actual rates
paid and this meant that employers could undercut skilled workers already
employed by paying new workers much lower rates.
At the negotiations the Steel and Engineering Industries' Federation of SA
(SEIFSA) agreed to modify its controversial guidelines concerning the
recognition of African trade unions. These guidelines originally advised
employers not to deal with unregistered unions or allow unions access to their
factory premises.
SEIFSA agreed that individual companies would be advised to recognise unions
and deal with them provided the unions met these conditions:
* the union should have applied for government registration;
* the union's constitution should be approved by the Industrial
Registrar;
"the registration application must have been published in the Government Gazette.
If these conditions were complied with, it would be the individual employer's prerogative to decide whether to grant the union recognition or not. Employers would also be able to deduct union dues for unions which had complied with the conditions.116
Training and education fees payable by employers in the metal industries increased from R7.80 to R11.70 per employee per month. 117
The Wiehahn Commission (Part II) listed the following training schemes pertaining to the iron and steel industries:18
* The Metal and Engineering Industries Education and Training Fund which pays grants to employers undertaking the training of apprentices, technicians and certain other categories of labour. Grants are tax-tree and levies are deductible expenses for tax purposes.
"The SEIFSA Technological Fund Industrial Council Agreement applying to all employers in the industry providing for bursaries for selected students enrolling at colleges for advanced technical education for specific diplomas.
* The Supplementary Industrial Council Agreement providing for African workers to be employed on certain selected operations when authorised by the council and allowing for the advancement of workers into higher categories of work. Up to the end of June 1978 the council authorised the employment of 2,348 Africans.
* During 1976 the Study and Action Committee and the Special Projects Labour Control Committee were established under the auspices of the National Industrial Council for the industry Manufacturing; Employment
134
Manufacturing; Employment
as a whole. These committees were designed to deal with the exceptional demand for labour on forthcoming projects of national importance and would allow African workers to be employed with authorisation on selected scheduled operations other than artisans' work. Up to the end of August 1979, 2,605 Africans had been trained under the scheme.
"Programmes established by the Constructional Engineering Association, primarily in welding and pipe assembly. Candidates may be nominated after 12 months training for contracts under the Journeyman Recognition Scheme. Up to the end of September 1979 107 employees had been trained under the scheme.
"Journeyman Recognition Scheme applying to all races excluding Africans.
These schemes are financed by levies paid by the employers.
Details of the grants awarded to employers from the Metal and Engineering Industries Education and Training Fund are given below: 19

### Grants awarded to employers from The Metal and Engineering Industries Education and Training Fund, 1970 to September 1979

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<tr>
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<td>101 350 174 354 6 500 7 080 12 200</td>
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Other manufacturing

The average numbers employed and average monthly wages for 1979 and percentage changes over 1978 in various other industries are given below:

Food
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<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Beverages</td>
<td>23 500 25 400</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Tobacco</td>
<td>9 500 107 500</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Leather</td>
<td>7 000 4 100</td>
<td>10,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Footwear</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>14,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Wood and Cork</td>
<td>20 200</td>
<td>52,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Furniture</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African Paper</td>
<td>3 900 800</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian African</td>
<td>4 300</td>
<td>25,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 100 10 700</td>
<td>12,5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 800 7 800</td>
<td>13,0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 400</td>
<td>-33,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 000 7 800 600</td>
<td>-2,5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37 800</td>
<td>60,0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 600 10 300</td>
<td>10,3</td>
</tr>
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<td>2 900 11 800</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6 900 5 600 3 200</td>
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### Average Monthly Wages

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% change</td>
<td>10,7 12,6 13,7 12,1</td>
<td>9,3 8,2 25,2 15,7 20,9 4,4 7,4 23,9 7,9</td>
<td>-9,5 14,6 11,9 8,6 12,0 10,4 17,10 5,8</td>
<td>-14,6 no change 14,8 4,1 6,6 24,3 13,7 15,3 23,9 18,1</td>
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### Average Industrial Employment

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<td>5 300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average numbers</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>% chan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Decentralisation</td>
<td>Plastic Products</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
African 11 900 11,2 216 14,2
Non-Metallic Mineral Products
White 13 300 14,7 795 14,1
Coloured 9000 15,4 167 2,3
Asian 1 300 no change 295 26,9
African 62 300 -3,6 168 18,8
Rubber
White 3 800 -5,0 813 14,2
Coloured 1 700 -10,5 319 21,8
Asian 1 000 25,0 313 34,9
African 12 100 15,3 226 12,5
Other Manufacturing
White 5 100 -16,4 835 19,3
Coloured 5 000 -25,4 190 14,3
Asian 1 200 9,1 213 -4,9
African 7 300 -22,3 181 14,4

Decentralisation of Industries
The 1979 annual report of the Department of Environment and Planning stated that financial assistance - mainly in the form of low interest loans - rendered by the government to local authorities since 1961 for the physical development of a total of 20 border and other less developed areas, exceeded R105m. About R6m of this was advanced between July 1978 and June 1979 to enable the local authorities of five such areas to establish the necessary infrastructure to accommodate industrialists wishing to decentralise. A total of 2,829 ha of industrial land had been developed for this purpose since 1961.

During 1978-79 14 ha of industrial land were sold to 14 industrialists. Approval was obtained for the construction of a rail link between Chempet and the industrial growth point at Atlantis.

The government released details of two major plans relating to the development of industrial areas.

The guide plan for the Vaal Triangle complex detailed development over an area of 3,300 sq km stretching from the Klip River in the north to Sasolburg in the south, and from Loch Vaal in the west to Villiers in the east. The main thrust would be the development of a massive new city straddling the Vaal River by the year 2000. The total black population of 500,000 would be housed in six townships covering 69 sq km, the largest being Sebokeng/Evaton which cover 56 sq km. At present there was still undeveloped land in Seboken8,

but in the long run provision would have to be made for the expansion of Sebokeng/Evaton northwards and the township of Zandela in a south-easterly direction.

The government also announced plans to establish an industrial belt, stretching from Rustenburg to Middelburg in the Transvaal, as a further step towards decentralising economic growth. This was aimed at preventing the influx of
labour to the southern parts of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area.

A second stage would be the establishment of a further growth point in an area north of Bronkhorstspruit. The proposed industrial belt would have the following functions: it would create the infrastructure for a future economic confederation in which industrial growth areas would be situated in 'border areas' between homelands and 'white' areas so that both could contribute to their development and both could benefit; it would create job opportunities away from the major cities and stem the flow of workers to urban areas. The development of the new growth point north of Bronkhorstspruit was intended to provide employment opportunities for workers from KwaNdebele. According to the statement released by the Prime Minister: "It must be planned in such a way that the residential area which is identified for Ndebele workers, as well as at least a portion of the industrial and commercial area, can later - after consolidation - be included into KwaNdebele. In this way it will be possible for the KwaNdebele component to be located in its own state". (See also section on Area and Consolidation in chapter on The African Homelands.)

The Industrial Development Corporation had, since its inception in 1960, created 108 100 jobs (including 76 300 in the homelands) and spent R384m during that period in terms of its policy of decentralisation. It had erected more than 200 factory flats, costing R12m, for entrepreneurs and provided 120 industrialists with factory premises. The total authorisation for small industries since 1962 was more than R20m. 121

Environment Planning Act

The Minister of Environmental Planning and Energy gave the following figures regarding applications from July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979 in respect of each province in terms of Section 3 of the Environment Planning Act:122

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Establishments Granted</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Environment Planning Act

The Minister of Environmental Planning and Energy gave the following figures regarding applications from July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979 in respect of each province in terms of Section 3 of the Environment Planning Act:122

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Establishments Granted</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 1 924 applications was received representing a decrease of 5.3% compared with the previous year. In addition, during his period 91 applications were received for the employment of a total of 2 154 African youths in terms of the measure allowing for the employment of youths from 16-20 years over and above the authorized quotas.

138

Construction Employment
The Riekert Commission recommended last year that Section 7 of the Environment Planning Act be abolished. The Physical Planning Amendment Bill containing provisions abolishing the controls on African labour in terms of Section 3 which was published this year was not read a second time in parliament. The Secretary for Planning, Mr J F Otto, stated that Section would not be abolished until the Committee on Economic Co-operation and Strategy, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister economic adviser, Dr Simon Brand, had formulated new controls. spokesman for the Brand committee stated that the committee had included recommendations on new controls in its findings which were to be submitted to the cabinet.

Coloured Development Corporation

The Minister of Coloured Relations gave the following information regarding the number of loans granted by the Coloured Development Corporation to coloured businessmen during the year ending March 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>SWA/Namibia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>R3 196 905</td>
<td>53 540</td>
<td>3 250 445</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From December 31, 1976 to December 31, 1979 the Corporation had established five trading concerns, comprising three restaurant liquor outlets, two branches of a supermarket and two clothin factories. Concerns which had been transferred to coloured ownership were one hotel, three restaurants/liquor outlets and one supermarket chain with seven branches.

As at January 16, 1980 the following numbers were employed by the corporation in its trading and industrial concerns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Industry</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 269</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From December 31, 1979 to February 18, 1980, 106 business premises were erected by the Corporation for letting to coloured people. Provision made by the corporation for doubtful loans up to September 30, 1979 amounted to R2 435 800.125

Construction

Average numbers employed in the construction industry and average monthly wages as at July 1980 and the percentage change over July 1979 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average</th>
<th>139</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>monthly numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>56 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coloured</td>
<td>62 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>8400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In January 1,000 hourly paid African workers were laid off in Natal, the Transkei, the Transvaal and the Cape when Longtill Construction was placed under a provisional liquidation order. The 50 white and Indian employees, some of whom had worked for the company for more than 25 years, would become preferential creditors. Among the projects which had come to a standstill was an R8m housing scheme of 650 units for Indians at Lotus Park, Isipingo, and a R9m scheme in the Transkei involving 600 houses at Butterworth and Umtata.

Talks of six months' standing between the Building Industries' Federation of SA (BIFSA), the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and the Blanke Bouwerkers Vakbond over the use of African artisans in 'white' areas broke down in February. Prior to this BIFSA had asked Mr S P Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation, to exempt the organisation from the terms of the Black Building Workers' Act which prohibited employers from employing Africans as artisans in 'white' SA. BIFSA then applied to the minister to repeal the act as soon as possible. It also asked him to grant exemptions "in the number required" until the act was repealed.

BIFSA also planned a 'modular' training scheme for African workers. This system would allow an employee without qualifications to train for part of an artisan's job. Over time, such a trainee would become skilled in all areas of the job, ultimately qualifying for artisan status. Such a worker would not be paid at artisan rates, however. The unions indicated that they would strongly oppose this system, seeing it as job fragmentation. Mr R Beech, general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, stated that employers "are just doing it to get cheap labour".

In April the minister announced that he would approve exemptions from the Black Building Workers' Act, thus allowing African building workers to undertake skilled work in 'white' areas.

Mr Botha, in announcing the move, stated that the shortage of building artisans had become so acute that certain building projects were in danger of being suspended or delayed. He stated that the number of building apprentices had dropped from 1,597 in 1975 to 473 in 1979. He had consulted the trade unions but they had refused to agree to the training of Africans to overcome the shortage. Workers whose positions were threatened could seek the protection offered by the Industrial Conciliation Act. Mr Beech stated that the unions controlled the entry of Africans as artisans into 'white' areas through the Apprenticeship Board by ensuring that Africans without legal qualifications would not be indentured as apprentices.

A notice in the Government Gazette on April 11 formalised the minister's decision and also lifted restrictions on whites being em-

Clothing Industry Employment

Finally, the Black Building Workers' Act was repealed in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act this year. (See section on Labour Relations.)
Mr J F Oberholzer, MPC, stated that the 42 skilled artisans trenched last year by the Johannesburg City Council because of the restrictions would probably be reinstated (see 1979 Survey, p 253). In August pay rises were granted to building workers in the POO Elizabeth and Uitenhage magisterial districts. The minimum prescribed rate for about 7 500 unskilled workers rose by 10% and that for about 2 000 artisans by 70%. It was also agreed that from May 1981 there would be a further 8% increase in the prescribed minimum rate for both categories.

In May white artisans in the Transvaal received increases of 18 cents an hour and a further 18 cents increase on November 1. African pay rates rose as follows: artisans by 18 cents to a prescribed minimum of R3,36 per hour; qualified assistants, an increase of 16 cents to R3,02; and trainee assistants an increase of 14 cents to R2,52 an hour. Operators' (grade 1) minimum wage rose from R2,3b to R2,52 per hour, and labourers' wages from 81 cents to 85 cents per hour.

A report revealed that the giant construction company, Murray and Roberts, was paying women in Giyani, Gazankulu, 15 cents an hour for carrying bricks, wheeling barrows and mixing concrete. Men doing the same work were paid 35 cents an hour. All worked a ten-hour day. The workers were engaged in building the official residence of the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntanwisi, which would cost a reported R250 000. Murray and Roberts (Gazankulu) was partly owned by the Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation. A spokesman for Murray and Roberts in Johannesburg stated: "In an arrangement with the local labour bureau we are deskillng jobs to provide as many employment opportunities as possible. It is traditional for women to do this kind of work in these areas and we are paying above the prevailing rate".

The Building Industry administered two training funds - the National Development Fund for the Building Industry and the Building Industries Recruitment and Training Fund. Since 1964 approximately 365 students had graduated in terms of the first-mentioned fund and approximately R510 000 had been spent on training. The second fund trained 162 bricklayers, 185 carpenters and 111 plasterers from July 1971 to August 1976, after which the scheme was discontinued because of slack conditions.

From 1975 to June 30, 1979, 3 268 Africans were trained at inservice centres throughout SA in the categories of labourers, general labourers and operators.

Clothing

The Department of Statistics gave the following estimates for the numbers employed in the clothing industry and average monthly wages per racial group for 1979 and the percentage changes over 1978:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average numbers</th>
<th>Average monthly wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6 300</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57,5</td>
<td>8,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>42 500</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11,8</td>
<td>20,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As from July 1 workers in the Western Cape clothing industry received a 10% increase in wages. A wage increase was due in December but the Garment Workers’ Union approached employers with a request that the increase should be brought forward in view of the dramatically increasing cost of living. Clothing workers in the Transvaal won a 12.5% increase in pay. Workers were to receive a 7.5% increase but asked for an additional 5% because of the increase in the cost of living. It was also agreed that an additional 5% would be granted in July 1981 over and above the original 5%. This brought minimum wages to the following levels in certain categories of work:

R

Female machinist 29.60
General worker 22.90
Male marker-in 56.30
Female marker-in 44.40
Labourer 24.70
Watchman 25.90

Garment workers in the OFS and Northern Cape received increases in November amounting to slightly more than 10% of their wage instead of a 5% increase as laid down in their industrial council agreement. This followed negotiations between the Garment Workers’ Union of SA and the OFS and Northern Cape Clothing Manufacturers’ Association. A qualified machinist's wage increased from R23.70 to R26.00."

The Wiehahn Commission (Part II) gave the following information on training in the clothing industry:

"The Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Cape) controls a training scheme in respect of machinists, supervisors/instructresses and designers. The training period for sewing machinists and designers is six weeks, for supervisors/instructresses four weeks and for buttonhole machinists two weeks."

The numbers and classes of employees trained for the years 1970 to 1976 are reflected in the following table:

142 Number and category of persons trained in terms of The Clothing Industry (Cape) Training Scheme, 1970 to 1976 Category of Clothing Industry Sewing machinists 393 188 229 241 307 316 353 Supervisors 19 36 31 11 - - 10 Employment Designers - - - - 18 16 13 8 6 Buttonhole machinists - - - - - - - 37 6 Totals 412 224 278 268 320 361 375

It also stated that:

"During 1977 manufacturers in the main garment manufacturing areas, viz Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, held discussions on the establishment of a national training board with a view to ensuring overall control over all aspects of
training in the clothing industry in SA. As a result, agreements were published in terms of which employers in the above-mentioned areas contributed 10 cents per employee per week to the National Training Board. Prior to July 1, 1977 contributions in the Cape Town area were 2 cents per week by the employee and an equal amount by the employer."

The training college for the industry in the Transvaal was closed in October 1977. Since then all training has been undertaken by the Clothing Industry Training Board, established by the National Clothing Federation of SA. The board is financed by clothing manufacturers covered by industrial council agreements in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal and the contribution levied on employers amounts to 10 cents per worker per week.

Prior to October 1977 the scheme was financed mainly by an equal weekly contribution by employers and employees and, in addition, by course fees paid by students and donations of machinery and equipment by employers and donations in cash.

From 1977 to September 1979 41 whites, 1 020 coloured people, 18 Asians and 68 Africans were trained as sewing machinists, and 41 coloured people and 41 Asians were trained as supervisors in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal.

Three thousand workers downed tools at Rex Trueform for higher wages, but returned within 48 hours when management agreed to the increases demanded.37

Textiles

The following table gives the average number of persons and average monthly wages per race group employed in the textile manufacturing industry for 1979 and the percentage changes over 1978:13’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Average Numbers Employed</th>
<th>Average Monthly Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Printing</td>
<td>9900</td>
<td>13,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured Paper</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>1,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Printing</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>14,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Employment</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>16,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Frame group of companies was hit by a massive strike this year due to worker dissatisfaction over low wages. See section on Strikes for further details.

Motor

The upswing in the economy had a favourable effect on the motor industry. General Motors employed a further 750 workers and Volkswagen 500. General Motors' mass recruitment resulted from the company's preparations for the introduction of the Opel Kadett and high demands for its other ranges. Volkswagen's expansion was due to a demand for its products as well as its R46m expansion programme introduced this year. Ford also announced it was working a full week.'39
About 3,000 workers at Volkswagen and others totalling 8,000 at related industries went on strike in May for higher pay. (See section on strikes.)

**Printing and Newspaper**

A wage deadlock between newspaper vendors and the Allied Publishing Company was resolved in April when an agreement was reached between Allied Publishing and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union acting for the workers. Starting rates for main sellers were increased to R50 per week, for labourers to R32 a week, suburban vendors to R38 a week and drivers from R35 to R50 a week. The scales would apply to the Transvaal and OFS areas.14°

Talks between the SA Society of Journalists (SASJ) and SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and Argus managements over wages ended in deadlock on December 4, 1979 leading to arbitration. The arbitrator, Mr A Chaskalson, ruled that the hearing should be in terms of the Arbitration Act. This meant that employers had to supply the SASJ with information as to costs and profits relevant to the dispute.

The SASJ had asked for a 15% across the board increase and 7.5% to be distributed at the editor's discretion. Management had stated it would be prepared to offer 11% only at the editor's discretion. They later said 5% of this could be across the board. The dispute was settled in January.

Conflict over wages again beset the newspaper industry this year.

About 53 workers at Post went on strike in the first week in August over pay. They returned after accepting increases by management which brought the salary of first-year journalists to R320 a month. Previously they were earning R250 per month. Journalists with three years' and five years' experience would receive R450 and R600 a month respectively. Drivers were to receive R63.75 a week in their first year, rising to R83 after five years.141

Post has never been a signatory of the SA Newspaper Press Conciliation Board which negotiates wages. This board includes representatives of the SASJ and newspaper managements.

On October 24 journalists at the Cape Herald went on strike for higher wages. They demanded a settlement similar to that accorded to Post workers as well as increases from 1981 negotiated by the SASJ and newspaper managements. The Herald is a signatory of the Press Conciliation Board. However, workers pointed out that this only negotiates wages of journalists and not of the whole staff.

Workers also demanded that they be paid for the time out on strike.

The issue was taken up by the Media Workers' Association of SA (MWASA) who, on November 2, called for a national strike and a boycott of Argus newspapers. They demanded that:

* pay and working conditions of all workers be improved;
* the dispute at the Cape Herald be settled;
* all salaries be paid for the time people were on strike because management was responsible for the dispute;
management talk with MWASA's elected representative.
The black staff of the following newspapers struck in solidarity: Post, Sunday Post, Star, Cape Herald, Sunday Tribune, Daily News, Sowetan, all of the Argus group and SAAN's Rand Daily Mail, Sunday Express, Sunday Times and Soweto News.

Management stated it would negotiate with the workers only when they returned and that they would not be paid for the time out.

The Cape Herald strike ended on November 20. Management agreed to the workers' demands but refused to grant pay for the time they were on strike and to implement the new salary scales for all Cape Herald staff on November 1.

In October the SASJ and newspaper managements negotiated a 12% increase across the board with a 4% increase on merit. The national minimum wage increased from R250 to R350 a month. On the day negotiations took place more than 180 journalists picketed the offices of newspapers in Durban and Johannesburg and threatened strikes and industrial action at three Natal newspapers in support of their demands.

Other Domestic Workers
It was reported that more than 100 African women from the Transkei were recruited on three-year contracts to work as domestics in West Germany. The recruiter, Mr H Hambusch, stated they would receive R300 per month with free board and lodging. The scheme had the full support of the Transkei and had been accepted by the SA and West German governments.42

The following table gives the minimum wage recommendations of the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project (DWEP) in Johannesburg and the Commission for Justice and Peace in Cape Town: Miscellaneous

- Living-in worker:
  - Semi-skilled, 44 hour week - R96 per month;
  - Skilled, e.g. cook, nanny, housekeeper - R1 18 per month. Employment

- Living-out worker:
  - Full-time semi-skilled, 44 hour week - R120 plus travelling costs, a nourishing breakfast and a main meal;
  - Part-time, 80 cents per hour plus travelling costs or R4,50 per half-day plus travelling costs and one full meal;
  - Overtime - 90 cents an hour;
  - Overtime babysitting for employer - 60 cents an hour; * baby-sitting for an outside family - 90 cents an hour.

Daily workers should have an hour's break for lunch and two short tea breaks. Workers employed on a monthly basis should have three weeks paid leave a year, provision for medical expenses and some kind of pension fund. Full-time workers should be allowed two weeks sick leave on full pay each year and should be allowed to take public holidays. The minimum yearly increment should be linked to the cost of living increases.
Handbooks for both employers and domestic workers outlining recommended employment practices for such workers are available from DWEP in Johannesburg and the Domestic Workers' Association in Cape Town. A survey conducted by Sunday Post in Lenasia revealed that the average salary paid to domestics was only R25 per month. Most domestic workers worked more than a 12-hour day and some complained of never having time off.14 Mr E Pascoe, labour manager of the Drakensberg Administration Board, revealed in March that the average wage paid to the 9 000 registered domestic workers in his board area was R35 for females and R28 for males who were living-in. The figures for living-out domestics were R50 for women and R42 for men. These figures were not recommended by the board. 144
The following table reflects wages for 150 domestic workers in different suburbs in and around Johannesburg: 145

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domestic Workers</th>
<th>Average Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>R35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>R28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living-in</td>
<td>R50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living-out</td>
<td>R42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a recent book entitled Maids and Madams, Ms J Cock, a sociology lecturer at Rhodes University, revealed that at the time of her research the average wage in a sample of 225 households in the Eastern Cape was R22.77 per month, and ranged from R4 to R60 per month. Forty-two per cent of the sample earned between R20 and R29 per month. She found that out of 122 workers, 77% worked more than 48 hours a week, 25% worked a 77-hour week, while three worked 85 hours a week.
Over 80% of domestic workers had to work on public holidays and almost one-third of the sample worked a 7-day week.

A Department of Statistics report showed that the average wage being paid to a domestic worker on the Witwatersrand was R57.98 per month; in Natal, R38.50. Males were paid R45.32 in Pretoria and R53.05 on the Witwatersrand. In addition to salaries domestic workers were given food to the value of about R30, R15 worth of accommodation and other goods worth R6.

Sheltered Employment

The table below gives details of the number of handicapped people registered and placed in employment for the years 1970-79:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registrations</th>
<th>6 678</th>
<th>7 564</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 446</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 169</td>
<td>7 483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 712</td>
<td>6 957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 681</td>
<td>8 479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 752</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 923</td>
<td>4 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 597</td>
<td>3 735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 210</td>
<td>2 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 453</td>
<td>2 596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sheltered Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placements</th>
<th>3 137</th>
<th>786</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 488</td>
<td>934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 646</td>
<td>951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 874</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 417</td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 045</td>
<td>1 081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 494</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 526</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 687</td>
<td>909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hawkers

A Johannesburg City Engineer's report, arising out of an independent survey, warned that a policy of discouraging hawking would add to the suffering, poverty and unemployment of Africans and could fuel unrest. The survey was commissioned by the Corporation for Economic Development (CED). The report advocated the establishment of 'craftsmen's markets', initially at Hoek Street and Westgate Station in Johannesburg. Existing hawking locations, particularly at transport terminals in Johannesburg, at stations and outside African hostels, could become official hawking sites. It also recommended a thorough overhaul of local legislation governing hawking which had led to recent blitzes on unlicensed hawkers.146

The meat board was involved in investigating the possibility of providing Johannesburg's offal hawkers with hygienic premises where they could process their meat for distribution.147

Year 1970
Miscellaneous Employment

Watchmen

The extremely poor conditions of security guards employed under tender by the Department of Public Works were revealed by the Sunday Express. The tender document laid down, inter alia, the following conditions: hours—4.15 p.m. to 6.45 a.m. (14 1/2 hours); guards were expected continuously to patrol the buildings allocated to them during the times stipulated; sleeping quarters and domestic services were not provided; and all guards were expected to take up residence in African areas such as KwaMashu or Umlazi hostels. This meant an extra two hours’ travelling. Tenders for guards to watch the PWD stores and workshops during weekends and at Durban Westville University, as well as Chatsworth Periodical Court, were turned down by a number of security firms. One official from a security firm commented that these conditions were "unrealistic and totally inhuman".

In a statement on conditions of security guards, FOSATU said that some workers worked 109 hours a week, including 60-hour stretches over weekends; in many cases they were paid less than the amount promised to them, receiving as little as R60 per month or even less, with no record of payment to use as proof. Workers were often charged for their uniforms, although this was illegal. Many workers claimed they were dismissed without leave pay or notice pay and often without being paid for the last month worked. Injured or sick workers were often dismissed without sick pay or workmen’s compensation. The existing wage determination specified a minimum wage of R103 a month, with a legal maximum of 84 working hours a week.

Wage board investigations for watchmen were held during the course of the year, but the recommendations had not been released at the time of writing. Giving evidence to the board Miss D Dison, a lawyer, recommended a 48-hour week at a wage of R200 per month. She suggested that the high risk factors involved and the alienation of the worker from family and community because of night duty should be taken into account when wages were being determined. She also called for an insurance scheme for watchmen, a card system to record time worked and money earned and payment of wages on regular weekdays or monthly dates.

In June the IAS, a service organisation run by FOSATU, accused the Department of Manpower Utilisation in Johannesburg of failing to enforce minimum legal employment conditions for watchmen.

In a memorandum handed to the department they demanded an immediate investigation into conditions in the security patrol industry. If the department failed to act they would attempt to have the matter taken up in parliament. The IAS accused the department of failing to resolve several individual cases referred to it by the society. Attached to the memorandum were 16 affidavits from African nightwatchmen containing allegations of wide-ranging malpractices by several firms.

Dairy Workers
In April the Department of Manpower Utilisation invoked a clause in the Black Labour Relations Regulations Act empowering it to order a Wage Board investigation into work conditions in an industry or trade if it believes there is a possibility of unrest there. The board was instructed to investigate the wages, leave situation and other work problems of African dairy workers on the Witwatersrand. In 1979 Nel's Dairy workers went on strike over work conditions and this developed into a protracted dispute between workers and management.

Coal Delivery Workers
Attention again focused on the plight of coal workers. Some men were reported to be receiving R17 to R22 a week. Soweto coal merchants acknowledged that the wages were poor but claimed this was caused by low profits which were in turn due to competition from white coal merchants.

Public Authorities
Central Government
The average numbers employed and average wages in the central government for all race groups for June 1980 and percentage changes over June 1979 were as follows: 148

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Average Numbers Employed</th>
<th>% Change</th>
<th>Average Monthly Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>131 726</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>R664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>59 946</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>12 221</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>121 815</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public Authorities Employment
% change
29.2 14.9 37.4 25.0

There was a major reshuffle in the public service with 40 departments being phased down to 18, and the appointment of a director-general to head each new section. The aim was to group government functions more effectively, remove duplication and streamline the chain of command between policy makers and those implementing policies.

In announcing the 18 directors-general the Minister of Justice, Mr A Schlebusch, stated that the posts would carry salaries competitive with those of the private sector. All initial appointments, however, were from within government service and Mr Schlebusch stated that it would remain government policy to look to the public service before attempting to fill a position from the private sector. The directors-general initially appointed were (old positions given in parentheses):

148
The department of the Prime Minister's Office took over the planning functions of all other departments and comprised six planning components: physical, economic, scientific, social, political and security.

A white paper reporting on progress made in the rationalisation process stated that in so far as it was compatible with the national interest and with efficiency the position of people affected by the process should be protected. But it added that efficiency should not be sacrificed to vested interests. The white paper also stated that legislation was to be rationalised during the next session of parliament.

The Minister of Police gave the following information regarding the authorised and actual establishment of the SAP as at December 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Warrant Officer Sergeant Constable</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authorised Actual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2348</td>
<td>2 121</td>
<td>3 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 230</td>
<td>4 105</td>
<td>13 877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10869</td>
<td>16048</td>
<td>13279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister also stated that only 1 529 white, 215 coloured, 70 Indian and 1 006 African recruits completed their training during 1979, in spite of police colleges having the capacity to train 4 296 men annually.
The Minister of Police stated that 1,856 white, 203 coloured people, 1,577 Africans and 74 Indians enlisted in the SAP in 1979. During the same year the following numbers terminated their services:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Resignation</th>
<th>Retirement</th>
<th>Expulsion</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2,150</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister, in elaborating on the large number of vacancies 1,641 for African policemen, gave the following reasons:

* the transfer of African policemen to the police forces of independent and partially self-governing African homelands during 1978-79;
* the introduction of a 'psychometrical test battery' to enable the SAP to make a more accurate assessment of applicants. As a result 58% of applicants had been turned down;
* stricter selection because of the demands by the African community for better calibre policemen.

Brigadier Fourie denied that the vacancies were due to a rising resistance among Africans to the idea of a career in the SAP in the wake of the 1976 unrest and attacks on police stations by the ANC. He stated that during the period January to June 1979 3,861 applications were received from 'non-whites' and 3,998 during the period July to December 1979.

The Minister of Defence stated that 458 Africans and 300 Indians volunteered from January 1, 1980 to serve in the SA defence force. Of those 228 and 153 respectively were accepted.

The Minister of Police gave the following figures regarding the numbers in each race group who were members of the Reserve Police Force as at December 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Public Authorities Employment</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>252</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numbers joined and Force during 1979: 152

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>1063</th>
<th>153</th>
<th>187</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1063</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

resigned from the Reserve
The Minister of Finance set aside R480m in the budget for public sector salary increases. The allocation was heavily weighted in favour of senior ranking personnel. The majority would receive increases of less than 14%. The increase for nurses was between 17% and 19% and the average for police 12.5%. Increases for cabinet ministers were 33% raising their salaries from R33 000 to R43 000 with a tax-free allowance of R10 000; for members of parliament in the region of 17%, while the Prime Minister's salary increased by 16% from R63 000 to R73 000 with a basic salary of R48 000 and tax-free allowances of R25 000. The salaries for cabinet ministers were criticised by Mr D Dalling (PFP) who stated they were out of line with the pay restraints imposed on the civil service and teachers.

Dissatisfaction with the increases was expressed in a number of quarters with claims being made that the R480m had been disproportionately allocated to benefit those employees at the top of the pub-

152

Public Authorities Employment

lic service. The president of the Public Service Association, Dr Colin Cameron, stated that average increases ranged from 11% to 13% but there were grades where the increases were as low as 6%. A memorandum on the issue had been submitted to the Public Service Commission.

The Minister of the Interior stated in parliament that with effect from April 1, 1980, 1 245 African officials would enjoy full parity in salaries (excluding the SAR and Post and Telecommunications). Parity existed between the following black and comparable white posts:"

Coloured/Indian Post
Commissioner of Coloured Affairs Deputy Commissioner of Coloured Affairs
Chief
Specialist/Professor Principal Specialist Senior Specialist Specialist Principal
Medical Officer Principal Dentist Senior Dentist Director of Education Deputy
Director of Education Chief Inspector of Education Chief Education Planner
Inspector of Education Senior Psychiatrist Psychiatrist Medical Officer Dentist
Assistant-Director (Technikon) Chaplain
African
No comparable post exists Chief Specialist/Professor Principal Specialist Senior
Specialist Specialist Principal Medical Officer Principal Dentist Senior Dentist
Chief Inspector of Education Inspector of Education Senior Psychiatrist Psychiatrist
Comparable white level
Top management Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Top structure Under Secretary Under Secretary Under Secretary Under Secretary Under Secretary
Top management

Top structure

Nearly R10m voted for Police Staff expenses in the 1978/79 budget was saved because of the large number of policemen who resigned during the financial year and whose posts could not be filled. (See also chapter on Police, Justice and Prisons.) The savings were responsible for an actual surplus in the police account of R8,1m, one of the larger contributions to a total surplus of R142m in the State Revenue Account. 14 Senior police officials questioned why the money was handed back to government coffers when the force was so short of staff and policemen's salaries were so low. 15

A wide gap between salary scales for black and white policemen still exists as is demonstrated in the table below: 56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>White- R2 100 X 180</th>
<th>-3900 X 210-</th>
<th>5 160 Commencing salary - Std 10 - R3 000 p.a.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Std 8 + 9 - R2 460 p.a. Below Std 8 - R2 100 p.a. Coloured and Indian - R1 842 X 114 -2 070 X 150 -2 820 X 180- 3 900 X 210- 4 320 Commencing salary - Std 10 - R2 520 p.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commencing salary - Std 10 - R1 842 p.a.

| Sergeant           | White- R3 540 X 180- 3 900 X 210- 6 000 X 300- 6 600 Coloured and Indian - R3 000 X 180 - 3 900 X 210 - 5 790 African - R2 220 X 150 - 2 820 X 180 - 3 900 X 210 - 4 740 |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------|
|                     | Std 8 + 9 - R1 500 p.a. Below Std 8 - R1 272 p.a. Sergeant |
|                     | White- R3 540 X 180- 3 900 X 210- 6 000 X 300- 6 600 Coloured and Indian - R3 000 X 180 - 3 900 X 210 - 5 790 African - R2 220 X 150 - 2 820 X 180 - 3 900 X 210 - 4 740 |

The Minister of Defence gave the following figures on the rates of pay of national servicemen introduced on April 1, 1979:

Non-professional officers

Lieutenant

Second lieutenant

Candidate officer

2 Professional officers: varies from group rank with a maximum of R47,67 per day.

3 Other ranks

Staff sergeant

Sergeant Corporal

Lance corporal

Private

Public Authorities Employment

Daily rates of pay Married/single with dependants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,84</td>
<td>9,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,21</td>
<td>6,74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11,26 8,22 to group
irrespective of
11,03
8,45 6,91 5,06
3,47
Danger pay for service in certain areas was R4,50 per day for a married man and
R3,50 per day for a single man. Regular deductions of R3 per month were made
from their salaries for the Group Life insurance scheme."57
Provincial Authorities
The numbers employed and average wage rates for all races in the provincial
administrations for June 1980 and the percentage changes over June 1979 are as
follows:58

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numbers</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Authorities</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>127 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>24 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4 175</td>
<td>3,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>93 050</td>
<td>2,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Transvaal provincial budget for 1980-81 was R1 007m. An additional amount
of R54 250 000 was added to the R952 782m provided for during the council
session in May/June 1979. More than one-third of the additional amount was for
increases in salaries, wages and allowances not provided for in the main budget.
An amount of R7 600 000 was requested for higher pension contributions arising
from the salary increases, an increase in the employees’ contribution rate to offset
the 10% increase in civil pensions from April 1979, an increase in the pensions of
former members and widows of former MPCs and increased bonuses and allowances for pensioners."59
Local Authorities
The average numbers employed and average wages per race group for local
authorities for June 1980 and the percentage changes over June 1979 were as follows:"6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numbers</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>56 700</td>
<td>-0,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>27 800</td>
<td>7,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>5 600</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>123900</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an experiment the Johannesburg Electricity Department introduced a bonus
scheme for cable layers and found as a result that the 225 labourers produced
more work than that done previously by 405 workers. This represented a saving of
more than R6 000 and allowed for the development of surplus labour to fill other
vacancies. In its annual report, however, the department pointed out that it was experiencing a critical shortage of experienced engineers. The report stated that at no time was there a complete staff of trained operators at any of the city's power stations. Maintenance programmes had to be cut because of a shortage of skilled artisans, particularly electricians and fitters.

The Johannesburg Transport Department successfully introduced a massive recruitment programme for full- and part-time bus drivers after an acute shortage of staff leading to the cancellation of nearly 100 trips on certain routes.

The City Engineer's and City Treasurer's departments began recruiting staff overseas; the former, civil engineers and technicians and the latter, computer staff.

PFP-city councillors criticised the council for maintaining job reservation through its decision to provide special 'scarcity allowances' to attract more white traffic officers, firemen and ambulancemen.

The Durban City Council announced that most of the posts on its general scale would be open to all races and both sexes as from August 1. Seventeen posts which were still reserved for whites only included chief security officer, civil defence officer, airport manager, assistant director of markets, and the curator of the local history museum. Steps were to be taken to obtain equality in pension fund conditions for all employees.'61

Despite staff shortages in Pretoria's ambulance and fire services it was stated that these would not be thrown open to Africans. A spokesman stated that improved salary scales and service benefits envisaged by the city council would be sufficient to attract the necessary white staff.

The 1 000-strong Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association representing black workers attacked the Cape Town City Council for following a policy of "racial segregation often combined with sex discrimination, both voluntarily and under, state pressure". Government policy prevented the council from filling any reserved white post with a black person without first consulting the white workers' association, the SA Association of Municipal Employees (SAAME). Posts from which coloured people were excluded were firemen and 'meter maids'. '62

Port Elizabeth Municipality, faced with a severe staff shortage in its professional and technical ranks, stated it might open more posts to Africans. Mr A Ward Able, chairman of the council's policy and resources committee, stated "we will have to take a close look at training our own people and the possibility of taking them from all race groups". '63

The United Municipal Executive (UME) in its proposals to the Schlebusch Commission recommended independent municipalities for each race group, with an umbrella metropolitan level. The UME's president stated in March that coloured and Indian leaders had rejected this idea, preferring instead multi-racial councils. He held that this was "extremely dangerous" and that it was a fallacy to assume that integrated councils would ease ethnic conflicts.'64
A number of experts called for the establishment of a single metropolitan government covering inner Witwatersrand towns and Johannesburg to allow for greater co-operation between neighbouring municipalities (including representatives of black areas). Mr N Mandy, chairman of the Central Business District Association, criticised the exclusion of Africans from the Jomet advisory board, saying it was absurd to plan without Africans who made up over 60% of the Jomet area's population and a much greater proportion of its public transport users. Coloured and Indian communities had been given 'token' representation on the board.16

The low wages being paid to city council workers became an issue. It was revealed that the Durban City Council paid R142,24, R139,46 and R136,59 per month respectively to three grades of cleaners working either 46, 45 or 44 hours a week. Cleaners received an annual increase of just over R4 a year after 36 months' service and

155
Public Authorities Employment

156
Public Authorities Employment reached their maximum in the 12th year. The council employed 3 000 cleaners.

166
The strike of more than 10 000 Johannesburg City Council employees broke out over workers' dissatisfaction with their R33 a week wages. The council does not pay annual increments. This wage included the rise of between 13% and 18% (a two notch increase) accorded the 13 000 weekly paid African workers and other council employees in May. They had also been granted a 13th cheque. Total increases for the 23 000 strong staff added R16m to the council's R100m pay bill. (See section on Strikes for more details.)

A study undertaken by Dr Jeremy Keenan of the anthropology department of the University of the Witwatersrand showed that Johannesburg City Council's African workers' real wages had decreased by almost one-fifth in the two-and-a-half years ending in June. In July 1975 minimum real wages stood at R89,54. By January 1977 they had increased slightly to R93,43 but then declined to R75,29 by June. Thus real African wages dropped by 18,5% between the beginning of 1977 and June this year and after this year's increase were still 13% behind 1977 levels. Dr Keenan also found that the council's minimum wage rate of R143 lagged behind the national wage average and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce's minimum living level (MLL) for a family of five of R1 96,05.167

The Johannesburg Municipal Employees' Association (JMEA), representing professional, secretarial and administrative employees, warned the council that it could expect a worsening of the staff drain to the private sector if it did not give its members another notch increase. 168

In April the Johannesburg City Council, after about ten years of deliberations, finally decided to close the wage gap for all comparable posts. The council agreed to spend over R500 000 to close the gap in 933 posts.169
Cape Town's coloured municipal workers accepted, under protest, a 12% increase offered by the City Council, but held a mass meeting of 1 500 members of the 11 000-strong Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, to press for more money. They had originally demanded a 25% increase. 170

About 120 Cape Town traffic officers petitioned the town clerk for salary increases. Their basic salary was R6 600 a year compared with R9 928 for a Benoni, Transvaal, officer. 171

The Port Elizabeth City Council granted its employees an across-the-board increase of 10% from July 1 as opposed to the 20% demanded by the SA Association of Municipal Employees. The lower percentage increase was accepted after the council agreed to replace the annual holiday bonus with a 13th cheque and to increase its contribution to the pension scheme from 8% to 11%. A new schedule for subsistence allowances was approved by the Pietermaritzburg municipality, bringing the rates for blacks into line with those for whites. White officials were receiving R25 per night, coloured people and Indians R7,50 and Africans R4,50. 172

Railways, Harbours and Airways 157

The total number of employees per race group employed by the SA Railways, Harbours and Airways as at July 1980 and the percentage change over July 1979 were as follows: 173

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Average Employment</th>
<th>Average monthly numbers</th>
<th>wages</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>113 492</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>24403</td>
<td>-1.3</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1 826</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>127 359</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Transport announced that the holiday bonus paid to white and black employees would be abolished and instead they would be granted an annual service bonus. The bonus would be one-twelfth of an employee's annual basic salary or wage applicable on April 1, and would also be pensionable. The bonus payable to the lower income groups would not be less than the holiday bonus which would have been paid to them. The estimated cost to the administration would be an additional R87m per annum.

The minister also announced a general wage and salary increase to all employees from April. White employees received an average increase of 12.7%, coloured people and Indians 15% and Africans 17.5%.

Due to rising prices the Artisan Staff Association requested in September a further 12.5% increase in wages for its members. Mr Brian Currie, general secretary of the 27 500-strong Railways Salaried Staff Association stated that his union also intended to ask for a pay adjustment. 74

The 22 500-strong Artisan Staff Association (ASA) called on the Railways to introduce equal pay for equal work within five years. It was estimated that R200m
would be required to achieve this. This change in policy was interpreted as being in line with labour changes.

The Minister of Transport revealed in September at the three-yearly Congress of the Running and Operating Staff Association that the railways was 29 000 men short of its authorised white labour force of 144 000 in spite of "every possible effort" to fill vacancies. He stated that as the economic pace accelerated the problem would become more acute and pleaded for the utilisation of all race groups on the railways.

Speaking in parliament the Minister of Transport stated that 3400 people received training at the Railway College during 1979, and 3200 at the college's six branches at Bellville, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Wentworth, Germiston and Koedoespoort.

The number of apprentices trained by the department rose from 1 361 in 1979 to 2 755 in 1980. Mr Johan Benade, secretary of the Federal Consultative Council of the Railways Staff Association, stated that although they had opened doors to Africans they intended to control tightly the number of jobs which were allocated to this group.

The following increases were effected in the annuities of certain groups of railway pensioners from July 1, 1979:

* ten percent for ordinary pensioners who became annuitants before or on December 1, 1973;
* twenty percent in the annuities of widow pensioners who became annuitants before or on December 1, 1973;
* ten percent in the annuities of widow pensioners who became annuitants during the period December 2, 1973 to November 30, 1977.

The annuities of all pensioners were increased by 10% as from April 1. The minister also announced that a scheme would be introduced from April 1 whereby African staff in receipt of a basic wage of R120 per month or more would be required to contribute a nominal R1.50 per month towards medical treatment. As at December 31, 1979 some 25 865 departmental houses were available to staff throughout the country, while during the financial year 1979-80 some 7 000 houses valued at R190m were acquired in terms of the various home ownership schemes for white staff. Houses acquired to April 1980 in terms of the home ownership schemes for coloured and Indian staff members numbered 590 and 107 respectively. As far as housing for African employees was concerned negotiations with the various authorities involved in the provision of land and houses for Africans had reached an "advanced stage". It was expected that the first of nine such properties would be acquired some time during the year. A home ownership scheme with 10% assistance for all African staff was also introduced.

During the debate on the railways budget Mr R Lorimer (PFP) called on the minister to take immediate steps towards a greater integration of railways services. He said it was necessary that African commuters should know that some
time in the future they would receive equal treatment. He stated that there was no clarity regarding apartheid practices on the railways. (See also chapter on Amenities.)

Brigadier A P Roux of the SA Air Force stated that the air force was prepared to consider applications from people of all races who aspired to become jet pilots. He disclosed he had received twenty applications from candidates who were not white. Only 62 out of 518 white applicants were accepted for the two-year course for the first intake this year.

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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 July 1980 and the percentage changes over July 1979 are as follows: 177

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Average Numbers Employed</th>
<th>Average Monthly Wages</th>
<th>% Change in Numbers</th>
<th>% Change in Wages</th>
<th>Public Authorities</th>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>23,4</td>
<td>Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>7825</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>-1,3</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>29,6</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1248</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>-0,2</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>32,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>22263</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>83,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications gave the following figures of postmen per race group as at January 31, 1980: 178

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Number of Postmen</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1959</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>360</td>
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<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>1015</td>
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<td>360</td>
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<td>African</td>
<td>1015</td>
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</table>

He stated that 11 African, 60 coloured and 61 Indian members of the post office staff had qualified as telecommunication technicians. The starting salaries for such technicians per race group was as follows: 78

- White: R3 960 plus R468 personal pensionable allowance per annum;
- African: R2 475 plus R621 personal pensionable allowance per annum;
- Coloured and Indian: R3 267 plus R645 personal pensionable allowance per annum.

During the post office debate in parliament the minister stated that the number of permanent and temporary staff increased by 3,4% to 73 525 during 1978-80. During the same period 8 987 officials resigned compared with 7 789 the previous year.

Certain innovations were introduced to improve the utilisation of skilled staff. A new rank of technologist was created to take over quasi-engineering duties. Technicians who obtained advanced technical qualifications would be considered for this rank. The department's training scheme was to be revised and updated with special emphasis on the introduction of electronic switching apparatus. Extensions would be made to the training facilities at the Post Office College at Olifantsfontein while the new training centre for Africans at Soshanguve near Pretoria would be completed.
The minister revealed that there was a serious shortage of males for administrative work.

Post office workers received an average 10% pay increase as from April 1. The minister stated that the vacation savings bonus normally paid to officials at the end of September each year would fall away and be replaced by a service bonus equal to one month's salary. Seven percent of the gross service bonus would be contributed to a stabilisation account from which future increases in civil pensions would be financed.

160 The minister announced that the department had decided in principle to introduce a housing scheme for staff but details still had to be worked out. They had decided to proceed in the meantime with planning aimed at helping African staff in Soweto to obtain residences under the 99-year leasehold scheme. An amount of R1m was being requested for this purpose. There were 3 000 officials living in Employment Soweto, of whom more than 2 000 were married. Only 223 owned their own homes.

References
'Department of Statistics News Release
2 Rand Daily Mail January 19
3 Argus January 29
4 Rand Daily Mail May 7 Cape Times April 1
TRADE UNIONS
AND LABOUR RELATIONS

The table below gives details of the number of registered trade unions and employer organisations for the years 1970-79:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>1 Trade Unions</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>89</td>
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<td>87</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>178</td>
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<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
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<td>373</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>863</td>
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<td>692</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Federations of trade unions</td>
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<td>3 Employer organisations</td>
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<td>238</td>
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<td>244</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>841</td>
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TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS

Listed below are the major trade union groupings with African or mixed affiliates. Unless otherwise indicated all were unregistered although some had applied for registration. (See sections later in this chapter for more details on each grouping.)

Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSA TU)
Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (non-racial)
Metal and Allied Workers' Union (non-racial)
National Union of Textile Workers (non-racial)
Transport and General Workers' Union (non-racial)
Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (non-racial)
Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (non-racial)
Eastern Province Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (non-racial)
Glass and Allied Workers' Union (African)
National Union of Motor Assembly Workers (coloured)
(registered) Western Province Motor Assembly Workers' Union (coloured)
jeweller and Goldsmiths' Union (coloured and white)
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164 Council of Unions of SA (CUSA)
(All African unions)
Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union Trade union SA Chemical
Workers' Union federations Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dying Workers' Union
FOSATU Transport and Allied Workers' Union
Building Construction and Allied Workers' Union
Food, Beverage and Allied Workers' Union
Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union
United African Motor Workers
United African Motor and Allied Workers of Natal
Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)
African Leather Workers' Union (Transvaal) (African)
African Tobacco Workers' Union (African)
African Trunk and Box Workers' Union (African)
African Transport Workers' Union (African)
National Union of Clothing Workers of SA (African)
SA Bank- Employees' Union (African)
Tobacco Workers' Union of African Women (African)
Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal) (African)
Sweet Workers' Union (non-racial)
National Union of Leather Workers (non-racial)
Unaffiliated - unregistered
(Africans only)
African Garment Workers' Union (Natal)
African Leather Workers' Benefit Fund (Port Elizabeth)
African Food and Canning Workers' Union
Black Allied Workers' Union
Black Municipality Workers' Union Electrical and Allied Workers of SA General
and Allied Workers' Union
National Union of Engineering Industrial and Allied Workers
South African Allied Workers' Union
Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employees' Union
Union of Johannesburg Municipal Workers Western Province General Workers' Union
Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU)
In February a pamphlet was distributed on the Reef which at. tacked FOSATU,
claiming that 'white liberals' in Fosatu were using African workers. The
pamphlets were distributed to African fact0 workers in Johannesburg, Benoni and
Springs. FOSATU deplored the crude attempt to split it "by racist smears and
veiled allegations
about its sources of finances". '
In June the government prohibited the collection of contributions by, for and on behalf of FOSATU in terms of section 29 of the Fund Raising Act (No 107 of 1978). Section 29 empowers the Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions to prohibit the collection of contributions for any purpose, or in any manner or by or for or on behalf of any person or organisation if he deems it to be in the public interest. No authority, permission, registration certificate, special authority, special permission or temporary authority or contributions shall be granted or collected in conflict with such a prohibition. The minister may at any time by like notice amend or withdraw the prohibition.

The notice effectively cut off all foreign funds to FOSATU and also prohibited it from collecting funds from outside individuals and organisations inside SA. There was a possibility that the ban also prevented it from receiving funds from its affiliates. Mr Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation, defended the action stating that he was "happy" with a situation where unions operated with the cooperation of local people "without outside interference". He questioned whether overseas funds should be used to facilitate strikes. Both he and Mr Jaap Cilliers, director-general of Manpower Utilisation, denied that they had been consulted on the issue by the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions, which administered the Fund Raising Act.

The ban was widely criticised inside and outside the country. It was condemned by the Black Allied Workers' Union, Urban Training Project, and the Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions amongst others. TUCSA stated that if necessary it would fight the Fund Raising Act in the courts if it affected the collection of affiliation fees. The move was also strongly condemned by the International Metal Workers' Federation (IMF) from whom FOSATU received some of its funds and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).'

As a result of the ban on the collection of funds the Metal and Allied Workers' Union and the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union had to retrench staff. FOSATU's general secretary, Mr A Erwin, stated that the situation of paid officials in the organisation was to be assessed and a decision taken as to whether people would be retained as part-time staff members.

The government granted FOSATU permission to open the constitutions of seven of its unions to all races. Two further applications were still being considered at the time of writing.

Council of Unions of SA (CUSA)

On September 14 a new federation - the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)-was formed comprising nine trade unions. The federation was born out of the old Consultative Committee of Trade Unions. At the inaugural meeting Mr Albert Mosenthal, president of the SA Chemical Workers' Union, was elected CUSA's president and Mr Leonard Sikhakhane, general secretary of the Food, Beverage and Allied Workers' Union, was elected vice-president. CUSA's aims are:
* to strive for the building of a united labour force and to encourage all eligible working men to join trade unions;
* to improve economic and social conditions of all workers;
" to co-operate with employers and/or trade unions or federations;

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Trade union federations

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Trade union federations
* to deal with matters affecting workers and to try on request to settle disputes and differences between unions and within member unions;
* to promote the principle of free and democratic trade unions and to ensure its acceptance by the community and society as a whole;
* to monitor the implementation of the codes of conduct in all economic sectors and to monitor their effectiveness;
* to help enforce worker rights, the protection of their interests and human dignity in terms of the International Labour Organisation's convictions and recommendations;
" to advance the economic and social interests and working conditions of the workers and set up commissions of inquiry into laws which affect workers;
" to conduct and co-ordinate research into matters affecting workers and to publish the findings;
" to arrange seminars and courses to educate member unions and their members as to their rights and responsibilities both as trade unionists and as members of their communities;
" to help members establish workplace units to promote industrial democracy.

CUSA's membership was estimated to be 30 000 workers.'

Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA)
At its annual conference in September TUCSA condemned 'poaching' by other unions and agreed to inform such unions of its objections and negotiate with them rather than 'declare war' or them. A resolution calling on the government to introduce legislation granting freedom of association was passed. Mr G van Tonder, the newly elected vice-president, introducing the resolution, warned however that it could lead to consequences which could affect closed shop unions.6

TUCSA also decided to remove all references to race in its constitution and amended it to refer to workers 'in SA' instead of the wording 'SA workers' in order to incorporate under its ambit migrants from the independent and non-independent homelands.

Delegates condemned as inadequate the salaries of state employees, particularly the police, nurses and teachers, and condemned the pay gap based on racial classification. Delegates also decided to establish a committee to investigate sex discrimination.
Mr A Malherbe, who was re-elected president, stated that the country was faced with the twin problems of unemployment among unskilled and semi-skilled workers and a shortage of skilled workers. He stated that, although what the authorities were doing was praiseworthy, the appointment of the Rickert and Wiehahn Commissions had come too late in the day.

A letter from the British Trade Union Congress read to the TUCSA conference stated that the TUC shared with other overseas unions its "concern about the recent wave of repression" against independent African unions. The TUC said it hoped TUCSA would address itself urgently to this problem and oppose the "thwarting of development" in collective bargaining for Africans.7

TUCSA has 60 unions with a membership of 286 555.

Confederation of Labour

This year was one of crisis for the all-white conservative SA Confederation of Labour.

A confidential report by a special committee headed by Mr Arrie Paulus of the Mine Workers' Union recommended that the confederation reject the granting of trade union rights to Africans; that the Minister of Manpower Utilisation be requested to restore job reservation and prohibit people of other races from supervising whites; that the confederation reject the training of African apprentices in white areas; and that the government be asked to have African strikers sent to their homelands and prohibited from re-entering white areas. It also recommended that industrial councils remain white as long as parliament remained white; that legislation be enacted to prohibit existing and future 'mixed' and 'parallel' trade unions and federations of unions; that the existence of any organisation which appears to be a trade union be prohibited unless it is registered in terms of the law; and that the confederation urge the government to prohibit all foreign labour codes which have not been approved by the state, since foreign companies had no right to upset SA's social order.8

The report was signed by representatives of the Mine Workers' Union, the Building Workers' Union, the SA Iron, Steel and Allied Workers' Union and the SA Association of Municipal Employees. In a move which was interpreted as a setback for the confederation's right wing the congress postponed a decision on the report and referred it to affiliated unions for study.

At the congress Professor Willem Kleynhans, professor of Political Science at the University of South Africa, stated that white trade unions might have to play a political part in SA affairs because of drastic changes in Nationalist policymaking processes. He said it appeared that white trade unions, which had supported the government for years, would clash with certain aspects of party policy as interpreted by the cabinet and that their access to policy-making through the party congresses might be closed. "If that becomes a reality, the white trade unions will be forced by a feeling of powerlessness and political frustration to enter the political arena directly" he said. He held that unions would be compelled to act in four ways: pressurise ministers; use their voting strength at the polls; start their own party; in a crisis, resort to legal and illegal strikes.'
The 42 000-strong SA Association of Municipal Employees resigned from the confederation on February 20 in view of the confederation's "increasing conflict with the government". The union's executive committee reaffirmed a SAAME decision to give the government's labour reforms a fair chance, disassociated SAAME from the report by the confederation's special committee, and decided to send a deputation to the Minister of Manpower Utilisation in an effort to restore good relations.10

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Trade union federations


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Overseas union movement

In March a second body - the Durban Municipal Employees' Society - also decided to withdraw from the confederation. Mr H W Weber, chairman of the society, stated that it was prepared to back the Wiehahn Commission reforms and was engaged in negotiations with the Durban City Council to provide greater job advancement for Africans.""

In September the SA Technical Officials' Association, a 200 member union representing mine officials, was expelled from the confederation because it had opened its ranks to coloured members.

Two further unions, the National Association of Furniture and Allied Workers, and the Johannesburg Municipal Workers' Association, resigned. The former left to merge with the coloured and African National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers.2

Overseas Union Movement

A seminar to review SA's labour relations organised by the giant German union, IG Metall, and attended by representatives of several SA unions was held in February in London. On his return from the seminar Mr Ike van der Watt, general secretary of the Boilermakers' Union, warned that the International Metal Workers' Federation, to which IG Metall and some of the SA metal unions were affiliated, was under "tremendous pressure" to back boycotts, sanctions and disinvestment against SA. The IMF had stated that it opposed such measures but might be forced to change its policy unless co-operation between SA trade unions improved.3

The International Metal Workers' Federation voted to keep three chairs empty during its conference in London as a gesture of solidarity with African SA trade unionists who had been prevented from attending because the government had refused them passports. At the conference Mr Herman Rebhan, general secretary, criticised SA's "denial of basic trade union rights" to Africans, and stated that the Wiehahn report (part one) fell far short of granting these rights to unionists. He also criticised the government's ban on FOSATU receiving funds from outside SA.4

The annual debate of the ILO's Committee on Apartheid in Geneva in June, was divided over whether the Wiehan and Riekert Commissions' recommendations constituted progress and reform in SA's labour relations. Employer representatives from the US and Holland argued that some progress had been
made, but were overruled by the majority of worker and state representatives who held that the commissions' recommendations were cosmetic and were in fact a more determined attempt to exercise control over the African workers and their unions. 1

At the meeting the ILO approved a wide ranging set of measures against SA including government action to isolate SA, and employer and trade union measures aimed at severing relations with white SA trade unions and forcing multi-national corporations to withdraw investments.

Registration
An amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1979 and a subsequent ruling by the minister made it possible for Africans (excluding foreigners but including Africans from independent homelands) to join registered trade unions or form trade unions which would be eligible for registration.

Since this amendment registration has been sought by the following all-African unions:

Union
African Transport Workers' Union National Union of Clothing Workers Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal) Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union Food and Beverage Workers' Union Laundry, Drycleaning and Dying Workers' Union SA Chemica) Workers' Union Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union Transport and Allied Workers' Union Chemical Workers' Industrial Union Engineering and Allied Workers' Union Glass and Allied Workers' Union Metal and Allied Workers' Union National Union of Textile Workers Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union Transport and General Workers' Union Electrical and Allied Workers' Union Furniture, Bedding and Allied Workers' Union National Union of Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employees
National Union of Wine, Spirits and Allied Workers Cadbury In-company Union

Affiliation
TUCSA TUCSA TUCSA
CUSA CUSA CUSA CUSA
CUSA CUSA
FOSATU
FOSATU FOSATU FOSATU
FOSATU FOSATU FOSATU FOSATU
Unaffiliated Unaffiliated
Unaffiliated Unaffiliated Unaffiliated

Of these nine had been granted registration at the time of writing.

Mixed Status
In terms of the act the minister may at his discretion grant mixed status (otherwise prohibited) to unions on individual application. To date 39 already registered unions have applied for mixed status of whom 34 were passed with 5 pending.

The following unregistered unions applied for mixed status:
Engineering and Allied Workers' Union (FOSATU) (all races) Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (FOSATU) (all races) Metal and Allied Workers' Union
Registration

Of these two were granted mixed status. The remainder were pending.

Controversy centred around the application for registration by the Cadbury-Schweppes in-company union. Trade unionists held that the union was formed and controlled by employers and that such unions were invariably started by employers in order to avoid dealing with representative unions. Management had refused to deal with the Eastern Province Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union, a FOSATU affiliate, which had been active in the plant as it claimed that the in-company union was more representative.16

The Building Industries Federation of SA called for the compulsory registration of all trade unions and appointed a sub-committee to look into the question of unregistered unions.17

In an address to the commerce chamber of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Professor Nic Wiehahn stated that unions and other worker organisations were a fact of life and to ignore, denigrate or wish them away was unproductive, shortsighted and stupid. He stated that if there was a negative attitude to new labour relations developments in the 1980s it would cloud relations between employers and employees and create tension. Basic worker rights included in a labour democracy were the workers' freedom to work and to offer their work where and when they wished; to associate, negotiate and strike; protection against exploitation, injury and sickness; and the right to training and development. Employers would have to take more interest in and have greater knowledge of labour relations system, techniques, methods and opportunities for the development of workers, and particularly of conflict management.18

The Natal Chamber of Industries drew up guidelines for its members to assist them in dealing with unions. They were not made public although a spokesman stated that members were advised to "neither encourage nor obstruct the growth of black trade unions".19

In June the Midland Chamber of Industries called on the government to speed up the registration of African and mixed unions to lessen the chances of further labour unrest. Strikes were being held on a country-wide basis at the time.20

In November Dr Hennie Reynders, chairman of the National Manpower Commission, confirmed that the government intended holding talks with unregistered African and non-racial trade unions.
This was seen as an indication of top level concern at the refusal of some unions to register and thus join the government's new labour system.

In November Assocom called on the government to allow workers to join trade unions of their choice; and said that the existing system of registration had fallen into disrepute with many of the new and existing unions both because of fears that registered status would bring greater state control and because of slowness in handling registration. It recommended that "a vertical, non-racial system of registration should be introduced". It also called for registered trade union rights for foreign contract workers; easier access to industrial councils for newly registered unions; an end to rule by ministerial or departmental directive; and an embodiment of the Wiehahn Commission report's recommendations in law.

The FCI, at a press conference in November, stressed the need for unions for managements to take the initiative in dealing with unions rather than waiting for cues from authorities. It also rejected forced registration for unions and their compulsory incorporation under the Industrial Council system.

At separate meetings with industrialists and trade unionists in November, the Minister of Manpower Utilisation outlined changes in the labour relations system to be introduced in 1981. He stated that changes would include the right of all workers, including foreign African workers, to join registered unions and the right of unions to have fully non-racial constitutions. Trade union autonomy would also be guaranteed. However, he said that the existing registration system would not be changed. Trade unionists commented that the government's registrar would still have the power to prevent unions from registering, in respect of particular race groups if a uniracial union representing those workers objected. Mr Botha did not state whether legislation would be introduced to force unions to register.

Not all unions accepted registration. The Western Province General Workers Union, in an article in the South African Labour Bulletin, criticised the process on the grounds that the criteria for registration had not been clearly specified, that the state would gain added control over the workers and that mixed status for unions was not automatic.

In April an ex-Black Allied Workers' Union officer, Mr Chillian Motha, announced his intention to launch a mineworkers' union for African workers. He submitted a draft constitution of the proposed union to TUCSA and asked for TUCSA's support including a donation. The proposed union's aims and objects were, inter alia, to "educate and conscientise black mineworkers and make them aware of their significance and power in a job situation; and to obtain just wages and settle disputes with employers by peaceful means". Mr Motha stated that conscientising workers meant making them aware that they were the backbone of the economy and not indoctrinating them in the political sense.

In April two African metal unions both affiliated to FOSATU withdrew from the SA Co-ordinating Council of the International Metalworkers' Federation, which formerly brought registered and unregistered unions together. Tension had been...
building up between the groups and attempts by Mr Werner Thonessen of the IMF failed to reconcile them. The FOSATU unions stated that they did not wish to cease co-operation with other IMF affiliates, but wanted to build a more satisfactory co-operation by means of more and better contact on shop floor issues. One problem area had been attempts by registered unions to organise 'parallel' African unions. The FOSATU unions claimed that the registered unions were trying to poach their members in an attempt to channel workers into tame unions.24

In a sequel to the Ford strike which began in 1979, workers this Black year voiced their dissatisfaction with the Port Elizabeth branch of the African United Automobile Workers' Union (UAW), a FOSATU affiliate, which had been active in the factory. They charged that the union had been pro-management in the strike, and the president, Mr Johnny Mke, was specifically mentioned. During the strike workers had formed the Ford Cortina Workers' Committee as an alternative negotiating body to the union. Workers accused the UAW of failing to explain to what end their membership fees were being used and stated that the union was not sufficiently community-orientated. At the branch's annual general meeting in April more than 400 workers passed a no-confidence motion in the union's Port Elizabeth branch executive, demanded that its members resign and voted members of the workers' committee onto the executive as replacements. However, Mr Mke refused to step down, claiming his executive was dismissed unconstitutionally as the workers had failed to abide by procedures as set out in the constitution. As a result, in September workers formed their own union - the Motor Assemblies and Components Workers' Union of SA (MACWU).

After a series of meetings employees of doctors and lawyers in Durban decided to join the National Union of Commercial Catering and Allied Workers as a means of support in their fight for better wages.

At its annual conference in Durban the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) rejected trade union registration because the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions had not sought the views and recommendations of unregistered trade unions. The union also called for:

* a national minimum wage of R50.00 a week indexed to inflation for all workers in commerce and industry;
* four weeks' paid leave a year for all workers;
* restrictions on overtime worked, which it asserted should not be compulsory;
* a minimum monthly salary of R80.00 for all domestic workers;
* the implementation of codes by foreign companies. The union declared 1980 as 'Workers' Year' and called for the abolition of the pass laws, the migratory labour system, the Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act.2
On April 13 a new branch of the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), a FOSATU affiliate, was inaugurated in the Eastern Province. Workers in the textile industry in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage had approached FOSATU for support.

The Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union withdrew from the Institute of Industrial Relations, a joint management-labour body designed to bring different groups in the labour field together.

The union resigned in protest at the Institute's role in a conflict between itself and Allied Publishing. The Institute's acting director, Mr S van Coller, acted as an adviser to management during the early stages of the dispute. The union stated in its letter of resignation that it saw no advantage in remaining affiliated "to a supposedly neutral body which is in reality heavily biased towards management". It accused the Institute of "advising Allied behind our backs". Ms Emma Mashinini, the union's secretary, resigned from the Institute's board Union of trustees.

In June African actors stated that they would reject any moves by white actors to persuade them to join the white South African Theatre Union (SATU) or to amalgamate into a new body.

The Durban and Empangeni branches of the Black Allied Workers' Union broke away to form a new organisation called the National Federation of Black Workers. The breakaway came after the union's national organiser, Mr M A Maphalala, and the general secretary, Mr M T Oliphant, had been expelled from the union. They claimed this had followed on enquiries they had made that large sums of money belonging to the union had not been accounted for. The splinter union later joined forces with SAAWU, which had also broken away from BAWU in 1979.

At a meeting in August, the 23 000-member National Union of Clothing Workers endorsed the idea of a merger with the white and coloured Garment Workers' Union of SA. However, it was reported that there was dissatisfaction with the idea from certain members of the executive.

At its annual congress in October the all-black Writers' Association of SA (WASA) changed its name to the Media Workers' Association of SA (MWASA) to encompass all African workers in the newspaper industry and not only journalists.

In November three unions, the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers, with a mainly coloured membership, the African United, Automobile and Rubber Workers' Union and the Western Province Motor Workers' Union decided to merge. All are affiliates of FOSATU. This followed on government permission this year to NUMARW to open its ranks to African workers.

Companies' Attitudes to African Union Rights

Although there was some progress with regard to company recognition of unregistered unions or workers' committees, the majority of companies still demonstrated a tardiness in recognising unions and this increased the possibility of labour unrest. The most significant events regarding recognition of unions are summarised below.
In March the unregistered Engineering and Allied Workers’ Union signed a preliminary agreement with a Springs company, Fagersta Steels. It was to be the basis of further agreements to be negotiated over grievances, dismissals, negotiating procedures and other matters. The agreement provided for union access to company premises once a week as well as office and canteen facilities at other times as required by the union for its own purposes. The agreement also recognised the union's responsibilities to work for improved conditions of employment. The most important part of the agreement was the recognition of shop stewards to represent the members to the company. The company did not, however, agree to negotiate on wages. Union membership comprised more than 60% of the 235 African workers.

The Cape Town Stevedoring Association (CTSA) agreed to negotiate with a worker-elected shop steward committee. In 1979 the stevedores went on strike because of the association's refusal to recognise a worker-elected committee. The CTSA accepted the committee's constitution which stated that:

- the committee has full rights of negotiation over wages and working conditions;
- the committee has the right to invite its union officials to any meeting with management. They would have observer status only;
- the workers’ union has exclusive control over all committee training programmes and facilities;
- committee members can carry out their functions during working hours, after informing their supervisors. The committee submitted wage demands soon after the agreement was signed, and negotiations began.

In March SKF Engineering, a subsidiary of SKF SA, which in turn is a subsidiary of the Swedish firm AB SKF, concluded a formal agreement with the Engineering and Allied Workers’ Union. The agreement allowed union officials access to the company premises once a week at lunch times or by arrangement when workers were not required to work. Union officials undertook to enter the factory the normal way and be subject to the same security procedures applicable to all visitors. The firm agreed to the appointment of shop stewards to carry out the union's functions on the shop floor. The firm stated that it envisaged that the agreements would form the basis of further agreements in the future relating to grievances, dismissals, negotiation procedures and other matters of mutual concern.

In April the Supreme Court decided in favour of workers when it ruled that the African employees of Glacier Bearings, a British subsidiary, were entitled to reject the firm's non-racial industrial relations committee and demand a works committee. Workers had earlier rejected the liaison committee when management refused it the statutory right to negotiate wages and working conditions. Workers then refused to join the management-formed industrial relations committee and petitioned for a works committee which management refused to grant. The case hinged on whether the liaison committee had become defunct. This was a legal prerequisite before a works committee could be formed. The court ruled that the
company had not allowed the liaison committee to function in terms of the law and concluded that it had thus refused to recognise the existence of the liaison committee.27

One of the signatories of the Sullivan principles, Colgate, which was regarded as a 'model employer' among United States firms operating in SA, was accused by the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union of refusing to recognise it although it claimed majority membership at the company's Boksburg factory. Recognition of unions is included in the code. The union quoted Colgate as saying that it was "opposed to the unionisation of our workforce because we believe that, as enlightened employers, no union can do more for our employees than we can". Worker representatives at Colgate alleged that they had no adequate channels through which to take grievances to Union management; workers had been disciplined for "no good reason"; rights and African workers who had used the company's 'integrated' toilets had been assaulted by white workers and given disciplinary warnings by the company. Workers stated that they had approached the union for help after trying unsuccessfully to take up grievances through Colgate's African liaison committee. However, the company refused to meet the union despite a petition requesting union recognition signed by 200 of the firm's 300 workers. Colgate stated that it would only recognise the CWIU once it was registered and if the company was satisfied that a majority of its workers were union members. (The Sullivan Code states that "each signatory will support the elimination of discrimination against the right of blacks to form or belong to government registered unions, and to acknowledge generally the right of black workers to choose their own union or to be represented on trade unions where unions already exist". Thus registration is not a prerequisite for recognition of a union in terms of the code.)

In July a Uitenhage textile company, Veldspun, provisionally recognised the National Union of Textile Workers (a FOSATU affiliate) after holding a referendum in which workers were given the opportunity to choose between it and the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, a TUCSA-affiliated union. The TWIU, previously open to coloured workers only, had acquired government permission to recruit Africans. The company stated that the NUTW won by a clear majority. Three African trade unions were granted stop order facilities by the steel and engineering industry's industrial council in July. They were the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union (affiliated to CUSA) the Metal and Allied Workers' Union and the Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, both FOSATU affiliates. The management of Langeberg Ko-op and Western Province Preserving accepted workers’ committees formed by the African Food and Canning Workers’ Union as representative of their workers. They also agreed to disband their liaison committee which the workers had rejected. They postponed a decision on whether union representatives should be allowed to hold meetings with workers on factory premises. Spokesmen for both companies stated they had agreed to disband their liaison committees because the committees did not enjoy the workers' support.
In August AE&CI Paints, a subsidiary of the AE&CI group, recognised the unregistered SA Chemical Workers' Union. SACWU stated that the agreement entailed recognition by the company of union shop stewards, the union's right of access to company premises at its plant and acceptance of a grievance and disciplinary procedure. The union represented about two-thirds of the workers at the plant.

The industrial council for the paper and pulp industry agreed to allow employers to grant stop order facilities to the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union, a FOSATU affiliate.

176 In a unique agreement Ford appointed three full-time shop stewards, each representing Africans, coloured people and Indians in its plant. It aimed to eventually appoint six full-time shop stewards Union and 45 on a part-time basis.

Volkswagen announced the introduction of four shop stewards. Putco agreed to allow the Transport and Allied Workers' Union (TAWU), which was seeking recognition at its factory, access to its premises provided their meetings with workers did not interfere with the running of the company, that only a few workers were addressed at one time, and that the divisional manager was informed about the meeting. Later the company concluded a recognition agreement with the Transport and General Workers' Union, affiliated to FOSATU.

The agreement recognised the TGWU nationally in any PUTCO depot where the union could prove it had majority support. The union would have to present the company with 'stop order forms' signed by a majority of the workers at a depot. At the time of writing PUTCO was still negotiating recognition of TAWU. It was likely that TGWU would represent workers in Springs and Durban and TAWU in Soweto, Johannesburg and Alexandra where it had majority support.

Representation at the Boksburg and Edenvale depots still had to be decided upon.

In August five members of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union alleged in court that a Port Elizabeth bus company, PE Tramways, attempted to compel workers to join two company unions, one for African workers and the other for coloured workers. They claimed that the company made it a condition of employment that the workers joined the unions. They also held that there was a substantial number of workers who wished to resign from the unions to join TAWU but feared that they would be dismissed.

Counsel for the company argued that workers or unions had no legal standing to bring such a case to court. In November the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court found that the union did have the right to ask the court to intervene in such cases.

In November the unregistered SA Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) won formal recognition at Chloride's East London plant. Recognition followed on the holding of a referendum amongst the plant's workers in which SAAWU polled 95.2% of the votes. The referendum was monitored by SAAWU officials, Mr Xolani Kota and Mr Sam Kikine. Management stated that
elections would be held for union shop stewards and for general SAAWU committee members within the plant.

Toyota Marketing offered in November to recognise the unregistered Metal and Allied Workers' Union after a strike by about 100 African workers at its Sandton warehouse. The union had been struggling for recognition for more than a year. All workers who had been dismissed for striking were reinstated after talks between management and FOSATU, to which MAWU is affiliated. The agreement stated inter alia that union representatives would be recognised for negotiations, management would grant the union stop order facilities and access to company premises by prior arrangement with the company's personnel officers.

In the same month Fattis and Monis, which was hit by a strike in 1979 over a recognition issue, signed a non-racial recognition agreement with the Food and Canning Workers' Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union. The agreement recognised both unions and covered the company's Cape Town and Johannesburg plants. It also laid down wages and working conditions. From November 1 minimum wages for general workers would be R45 a week for men and R40 for women.

Unionists Action Against Trade Unionists

During the year the government refused to renew the passports of two officials of FOSATU, Mrs June-Rose Nala and Mr Alex Erwin, general secretary.

In February the general secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Mr S K B Kikine, was detained, questioned and then released by the security police in Ladybrand in the OFS, where he had addressed trade unionists.

In Mdantsane near East London, arsonists in March set fire to the house of the national organiser of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Mr Thozamile Gqweta. Mr Gqweta had been attempting to establish a union branch in the area. Prior to the arson, women mainly hawkers at the bus terminus who were workers of the ruling CNIP, demonstrated against Mr Gqweta and called for his deportation. In an interview Mr Gqweta blamed the Ciskeian government and its head of security, Colonel Charles Sebe, for his continued harassment and intimidation. He said that he had incurred their displeasure by taking up the cause of illegal vendors in Mdantsane in 1979 who had had their produce destroyed by the police. Since then the police had searched his home in Mdantsane and interrogated him. He had also been refused an office in the new CNDC building in Mdantsane.

Mr Gqweta was detained by Ciskei security police on April 17 and held under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The police stated he was being held in connection with a strike a week earlier at the Mdantsane Special Organisation. He went on a hunger strike, was admitted to hospital and later discharged. A meeting of East London workers called by SAAWU in Duncan Village condemned his detention. He appeared in court and was released on R500 bail. In August he again appeared in court on a charge (under the Riotous Assemblies Act) of allegedly intimidating
workers at Raylite Batteries, an East London company. He was again released on R500 bail. He was detained again in October together with SAAWU's branch secretary, Sisa Njekelana. Neither had been released at the time of writing.

Two organisers of the Western Province General Workers' Union, Miss Di Cooper and Mr David Lewis, were detained under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act on May 29. The detentions occurred during a strike by 500 Cape Town meat workers in which the union was involved. In June four more union organisers, Miss Zora Mehlomakulu, Mr Wilson Sidina, Mr Mike Morris and Mr John Frankish, were detained under Section 22. All were released at the end of August.

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Action against trade unionists

Action was also taken against the African Food and Canning Workers' Union. Two organisers, Mr Welile Mzozoyana (branch chairman) and Ms Cynthia Bishot (executive member), were detained for two days for questioning. Both were workers at Langeberg Ko-op where workers had downed tools in favour of the union. Three union shop stewards at Western Province Preserving Company, also the scene of a walkout, were detained in June. One worker, Mr M Fraser, was questioned and released while Mr Gideon Zwakala and Mr Dan Mavuma were charged with taking part in an unlawful strike. Mr B P Norushe and Mr Oscar Mpetha, the union's branch secretary and organiser respectively, were also detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act in August. After 14 days Mr Norushe was transferred to Section 6 of the Terrorism Act which allowed for indefinite detention. A leading anti-apartheid activist, Mr Akropode Clark, Nigerian Ambassador to the UN, in November at the UN called for an international campaign to press for the release of Mr Oscar Mpetha, who was also a founder member of the SA Congress of Trade Unions.

On November 8, 17 officials of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Western Province General Workers' Union and SAAWU were detained in Mdantsane. A statement issued by remaining officials condemned the action and called on the Minister of Manpower Utilisation to intervene.

Thirteen of the unionists were freed after five days in detention. A few days later six women unionists were interrogated for a day and later a further four unionists were detained. The detentions were in terms of Proclamation R252 which gives the Ciskeian authorities the power to detain Africans. All had been released at the time of writing.

Victimisation

In April Mr Halford Stretton Snow and his son Mr R Snow of Suntek Products, Edenvale, were acquitted by a Germiston magistrate on ten counts of victimisation.

Mr Brian Williams, chairman of the union's branch executive, was dismissed by Technoform on his first day at work. Management stated they had received two telephone calls warning them not to employ him. He and a colleague had been dismissed three weeks earlier by B Joffe and Company, a subsidiary of the
Murray and Roberts Group because there was no work. However, shortly thereafter the company advertised vacancies. The union was investigating the cases.

In June the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court ruled that an African trade unionist, Mrs Angel Makhanya, could proceed with a private prosecution against her previous employers, SACT Ceramics (Pty) Ltd, for alleged victimisation. Mrs Makhanya was dismissed by the firm in August 1978 and lodged a complaint with the then Department of Labour which declined to prosecute. A certificate of nolle prosequi, indicating that the state was not prepared to prosecute, was obtained from the Attorney-General and in June 1979 a summons was served on Mr William Bailey in his capacity as managing director of the firm, charging him with contravening Section 25(c) of the Wage Act.

In August 1979 a Boksburg magistrate, Mr Gideon van Wyk, upheld a defence plea that Mrs Makhanya was not entitled to prosecute as she had no right of civil redress against her employer, but leave to appeal was granted. In delivering a precedent-setting judgement Mr Justice D J le Roux and Mr Acting Justice R Kruger, upheld prosecution pleas that no civil remedy was necessary to bring a private action and that there were civil remedies for victimisation besides the workers' right to claim notice pay.

Three workers at the SATV Wilsonia plant in the Eastern Cape alleged they were dismissed because management was reluctant to recognise their union, the South African Allied Workers' Union, when management wanted to replace the present workers' committee with a liaison committee, but the workers took a stand and stated that they were satisfied with their workers' committee.

Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act

The Industrial Conciliation Act was again amended this year. The main changes are summarised below.

Unfair Labour Practice

Problems had been experienced with the definition of 'unfair labour practice' as contained in an amendment to the act in 1979, which stated that an unfair labour practice was "any labour practice which in the opinion of the industrial court is an unfair labour practice". This definition was criticised as being so wide as to be almost valueless.

The new definition as contained in the 1980 Amendment Act reads as follows: 'unfair labour practice' means

1 any labour practice, other than a strike or lockout or any action contemplated in Section 66(1) which has or may have the effect that
(a) any employee or class of employees is or may be unfairly affected or that his or their employment opportunities, work security or physical, economic, moral or social welfare is or may be prejudiced or jeopardised thereby;
(b) the business of any employer or class of employers is or may be unfairly affected or disrupted thereby;
(c) labour unrest is or may be created or promoted thereby;
(d) the relationship between employer and employee is or may
be detrimentally affected thereby; or
2 any other labour practice or any other change in any labour
practice which has or may have an effect which is similar or related to any effect
mentioned in paragraph 1.
A motion by Dr Boraine (PFP) during the debate on the bill in parliament that the
definition be made more specific was rejected. The minister pointed out that in the
amendment he had attempted to incorporate the legal principle that the general
should dominate the specific.
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Legislation

180
Industrial court
Manpower Commission
The amendment act makes provision, in addition to the chairman, for the
appointment of a deputy chairman and other members to the Manpower
Commission on such conditions as the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, with the
concurrence of the Minister of Finance, shall determine. It also allows for the
establishment of an executive committee comprised solely of members of the
commission.
The commission is also given powers to vary or set aside, at any time, any
decision made by any of its committees. A further amendment states that
members co-opted onto committees who are not members of the commission may
not exercise a vote and shall not have access to the commission's records except
with the consent of the commission's chairman.
The Amendment Act also grants to the commission the power to subpoena
witnesses, examine them under oath, retain any relevant documentation and enter
premises at any time for inspection purposes. The subpoena must be signed by the
chairman, deputy chairman or officer authorised by the chairman. The
commission may also require a person to furnish information even if not
subpoenaed. Any person who fails to appear or give evidence or who gives false
information may be guilty of an offence.

Industrial Court
The Industrial Court, established in June 1979, was widely criticised. The court
had jurisdiction over disputes of both right and interest; there was no appeal to the
Supreme Court; it could hear only civil and not criminal matters; and it could not
rule on such matters as recovery of wages and victimisation as these were
criminal offences in terms of the labour laws. The amendment act did not touch
upon most of these issues.
The amendment act repeals those sections in the principal act allowing for the
establishment of local and special divisions of the industrial court and
consequential amendments allow for the transfer of the special courts' functions to
the main court, e.g. the right to decide appeals, conduct arbitrations, advise the
minister and other functions. This was seen as retrogressive in that it further fused
the jurisdiction over disputes of right and disputes of interest (the special court previously adjudicated on disputes of interest). The abolition of the power to establish local divisions means that the litigants will have to go to Pretoria for hearings as this will be the only seat of the industrial court.

Previously the court's chairman was appointed for his "knowledge of the law relating to labour". The amendment act states that all appointees to the court, i.e. the chairman and his deputies, will need a knowledge of the law. The Minister of Manpower Utilisation, giving his reasons for the amendment, stated that representations from the Association of Law Societies and others had stated that there were people in general practice with many years of experience in law which includes labour law and therefore it was not necessary to refer specifically to labour law.

The periods and conditions under which the president, deputy president and members are appointed are determined by the minister who must now have the concurrence of the Minister of Finance. A further amendment confers on the president the right to refer any function of the court to any member of the court. The amendment act also makes provision for parties involved in a dispute to refer the matter directly to the minister rather than waiting the customary 30 days if they are convinced that the dispute cannot be settled by them. The minister, after receiving the report, will refer it to the industrial court for consideration. This could speed up the settlement of a dispute.

The amendment act repealed the Black Building Workers' Act of 1951 and its various amending statutes. This followed on an announcement by the minister on April 11 that Africans were no longer prohibited from undertaking skilled work in the building industry in white areas and whites from undertaking skilled work (except as instructors) in the building industry in African areas. Provision was made in the legislation for those Africans (53 at present) still undergoing training in terms of the act to complete their training. It also provided for the wage determination (published under government notice R1734 of August 10, 1979) applying to African builders to remain in force until August 19, 1982. (See also section on Construction.)

Industrial Court Hearings

The Industrial Court heard its first case this year. The Metal and Allied Workers' Union brought an action on behalf of a migrant worker, Mr Maponya, against an East Rand company, Precision Tools. The union claimed that the company victimised Mr Maponya by not renewing his contract which expired earlier in the year, allegedly because of his trade union activities.

Certain precedents were set during the case. First, the deputy president of the court, Mr Benjamin Parsons, ruled that the court could hear the case. Precision Tools had argued that it was improper for the court to hear the dispute as there had been a unanimous decision by the Industrial Council's executive committee that the company was within its rights in not renewing Mr Maponya's contract.

The case had first been heard by the industrial council for the iron, steel and metallurgical industries, which reported that it could not determine whether a dispute existed between Mr Maponya and the company. (In terms of industrial
legislation a dispute must be considered by an industrial council before it comes to court.)

In August the court ruled that all trade unions whether they were registered or not could bring matters to court on behalf of their members. The court also ruled that it could hear evidence on allegations that the employer was guilty of an 'unfair labour practice' in refusing to renew Mr Maponya's contract even though he was entitled to a renewal.

These rulings were welcomed by the trade union movement as a victory for African workers.

181 Industrial court

182 The case was eventually settled out of court with Precision Tools paying the union R4 000 and committing itself to a recognition agreement. The union failed to achieve the reinstatement of Mr Ma

Industrial councils

Other Hearings

The rulings of the Maponya case mentioned above were in direct conflict to the ruling handed down by Justice Eloff in the Bosman case in 1978.

In September the Appeal Court rejected an appeal to consider the Bosman case (see 1978 Survey) concerning the legal rights of workers and trade unions because the case was filed late. In 1978 the Supreme Court ruled that the trade union, dismissed workers and the workers' committee at P E Bosman had no right to sue the company for alleged victimisation of workers' spokesmen. Justice Eloff had also ruled that the unregistered Transport and Allied Workers' Union had only an indirect financial interest in the case. By rejecting the appeal, the Appeal Court let the ruling stand.

Labour Relations

Industrial Councils

The number of industrial councils, industrial council agreements and employees covered by such agreements from 1970-79 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year ending</th>
<th>Number of councils</th>
<th>Number of agreements</th>
<th>Number of employers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>31 689</td>
<td>898976</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>092</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>34 510</td>
<td>1 010</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>192 915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>36 235</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>212 660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>38 757</td>
<td>1 025</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>203 416</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>38894</td>
<td>1 065</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>194</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>39 146</td>
<td>1 046</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>211 511</td>
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<tr>
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<td>102</td>
<td>41 124</td>
<td>1 065</td>
<td>366</td>
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<td>369</td>
<td>220 979</td>
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<tr>
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<td>101</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>39 933</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>189 201</td>
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<td>1 045</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>198 578</td>
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Negotiating committees
The National Manpower Commission report gave the following details concerning the number of negotiating committees established in terms of the Black Labour Relations Regulations Act:
Regional Committees, Works Committees and Liaison Committees in South Africa, 1970-1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year ending 31 December</th>
<th>Regional committees</th>
<th>Works committees</th>
<th>Liaison committees</th>
<th>Employees concerned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>312 541</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>1 482</td>
<td>521 624 Conduct</td>
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<tr>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>715 656</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>2 664</td>
<td>771 015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>2 683</td>
<td>774 150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Codes of Conduct
UK
British firms operating in SA are obliged to submit reports on their labour practices to the British Ministry of Trade through the British Embassy. About 200 individual reports had been received for the year ending June 1979 compared with 184 for the previous 12 month period. However, the British Trade Secretary, Mr John Nott, refused to allow the publication of the names of 33 companies paying below the poverty datum line. Thirty-one of the 33 companies were: BICC (Scottish Cables); Shell SA; Rietspruit Mine; Low and Bonar (SA Canvas Co, African Oilskin Industries, Canvascor and Bonar Long NITC); L Industries (Braitect) Burmah Oil; Turner and Newall (Turner and Newall Holdings); BP; Elkennboom Colliery; Thomas Witter (Witter SA); Sir Alfred McAlpine (Alfred McAlpine and Son); Mitchell Cotts Group; Lonrho; Associated Engineering; Rank Hovis McDougall (Cerebos Africa Ltd); Cape Industries (Capil Insulation Products, Don International Cape Contracts and Cape Investments); GEC; United Wire Group (United Wire Holdings); Thomas French; Eagle Star Insurance (SA Eagle Insurance); Crown House (Wheeler Martin); Jonas Woodhead (Kirkstall Development); Bowthorpe Holdings (Bowthorpe-Hellermann-Deutsch); Cavenham (Bovril SA); Gestetner; National Employers Mutual Insurance; British United Shore Machines; Metal Closures; International Distillers and Vintners; Tarmac.
The British government was widely criticised for withholding these names. Its report on the companies' progress was tabled in the British parliament in April and copies, available for public inspection, were sent to the British Embassy in Pretoria and the consulates general in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The report stated that the 140 category A companies (those holding 50% or more of the equity of their SA subsidiaries, and employing at least 20 Africans) employed about 105 000 Africans; 98% were paid at rates above the lower level of subsistence data used and 81% were paid above the higher datum level. Nine companies reported that they recognised trade unions compared with eight the previous year.


In a speech to the UK-SA Trade Association the Minister for Codes of Trade, Mr Cecil Parkinson, reaffirmed the British government's support for the EEC's code of conduct on the pay and conditions of African workers in SA. He urged British companies to continue to invest in SA and stated that those companies observing the code could alleviate the effects of apartheid in employment, pay, training and general working conditions and also boost economic expansion which was the "real engine" for peaceful change.28

In a report, FOSATU accused British companies of issuing misleading and untrue information in reports to the British Department of Trade on their implementation of the EEC code in their SA operations. Its chief complaint was that many companies failed to comply with the clause in the code stating that companies should recognise African trade unions of the workers' choice. It stated that Forbo Krommenie (Swiss), Glacier Bearings, Revertex, Sarmcol and Raleigh Cycles had all refused to deal with unregistered trade unions. Cadbury and Eveready had refused to recognise coloured unions and Cadbury's management had set up its own union. FOSATU stated that employment codes were "pointless unless there are sanctions against those companies which do not abide by the code".

Unions affiliated to FOSATU asked their members to comment on the reports submitted by British companies to the Department of Trade. Prominent among workers' criticisms were claims that companies paid wages below those mentioned in the reports, that training programmes were not as described, and that workers pushing for the establishment of a union were intimidated. The workers also stated that companies' claims about education, bursaries and scholarships were misleading. FOSATU claimed that members of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union said they were unaware of any scholarships offered by Cadbury's for employees' children. The Chemical Workers' Industrial Union stated that Revertex's bursary scheme was for university studies while most workers wanted...
bursaries for school education. The Engineering and Allied Workers' Union claimed that there were segregated toilet facilities and separate factory gates for different race groups at Raleigh while the firm had stated that there was no segregation of facilities as far as the law permitted. The general manager of Cadbury's admitted that some of FOSATU's claims against his company were correct. The factory had no canteen, nor were there equal toilet facilities for African and white workers as the report submitted to the British government had claimed.29

Sullivan Code
Giving evidence before the Congressional Sub-Committee on Africa in May the Reverend Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Code of Conduct, stated that it should be enacted into law by congress. He suggested tax penalties and ultimately the withholding of overseas licences to enforce compliance. He stated that the principles "were beginning to work", but that he was far from satisfied.

A top executive of Ford (one of the signatories), Mr William Broderick, stated that legislation would create more problems than it would resolve, and that the code would be more effective if applied on a voluntary basis.30 Executives from other signatories, such as Codes of General Motors, Coca Cola, Mobil Oil and Citicorp also held this Conduct view.

Coca Cola's board of directors revised previous corporate policy and the company became a signatory to the Sullivan Code. Its local affiliate was Amalgamated Beverage Industries. This decision followed a number of unsuccessful motions by its shareholders to make Coca Cola become a signatory.

Congressman Stephen Solarz met trade unionists on a visit to SA in August to examine the employment practices of US companies in SA. African trade unionists appealed for the clause on recognition of trade unions to be tightened in order to prevent companies from refusing to deal with unregistered unions. (See section on union recognition.) An overall tightening up of clauses in the code had been suggested as an alternative to legislation to enforce the principles.

An audit of the implementation of the Sullivan principles at Ford Motor Company, undertaken in 1979 by the Institute of Race Relations, was published this year. The report stated that Ford management had complied with principle 1 (non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and other facilities). As far as principle 2 (equal and fair employment practices for all employees) was concerned it found that there was widespread lack of commitment to its implementation. It recommended that non-white matriculants should not be initiated into the company at grades one or two but into grades where training is automatic; that foreman training should include a satisfactorily tested component in human relations; and that the graduate development programme and commercial trainee programme failed to produce a significant number of acceptably competent people. It found communication was impeded by language problems and that a programme should be introduced to eliminate prejudices of foremen and supervisors. It advised the company to press for modifications in the law to permit labour to organise on a non-racial basis, and to encourage closer working between unions.
The auditors had doubts that principle 3 (equal pay for equal work) had been attained although they could not make a full assessment due to a lack of technical knowledge. However, they felt more Africans should be moved into the same job classification as whites. They found that wage scales had fallen relative to the HSL over the past eight years and that it had become increasingly difficult for a growing proportion of the workers to earn an adequate real wage. They recommended that only a radical upward revision of the wage scales could meet the Sullivan principles on the issue.

Regarding principle 4 - the initiation and development of training programmes - the auditors discovered that substantial advances had been made in the initiation and expansion of inside training facilities for Africans over the past two years, and that with the relaxation of legislation protecting white workers, further advances should be made over the next few years. Three areas for improvement were

186 artisan training, training of foremen and supervisors and the location and training of graduates suitable to hold managerial positions. As far as principle 5 was concerned - increasing the number of blacks Codes of and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions - it Conduct found that despite the initiation of appropriate programmes the company had produced only one African manager since 1971.

The auditors were also disappointed with progress in the implementation of principle 6 - to improve the quality of employees' lives outside the workplace. It suggested that re-evaluation of Ford's housing policy was required and that money should be spent on the homes of its poorer paid workers rather than 6lite projects. In health care the company was meeting its obligations except in the fundamental area of providing all its employees with a wage above the HSL.

The auditors found that there was a lack of interest in the requirement that there should be changes in the influx control laws to provide for the right of black migrant workers to normal family life.

They found this "would seem to underline the cynicism of the workers that the company's interest in the principles is primarily self-interest under a thin veneer of social responsibility".

They stated that despite the size of the 'black budget' and its tremendous growth over the past two years the overall impression was one of lack of direction and ultimately lack of commitment to the sort of changes that Sullivan himself seemed to envisage.

The author of the Sullivan Code, the Reverend Leon Sullivan, arrived in SA in September to deliver a lecture to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

In his speech the Reverend Sullivan stated that a voluntary onsite monitoring plan was being completed for much-needed on-site inspection of American progress reports, to ascertain visually compliance with the principles in word and spirit. He stated that the principles had had an effect on industrial thinking and activity in SA and had become a catalyst for change. As at April 1, 1980, as a direct result of
the principles, 655 university scholarships had been provided for blacks with a projected goal of 1,000 by the end of 1980 and 5,000 by the end of 1984. Companies were sponsoring 70 schools, had allocated 70,000 hours to staff training with 1,000 blacks in supervisory and managerial training, and were aiming at 1,500 by the end of 1980.

About 7,000 blacks were involved in skills training. Despite this the Reverend Sullivan stressed that he was still dissatisfied with progress as this was too slow.

He stated that when in America he would increase pressure on companies by supporting selective disinvestment calls against those which did not co-operate with the principles; and by calling for US government action against them including tax penalties, sanctions and the loss of government contracts.31

In November, Dr Sullivan visited labour officials and businessmen in Europe in an attempt to combine his principles with the EEC code.

Saccola

The SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (SACCOLA) announced it would 'audit' its code launched in December 1977. It planned to distribute about 14,500 questionnaires on vital labour strikes matters to employers throughout SA, excluding the farming sector. The questionnaire covered pay levels, trade union rights, African job advancement and integration of facilities. A report would be published but the information relating to individual employees would remain confidential. In a foreword to the questionnaire SACCOLA chairman, Mr Chris du Toit, wrote: "Unless we can demonstrate that there is progress in employment practices, there is little that can be done to arrest the movements advocating sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment".

Strikes and Work Stoppages

The number of work stoppages in SA from 1970-1979 was as follows:32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of work stoppages</th>
<th>Number of employees concerned</th>
<th>Number of man-days lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number of work workers</td>
<td>All Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4,168</td>
<td>3,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4,451</td>
<td>4,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>9,224</td>
<td>8,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>98,378</td>
<td>90,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>59,244</td>
<td>57,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>23,323</td>
<td>22,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>280,13</td>
<td>26,291</td>
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<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15,304</td>
<td>14,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>14,160</td>
<td>13,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>22,803</td>
<td>15,494</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An increase in the number of strikes this year led to widespread comment on the present state of labour relations in the country. In an article in Race Relations News, Miss C Cooper isolated, 'spre alia; the following causes for the breakdown in communication between management and workers: inadequate negotiating procedures, especially worker dissatisfaction with liaison committees; refusal by management to take early and serious heed of workers' grievances; refusal by management to accept, for negotiating purposes, a body of the workers' choice; and management's tardiness in adopting formal agreements with representative unions.

Attention was also drawn to management's unwillingness or lack of expertise in dealing with crisis situations, especially strikes. The following patterns adopted by management during a strike were criticised: calling in of police and Department of Manpower Utilisation officials; insisting that workers return before negotiation begins; threatening workers with dismissal unless they return to work; firing workers in order to weed out those they regard as 'trouble makers'.

In a paper entitled 'Strikes as Social Phenomena', Dr Loet Douwes-Dekker of the Graduate School of Business Administration, University of the Witwatersrand, stated that spontaneous strike action would be a characteristic of the 1980 decade for the following reasons:

1. Only a small percentage of black workers were organised at present and for those organised no effective relationship has been established with the management of the company;
2. "the arena for management-labour interaction would be the shop floor which was not used in the past by the registered trade unions;"
3. "that coloured workers during the 1960s and 1970s had become 'silent' union members, often through closed shop provisions with no understanding of their new status. He suggested that demonstrations, stoppages and spontaneous strikes "cannot be perceived as riots; are a challenge to the existing order of control; serve as a notice to all concerned that the status quo cannot be recovered; offer an opportunity to establish a relationship pattern, or re-establish the relationship in terms of new values between management and the collective expression of labour".

He emphasised that the strike weapon was a worker right and was internationally recognised as such and that management should perceive the strike experience as an opportunity to enter into a relationship pattern with the collective expression of workers or to re-establish the existing pattern with the trade union on a different basis.

In an article entitled 'Industrial Relations - Management's Responsibility', Kate Jowell of the University of Cape Town's School of Business highlighted the necessity for increased negotiation as opposed to merely communicating with or consulting workers. She pointed out, however, that many managers were largely untried in the skills which they needed to handle the situation effectively. Liaison committees would continue to be a failure until management presented issues to its workforce not just for information but for discussion. She stated that the
increasing competitiveness in the workplace made it inevitable that management would find itself in a negotiating situation.33

Main causes of strikes during the year were: dissatisfaction with pay; anger over management's refusal to accept a negotiating body of the workers' choice; dissatisfaction over the dismissal of a coworker.

Some of these strikes are briefly described below.34

Ceres
In February almost the entire workforce of 600 at Ceres Fruit Growers walked out due to the sacking of a co-worker, Mr Klaas Markus, because he was "too old". Workers believed he had been fired because he was a prominent member of the Food and Canning Workers' Union. After a number of meetings between management and the union all except 35 workers were taken back. The 35 included seven pensioners and 16 children. The agreement negotiated between management and the union contained the following 189 clauses:

"The committee representing the employees who left service on Strikes February 15 undertakes, in consultation with the management of CFG to identify all unproductive employees not presently in service and agrees that they need not be employed.
The management of CFG hereby undertakes to reinstate all employees who left service on February 15 with the exception of those mentioned above."

Karoo Meat Exchange
Fifty-nine employees of Karoo Meat Exchange were fired on March 24 after they had struck in protest against the dismissal of a co-worker. Workers claimed the man was dismissed without consultation with the workers' committee which was contrary to the committee's constitution as accepted by management. The union involved also stated that the general manager, Mr Johan Louw, had failed to fulfil an undertaking made after the dismissal that the workers' committee would be provided with an explanation. Mr Louw stated that the workers had ended their service contracts themselves because, after repeated requests from management to return to work and offers to discuss the matter with the works committee, employees had refused to return to work.

After a further management-worker meeting on March 25 the Western Province General Workers' Union said workers insisted they would not return to work unless they were all re-engaged and the grievances which led to the strike were discussed with their committee.

The union stated that workers were informed that they would be re-engaged on merit and not all workers would be taken back. Later the firm stated it had told the meeting it was not in a position to guarantee vacancies for all, but those who wished to re-apply should do so by the 28th.

After a meeting of more than 100 workers representing 11 major meat firms on the 26th a letter was sent to Karoo Meat in which workers pledged their support for the 'non-negotiable demand' by Karoo workers that they all be re-engaged. No
workers employed at the 11 firms would do any work for Karoo while the dispute continued.
When workers re-applied for their jobs on the 28th they were instructed by management to fill in application forms and told that the company would decide over the weekend which workers to reengage. They would not be re-engaged in their original positions. Workers refused to fill in the forms.
Workers returned to work on April 1 after negotiating a settlement with management on March 31. It was agreed that the workers would return to their old jobs with full pay for the time they were off work. They were given the assurance that management would in future consult fully with the workers' elected committee. Representatives from the union were excluded from the negotiations.

190 Kromrivier Apple Co-operative
On April 25, 700 seasonal workers at the Kromrivier Apple Cooperative (Kromco) near Grabouw stopped work in protest against strikes low wages. Many were earning less than R15 a week. Police were called and in fighting which ensued 40 strikers were arrested.
According to the union involved, the Food and Canning Workers' Union, workers also went on strike because they feared management was planning to lay off union members. The union stated further that management tried to replace the strikers by bringing in workers from Caledon. At the beginning of May Kromco agreed to meet union representatives and eventually an agreement was reached. Management agreed to increase the minimum wage to about R26 a week for men and R23 for women. It agreed to take back all coloured workers involved in the strike. African contract workers would not be taken back before July but the company agreed to pay them 50% of their wages from the time they struck until July. Kromco also guaranteed African workers on one-year contracts that these would be renewed in July, and Africans on six-month contracts would have first option for a contract in the new year.

Frametex
On May 22 about 1 200 workers of the giant Frametex Textile Mills in New Germany (Natal) went on strike for higher wages.
In terms of the light cotton industry wage order which came into effect in 1973, the 1980 minimum wage for the highest category of worker in the industry, a qualified grade four employee, was R25,50 a week for women and about R30,50 for men. For the lowest grade which covers labouring and unskilled jobs, the minimum was R18,40 a week for women and R23 a week for men.
Workers had received an annual wage increase of 10% over the last three years, while the increase in the cost of living was 14,5% in the Durban area in 1979 and 13% in 1978.
The strike spread to the other Frame factories of Nortex, Pinetex and Seltex and eventually the estimated number out was 6 000 to 7 000.
On the 26th the strikers voted to continue their strike after a weekend meeting between their liaison committee and management had ended in deadlock. Management declined to negotiate until the strikers returned.

The Frame Group's joint managing director, Mr Selwyn Lurie, blamed the strike on "a small group of militants" who had, he claimed, "intimidated workers".

The company then fired the strikers. At a meeting on the 28th more than 5 000 strikers decided to ignore this decision. On the night of 28th police arrested three representatives of the striking workers as they left a meeting with management. The men - the chairman and two other members of the Frametex liaison committee - were later charged, with four other strikers, under Section 10 of the Riotous Assemblies Act for holding an illegal strike. At the meeting management had stated it would award the workers an increase - unspecified - but only if they returned.

On the 29th the Frame Group announced that it would offer a 191 15% wage increase for workers still in the factories to be followed by a further 10% increase in January 1981. But it held to its stand that the strikers would be re-employed selectively.

Strikes
A proposed meeting of the workers and the liaison committee to be held on May 30 at which the committee was to have announced the pay awards was banned by Pinetown's chief magistrate.

By June 3 most of the striking workers had returned to work and all the cotton mills were back to full production. Summonses were issued against 298 Frame Group workers in August for taking part in the strike. Workers had the option of paying an admission of guilt fine of R30 but the union advised them not to pay and to fight the case in court.

Volkswagen
On June 16 more than 3 000 workers walked out of the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage. The men demanded a minimum of R2 an hour. They were receiving R1,15. The unions had been involved in discussions with the industrial council over the R2 demand and were to report back to the workers. Mr Sauls, general secretary of NUMAWR, stated that negotiations were at the initial stage and that further negotiations would have been held. Several workers also said their action was in protest at the banning of the report-back meeting of the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers and their black affiliate, the United Automobile Rubber and Allied Workers' Union, both recognised by Volkswagen.

The meeting to inform members of the outcome of national wage negotiations was prohibited in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. The strike spread rapidly to other factories in the area and by June 20 workers from the following factories had downed tools: Hella Automotive Lighting (where workers asked for an increase from 65c an hour to R1,50); SKF Bearing Manufacturers (where striking workers who wanted R2 an hour rejected a management offer to increase wages from R1,15 to R1,70); Borg Warner (workers demanded a minimum of R2,50 an hour); Link Construction; Mr Jeeva
and Sons; USM Milling; Goodyear (where workers demanded an increase from 1,10 to R3 an hour); Gubb and Inggs; Guestro Industries (where workers demanded a minimum R2 an hour starting wage); National Standard Wire; Bata (where workers stated they were dissatisfied with the leather workers’ new agreement which gave them a 12% pay increase from July 1).

Police were active throughout the period of the strikes. On June 18 they dispersed workers gathering in the townships and outside Volkswagen gates; and on June 20 declared Kabah and Kwanobuhle ‘problem areas’. They also cordoned off a section of the road leading to Volkswagen and Goodyear tyre factories.

The executives of the Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers’ Union branches at Ford and General Motors expressed support for the Volkswagen workers’ R2 demand and threatened to strike if this demand was not met.

On June 20 the joint committee of the unions rejected a joint offer made by Ford, GM and VW as being too far below the R2 de-

192 manded. On the same day Goodyear and National Standard announced that workers who did not return that day would be paid off.

Hella and SKF also gave the 20th as a deadline for the return of workStrikes ers on threat of dismissal.

By the 25th workers had been taken back at Guestro Industries, Gubb and Inggs, National Standard, Hella, Borg Warner, UCM, Bata and SKF.

On the 24th a special industrial council meeting rejected the Goodyear workers' demand for R3 per hour. Workers who gathered outside Goodyear for a report-back from their representatives were dispersed by police. Management informed them that their pay demands had been rejected and advised them to re-apply for their jobs from the 26th. About 100 workers with poor work records were not rehired.

On the 28th the motor industry workers rejected an offer of R1,40 from July 1 rising to R1,60 in January 1981, R1,80 in July 1981 and R2 by January 1982. On the 26th VW opened with only 200 of the 3 500 striking assembly line workers back at work. The company stated it would implement the wage offer even though it had been rejected by the workers. The workers had decided to stay away until the next meeting of the industrial council on July 4.

In pamphlets the unions urged workers to return to work on July 7 after the second round of negotiations, at which management had agreed to the concept of a minimum wage but not the R2 demand.

Negotiations continued and a final agreement was reached granting the workers R1,45 minimum.

In a significant move employers accepted that an independent arbitrator be appointed to embark on a study of union proposals for a living wage.

Sasol

Unrest broke out at Sasol III on July 15 when bungalows were burned down at the compound housing African workers. Workers were dissatisfied because they claimed they were being harassed by military personnel after stricter security
measures had been implemented at the plant and compounds. They also alleged that military personnel had shot a construction worker. Sasol spokesmen denied that the man had been shot and stated that the members of the liaison committee had been shown the body and that there were no bullet holes in it.

The 18 000 strong workforce was sent home on full pay on the 16th for a long weekend to allow the unrest to subside. When workers returned to work on Monday management retrenched 111 'trouble makers'. Sasol spokesmen said workers had been informed of the purpose of the stricter security measures, and that the post mortem on the dead man revealed he had died of internal injuries.

Johannesburg Municipal Workers

More than 600 municipal workers at the Orlando Power Station went on strike on July 24 over a pay tribute. Workers downed tools after management had refused to talk to a workers' delegation about the issue. The workers demanded a uniform R58 a week salary for all 193 unskilled labourers - R25 more than the current average of R33.

A strikers delegation met the Chief City Electrical Engineer, Mr W Barnard, after he had first refused to see them. The 21-man delegation demanded equal pay for equal work, an immediate meeting with the management committee and an unskilled pay rise of R25 a week. Mr Barnard stated that he could not take decisions on such issues. The delegation reported back to the strikers who refused to return to work unless they received a promise of more money.

The 600 were dismissed. By the 25th 500 electricity workers were on strike. Management refused to negotiate with the Black Municipal Workers' Union (BMWU) which claimed to represent the workers, as it was unregistered. Management instead promoted the Johannesburg Municipal Workers' Union which arose out of the compound liaison committee system and which was granted provisional registration during the strike.

Other reasons given by the council for not meeting the BMWU was that municipalities were regarded as 'essential services' under the Industrial Conciliation Act and workers employed by them were forbidden to strike, worker militancy was politically motivated, and workers refused to negotiate, saying only that they wanted more money.

By the 30th about 10 000 workers were on strike. The Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr Fanie Botha, met the city Council's management committee to discuss the crisis and convey details to the cabinet. Management attempts to negotiate directly with workers in the compounds failed, workers demanding that negotiations should be conducted through the BMWU.

On the 30th workers were given an ultimatum to return to work or leave and police cordoned off the compounds, preventing workers from congregating at the Selby compound.

About 1 265 workers were paid off on August 1 and escorted by police to the compounds to fetch their belongings. Of these, 185 were conveyed to the homelands in buses and 220 to their homes in Soweto. A further 220 who decided
that they were not leaving were taken to New Canada station to be taken home. Strikers claimed that they were not given the choice of staying but were instructed by the police to board the buses.

On July 31 Mr Joseph Mavi, general secretary of the BMWU, was detained by security police in the corridors of the Supreme Court minutes before his union was to bring an urgent interdict against the Johannesburg City Council and the Minister of Police to prevent them from taking action against members of the BMWU. Later Mr M Dlamini and Mr G Mazwi, both officials of the union, were charged under the Sabotage Act (General Law Amendment Act of 1962), under sections 21(1), subsections (b)(d)(f). This section carries a minimum penalty of 5 years' jail and a maximum of death. They were released on bail on August 22. In November the sabotage charges were withdrawn and the men charged instead under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Two newspaper editors, Mr A Sparks of the Rand Daily Mail and Mr H Tyson of the Star, as well as Rand Daily Mail reporter Mr H Ma-

194 shabela, were subpoenaed to give evidence concerning reports their newspapers carried on Mr Mavi.

Many workers attempted to get their jobs back and affidavits Strikes supporting claims by some that they were unfairly dismissed were handed to the town clerk. There was widespread criticism of the council's handling of the strike.

PFP council members criticised the councils' arbitrary sacking of workers as gross ineptitude that would cost the city dearly in terms of future labour unrest. In September Johannesburg's town clerk turned down a request for an inquiry into the management committee's handling of the strike. A list of questions about the fired workers submitted by Mr Harold Rudolph (PFP) was disallowed at a city council meeting at the end of October. The questions were aimed at establishing how many workers had been fired, from which departments and how many had applied to be reinstated.

The city council planned to streamline worker-management relations by the appointment of a 'labour liaison officer'. The BMWU attacked this as irrelevant.

Commenting on the strike the Minister of Manpower Utilisation said the lesson to be learned was that the blacks had to be given instruments of negotiation or there would be chaos in SA.

Putco

On July 4 Putco bus drivers went on strike over wages. They demanded R35 per week more than the minimum of R32.50. The strike was sparked off because Mr A Carleo, director, refused to talk to them. Workers rejected an offer of a 15% increase. Workers also demanded the disbanding of the liaison committee and the recognition by management of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union. Workers returned on the 6th when Mr Colin Baily, managing director, signed a statement agreeing to meet worker representatives and acknowledging that the drivers had accepted the 15% wage increase under protest; that they would be paid out for the
time on strike and would not be victimised, and that he would secure the release of two
drivers arrested during the strike.
Negotiations between workers and management on the wage issue broke down and a formal dispute was declared on July 9.
A further strike by the drivers was averted after a meeting in August between 200 drivers and officials of the Black Labour Board and Department of Manpower Utilisation. Drivers were impatient at the delay in resolution of the dispute and held weekly meetings throughout September at which they complained about the delay and about recent dismissals, the company's refusal to transfer two managers who were unpopular with workers and that recognition negotiations between Putco and the unions were taking too long. A wage board meeting was held on September 21 where workers reiterated their demand for a R35 per week across-the-board increase, but were willing to compromise on a R25 figure. A R35 increase would bring Putco employees' starting wages to R75. Putco stated it could not afford more than the 15% offered.

Table Bay Cold Storage

About 800 workers went on strike on May 19 in protest at the refusal of managements at Table Bay Cold Storage and National Meat Suppliers to recognise non-racial, democratically elected workers' Strikes committees. They were locked out on their return to work the following day. They received widespread public support for a boycott of red meat and money was donated to the union to help it meet a weekly bill of about R12 000 to pay workers' relief of R15 a week. In July the boycott was suspended to give employers a chance to "rethink and review" the situation.

In early August the union and workers decided to call off the three month strike after an attempt to settle the dispute at a meeting between worker representatives and the companies had failed. The union stated that the meeting showed that the employers were not prepared to satisfy any of the workers' demands. Workers then decided to end the strike and look for other employment.

A union spokesman said the decision to call off the strike was a result of state intervention. On June 19, 42 of the striking workers were convicted for being in Cape Town illegally after they had been dismissed. Workers were prevented from meeting by the ban on all meetings of a political nature in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

National Converter Industries

Management fired over 200 workers at National Converter Industries, because of a dispute over the recognition of a workers' committee, elected under the auspices of SAAWU. Management had fired three members of the workers' committee after workers had refused to elect a liaison committee as instructed, and then locked out the entire workforce. Police arrested 128 workers in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act outside the factory gates.

On August 21 they were convicted in an East London court and fined R20 each.

Raylite Batteries
On August 6 SA Police and security police baton-charged about 250 workers in the canteen of an East London factory, Raylite Batteries, after they refused to work. All workers were dismissed. The director of the company, Mr D G Saunders, said that the workers had staged a 'sit-in strike' but would be re-employed if they returned on the 7th.
The strike broke out after the union representing the workers, SAAWU, had asked management to deal with a workers' committee elected in the plant under the union's auspices. All workers were members of the Chemical and Allied Workers' Union, a SAAWU affiliate. Management refused to deal with the Committee and told workers that if they were not prepared to accept this decision they could leave the company. Workers refused to start work on the 6th until management had discussed this with them. They were given ten minutes in which to return to work.
Workers demanded that a SAAWU official be called to the scene but he was prevented from coming by security police as the union was not registered. Mr Saunders stated that he had refused to deal with the committee because "we cannot have people electing committees from outside". The company was not opposed to unions but SAAWU had not demonstrated its bona fides.
Security police visited 58 workers from the firm at their houses in Mdantsane at the weekend. Of these 35 were in key positions. They told them that it was 'safe' to return to work and that there would be no intimidation. SAAWU disputed this saying workers had complained about the visit and that management was being selective in the re-instatement of workers.
Three union members who went back earlier were paid off.

Collondale Cannery
The workforce of 400 at Collondale Cannery was dismissed after a brief stoppage on August 27. The stoppage occurred when workers gathered in the canteen to demand an explanation for the retrenchment of some of their colleagues, including the chairman of a committee recently elected under the auspices of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union. Workers stated that they wanted their jobs back but would only return if the retrenched men were re-instated.
Management refused to deal with the workers' committee when it asked for an explanation and was only prepared to deal with the liaison committee. Workers then congregated in the canteen and sent a liaison committee member to see management. Workers rejected management's explanation that the workers had been retrenched because work at the company was slack. Workers were given an order to return to work or leave. The next day the workers refused to allow the Department of Manpower Utilisation to represent them when they gathered outside the factory's premises. Workers were instructed to return to work the following day, or collect their pay. The next day they refused to be paid off as they regarded themselves as employees and wanted their jobs back.
Management denied that workers had been victimised for their union activities. It stated that it would recognise any body chosen by the workers but would not accept a precondition that workers be taken back before negotiations.

Management hired workers to replace those on strike and stated in September that many of the strikers had returned. The union claimed that management was approaching workers individually and asking them to return.

Newspaper strikes
See chapter on Employment.

The following table lists the number of strikes reported this year, the reason for their outbreak and the number of people involved:

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DEFENCE

The government continued to pursue its total national strategy as outlined in the 1979 Survey in response to the perceived 'total onslaught'. Considerable controversy arose over the role of the SADF in promoting this strategy, specifically its increasing involvement in the political process.

In March the Sunday Times published a document signed by Major General Pretorius, Director General of Civic Action, on behalf of the Chief of Staff, General Magnus Malan, called 'Psychological Plans - Defence Budget Debate' which was aimed at nullifying an attack by the opposition on contentious subjects.
during debate on the Defence vote. The report instructed various military departments to pursue this objective by manipulating the media in order to mute criticism of the government. The document stated that the most vulnerable targets had been identified and appropriate actions decided upon. As opposition tactics developed and other vulnerabilities were disclosed these should be brought to the attention of the proper military authority.

One of the 'vulnerable targets' identified was that the recruiting of blacks was not as successful as it could be, due to whites enjoying advantages over them. To counter this SADF chiefs wanted the recruiting, training and utilisation of blacks to receive wide publicity and the media to be used for this purpose. Other vulnerabilities were pay problems; complaints that Citizen Force infantry appeared to be almost totally responsible for the defence of SWA/Namibia; and criticisms of the national service organisation, which included representations that a non-military corps should be organised for conscientious objectors. Defence spokesmen for the opposition would be invited to give interviews to Paratus, a SADF magazine, dissociating themselves from any direct or indirect attack on national service.

Military authorities attempted but failed to get a court interdict preventing publication of the document.' In a statement to parliament2 the Deputy Minister of Defence on behalf of the minister said that both dissociated themselves from the pamphlet, although this did not prevent the SADF from either administratively eliminating problems and reasons for legitimate criticism or from making the necessary normal preparations for the debate on the Defence vote. He said that the policy followed since 1966 remained unchanged, i.e. to keep the SADF outside the constitutional/party political arena, while positively involving the opposition through briefings, visits etc.

200 to enable its members to fulfil their functions and role as opposition. He announced that an internal departmental inquiry under Admiral H Biermann had been appointed.

The opposition called for a preliminary debate on the matter and for the appointment of a select committee, an internal inquiry being rejected as inadequate as it did not include the opposition and was not obliged to table its report in parliament. This was rejected by the Prime Minister who said that the document was a minor error by certain officers. A select committee would not be able to take disciplinary steps against Defence Force officers and he would not permit a 'witchhunt' against the Defence Force.

During the debate the leader of the opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said that the fundamental right of the opposition was to oppose, and the central task of the SADF was to defend that right of opposition. Instead the SADF was treating the opposition as an enemy of the state and seeking to promote the interests of the ruling party, which would have the effect of creating division amongst national servicemen.

The Bierman report stated that there were certain obvious differences between the document and a memorandum issued by the Chief of the Defence Force. The
board had found no wilfulness or negligence by anyone concerned in drawing up, authorising, handling or distributing the document but that the evidence showed serious errors of judgement by some people. The board had recommended that no disciplinary steps be taken. However the Chief of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan, did institute administrative measures. In order to protect the officers involved the minister decided not to publish the report and invited members of the opposition parties to study it.

In June another SADF pamphlet called 'The Reason Why' propagated the policies of the National Party and attacked its opponents. The Chief of the Defence Force repudiated the pamphlet and said that action would be taken against those responsible. It had been compiled and distributed contrary to a directive stating that all documents affecting party politics had to be vetted by the Chief-of the Defence Force.

It was reported in March that SABC TV decision-makers met with SADF generals in 1978 to discuss propaganda for the defence force. Speaking during the debate on his vote the Minister of Defence said that the SADF was co-operating with SA's business leaders. To this end he had established a Defence Advisory Council consisting of prominent businessmen. The council would examine the internal operations of the SADF and advise the minister about the armaments industry and the best business methods which could be applied within the SADF. The minister said that he wanted to unite the private sector behind the SADF for the purpose of safeguarding the country.'

With regard to SA's military relations with neighbouring states the Prime Minister warned that SA would hit back at guerrillas in neighbouring countries regardless of the consequences.' With regard to Western involvement in Southern Africa, he said that the SA government would not allow itself to be held to ransom. If all its
An international controversy was created in January when SA troops were stationed on the Rhodesian side of Beit Bridge for the purpose, according to officials, of guarding SA's trade routes with the north. They had been given permission to be there by the British Governor, Lord Soames. At the end of January they withdrew. In February, Mr Pik Botha said that the SADF might intervene in Zimbabwe if foreign troops invaded that country and if a large scale refugee problem arose as a result.¹ In March a British newspaper, the Guardian, alleged that the SADF was preparing to mobilise some of its Citizen Force reserve units providing as evidence an order for servicemen to be on standby. The Guardian claimed that this gave weight to reports in the SA press of a possible military intervention in Zimbabwe if civil war broke out in that country after the elections. SADF spokesmen refused to comment.¹

In an interview in February, Mr Mugabe, now Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, said with regard to providing rear bases for the armed struggle against SA, that the people of SA would have to assume responsibility for the struggle. The existence of Zimbabwe as an independent state would be jeopardised if it assisted guerrillas by providing bases. An agreement not to interfere militarily in each others countries was reported to have been reached at a meeting in Mozambique between the Chief of the Armed Forces, General Magnus Malan, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Mr Mugabe in March. This was confirmed after the elections by Mr Justice Nyoka, Zanu PF publicity secretary, who said that SA had undertaken not to support a coup against the Zimbabwe government which in turn undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of SA by allowing bases for the liberation movements. He claimed that there were an estimated 6 000 SA troops in Zimbabwe at the time of the elections.²

Later in the year allegations were made that whites from Zimbabwe living in SA were using SA as a base to launch attacks. In May the Zimbabwe government claimed that a large consignment of weapons and explosives had been found. They had allegedly been brought into the country by whites who wished to disrupt the process of independence. Zimbabwe government officials also alleged that Zimbabweans were being recruited for military training with the SADF, and believed that they were possibly being trained for sabotage operations in Zimbabwe. This was denied by SADF spokesmen.³

In July Mr Mugabe accused the SA diplomatic mission in Salisbury of recruiting men for a battalion consisting allegedly of 5 000 men who were gradually being infiltrated into the country to launch attacks. The mission was closed despite denials by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Pik Botha warned Mozambique in February that the harbouring of guerrillas who carried out operations in SA territory would not be tolerated.⁴ The Mozambique government accused SA of concentrating a large number of troops along its border and said their presence was a serious threat. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Maputo also sent a letter to the SA government denying its allegation that Mozambique was allowing its territory to be used by guerrillas. The Foreign Ministry in a radio broadcast said that Mozambique faced "the
provocative, threatening and intimidating policies of SA" and suffered constant violations of its borders and air space. SA, it said, was trying to create an excuse for military aggression against Mozambique. There were no forces in Mozambique engaged in activities against SA and no armed actions had been launched from the territory against SA.5

The Mozambique government also claimed that SA was supplying the National Resistance Movement with arms and ammunition which had been found in a raid on their camp. The Mozambique government also claimed that large numbers of anti-Frelimo guerrillas were receiving training in camps in the Northern Transvaal. SADF spokesmen denied the allegations.6 In May the Mozambique government claimed that police in Maputo had discovered a car crammed with SA explosives outside the Polana Hotel where Eastern European and Cuban diplomats and technicians resided. SADF spokesmen refused to comment.

In April the Zambian government claimed that two battalions of SA troops had invaded the Western Province destroying property and intimidating villagers. It requested the UN Security Council to order their withdrawal under threat of international sanctions.7 In reply to the allegations the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs said that Zambia had to take full responsibility for the consequences of harbouring guerrillas intent on attacking SWA/Namibia.8 By the end of April, the troops had been withdrawn according to President Kaunda. In October President Kaunda accused SA of having assisted a coup attempt against his government. Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho, alleged that the SA government was supporting guerrillas loyal to opposition leader Mr Ntsu Mokhele. After a military confrontation between the Lesotho government and the guerrillas large quantities of SA weapons were allegedly captured and shown to UN and OAU officials in Maseru. Chief Jonathan criticised SA for sowing instability in Southern Africa.9 A meeting was held with the SA Prime Minister in August (see International Matters).

During the year SA troops made several incursions into Angola (see section on SWA/Namibia). The Angolan government claimed that during January the SADF had carried out 44 land and air attack against the territory killing 11 people, wounding eight and destroying economic and transportation targets in the southern provinces bordering SWA/Namibia.20 In April the Angolan government claimed that SA troops in helicopters, gunships, armoured vehicles and with artillery support had killed more than 200 Angolans in a raid into the country.21 Towards the end of June the Angolan government said that since June 7 SA had established more than 2 000 men in the Cunene province, supported by armoured vehicles, artillery and planes. SADF spokesmen admitted SA's invasion of Angola and said that approximately 200 Swapo guerrillas had been killed. Angola claimed that more than 300 civilians and seven Angolan soldiers had been killed and 250 wounded. The UN
Security Council condemned the action. In July and August there were claims of further invasions by SA.
Defectors from Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement said that SA was providing it with logistical support. The Angolan government also claimed that SA was supplying bombs to and supporting groups of people involved in planting explosives in public places with the intention of destabilising the country and discouraging Angola from supporting SWAPO and the ANC. SA manufactured bombs were allegedly captured.

At the OAU conference in July the need for an army "to combat SA aggression in Southern Africa" was expressed.

In October the SA and Taiwanese governments agreed to cooperate in the nuclear field and in the fight against "communist subversion".

Expenditure and Finance
The estimates of expenditure on defence from the State Revenue Account for 1980-81 were as follows:

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There was an increase of R287 880 000 in the amount voted for defence compared with the previous year's estimates. As a result of expected surrenders to and balance in the Special Defence Account and a transfer to this account from the surplus on the State Revenue Account as at March 31, 1980 which inter alia resulted from a larger return from National Defence Bonds and Bonus Bonds, an estimated R184 540 000 was made available for expenditure in 1980-81 (included in the above total). Of the total, Ri 161 410 000 was appropriated for the Secret Special Defence Account, the expenditure of which is not governed by parliament. The Deputy Minister of Defence during debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill attributed the increases to the unpredictable nature of the threat facing SA, the rising inflation rate and the resultant loss in exchange rates.

Since 1970, defence expenditure has risen 15% per annum and in 1980 represented 14.3% of the total budget. According to information provided by the Treasury, R684 218 500 was invested in national defence bonds and R305 052 560 was invested in Defence Bonus Bonds as at July 31, 1980.

Personnel
According to The Military Balance 1979-80 published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, SA's fulltime forces consisted of 63 000 men. The armed forces were broken down as follows: Army - 48 500 (6 000 white and 2 500 black regulars and 40 000 conscripts); Navy - 4 750 (1 250 conscripts); Air Force 10 000 (4 000 conscripts); Reservists - 100 000 (Army), 10 000 (Navy) and 25 000 (Air Force). There were 90 000 Commandos and the SA Police numbered 35 000 and there were 20 000 in the police reserves. Spokesmen for the
SADF said that the figures were not necessarily an accurate reflection of SA's military strength. In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Defence said that it was not policy to divulge information relating to the establishment of the SADF and the number of vacancies existing. Nor was it policy to divulge the number of Citizen Force infantry units doing border service in each of the past three years.27

The Minister of Defence said that from January 1 to May 5, 1980, 458 Africans and 300 Indians had volunteered to serve in the SADF; of these 228 and 153 respectively could be accommodated.28

In May the Minister of Defence announced the formation of all-black regional units to protect SA's borders. Black soldiers were already being trained at Amsterdam (111 Battalion - Swazis); Madumo in the Northern Transvaal (112 Battalion - Vendas); Impala in Eastern Transvaal (113 Battalion - Shangaans) and Jozini in Northern Natal (121 Battalion - Zulus). Mr Botha said that plans were being made for the formation of additional units in other places in the Transvaal, OFS and Cape. In addition to protecting SA's borders, these units would contribute to combating unemployment. The KwaZulu and KaNgwane Governments opposed the formation of battalions in their homelands while Venda and Gazankulu supported them.

He also announced the formation of area and battalion headquarters to handle counter-insurgency and the creation of strongpoints in strategic places.29 The 121 Battalion consisting of 300 men was reported to be assisting in the patrol of northern Natal in March after an attack on a shopkeeper in Pelindaba and the discovery of an arms cache.30

In March Chief Vice Admiral Edwards said that the possibility of incorporating blacks into the Navy's permanent staff was being investigated.31

During the debate on the defence vote, the Minister of Defence said that the SA Medical Service Corps had as from July 1, 1979 become a fully fledged arm of the SADF on an equal footing with the army, air force and navy. A unit of the SA navy was being used in the operational area.32 The Deputy Minister said the use of women had relieved the burden on permanent force members, and freed national servicemen for other tasks. Women in the July intakes were being granted permission to extend their voluntary service by six months.33 The percentage of women in the defence force had increased from 0.6% of the total force in 1973 to 7% in 1977.

The Minister of Defence told the Transvaal National Party Congress that several units were short of men. A special committee was examining the whole position with a view to involving more people and also spreading border duty call-ups more evenly.

The Wiehahn report34 of 1979 said that the introduction at the beginning of 1978, of two years of compulsory military service had adversely affected the indenturing of apprentices in that an apprentice who performed military service prior to or during the apprenticeship would complete it much later than would
normally have been the case. Although apprentices performing two years compulsory national service were accorded a remission of eight months on their contract period, national servicemen would be at a disadvantage compared with persons who are not subject to compulsory military service. Employers also appeared to be reluctant to indenture persons who had not completed their military service. The situation would worsen if blacks were allowed to be indentured as apprentices.

The commission therefore recommended that apprentices who were already indentured and who were called up for compulsory military service and who served at their trade during such service, be granted remission for the full period that they served as such. Apprentices who were already indentured and who were called up for compulsory military service and who did not serve at their trade during such service should be granted longer remission in respect of the period for which they had been called up - provided that an apprentice who had been granted such longer remission should complete the minimum period of basic training as prescribed in the conditions of apprenticeship, and also that due regard be had to any concessions which were made for educational qualifications. Finally, some forms of remission should be considered in respect of those returned national servicemen who were subsequently indentured as apprentices, with the same provisos as above.

The government accepted these recommendations but suggested that the Wiehahn Commission investigate the matter further and that it be considered in depth jointly by the National Manpower Commission, the National Apprenticeship Board and the Manpower Board.

The second part of the report said that problems had been experienced with the indenturing of black apprentices on account of resistance on the part of certain trade unions represented on apprenticeship committees. Citing the fact that blacks were not compelled to do military service the unions felt that this could operate to the disadvantage of whites, as employers would prefer to train blacks if they were legally able to do so. The report recommended that in addition to remissions consideration should also be given to the deferment of military training in the case of apprentices in key designated trades on the grounds, among others, that persons who had attained artisan status could be utilised more effectively and productively by the defence force than prospective or indentured apprentices; deferment in the case of apprentices was justified on account of the shortage of skilled artisans and the key role of skilled manpower in the attainment of a satisfactory rate of economic growth to combat unemployment. A precedent for deferment had already been created in respect of university and Technikon students.

In order to avoid the situation where men joined the police force or the prisons department in order to avoid doing their national service, the service regulations in these departments and their relation to national service were made more strict. In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Defence said that in 1979, 1919 citizens of foreign countries had registered for military service. After the independence of Zimbabwe a number of white officers in the former Rhodesian security forces were reported to have joined the SA army. In May
SADF spokesman confirmed that some former members of the Selous Scouts had joined the SADF as individuals but not as a unit as claimed in some reports. Ex-Rhodesian officers were reportedly being used to train black units in Natal and the Transvaal.

Conscientious objection (CO) remained an issue. Shortly after the imprisonment of Mr Peter Moll for refusing to do military service on the grounds of conscience, leading churchmen issued a statement reiterating their plea that conscientious objectors be allowed to do alternative non-military forms of national service and calling in the meantime for humanity and clemency to be exercised in regard to Mr Moll.

In March churchmen protested against the detention in solitary confinement of Mr Moll and another CO, Richard Steele. He had been sentenced in February to 18 months imprisonment in detention barracks, six months suspended for three years on condition that he did not again fail to report for military service when called up to do SO.

Both men were subsequently sentenced to repeated spells of solitary confinement for refusing to wear the regulation brown overalls issued to them in detention barracks, on the grounds that to do so would contradict their opposition to being identified with the SADF.

Other COs like Jehovah's Witnesses, wear a non-regulation blue uniform to signify their status as COs.

A SADF spokesman said that the SADF refused to discuss the actions or activities of any soldier under detention with any outside person since this was a personal matter concerning only himself or his relatives.

Churchmen also fasted in solidarity with a fast by Mr Moll and Mr Steele over the Easter weekend in protest against the refusal by the authorities to recognise them as conscientious objectors.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Defence said that four people serving sentences for refusing to do military service had been sentenced during 1980 to solitary confinement for disobeying a command by a staff member. They refused to wear the prescribed brown overalls. The four had served one, two, three and five separate sentences respectively each averaging 12 days.

When it was announced in August that the army had relented and was allowing Mr Moll and Mr Steele to wear the blue overalls and would not subject them to further solitary confinement, this was hailed as an important development, since the two men, being Baptists, did not belong to an officially recognised 'peace church'. But while the action seemed to imply that the army was willing to grant
CO status to members of the non-peace churches, army spokesmen stated that they did not regard the Moll/Steele case as a precedent in this respect.

In reply to another question in parliament the minister said that the following religious denominations were recognised as 'peace churches' for the purposes of exemption from combatant service (section 97(3) of the Defence Act): Jehovah's Witnesses, Plymouth Brethren, Christadelphians, Suppliant Faithists and Seventh Day Adventists. He said that the majority of members of these religions served in a non-combatant capacity. In the regulations governing compulsory insurance for national servicemen provision was made for COs. One of the clauses stated that any member of the SADF and the Reserve who owing to religious considerations or conscientious objections did not wish to participate in life assurance could make application to be released from the scheme.4 See chapter on the churches for details of church decisions on pastoral care to those on both sides of the armed struggle.

The Committee on SA War Resistance (COSWAR) in London and SA Military Refugees' Aid Fund (SAMRAF) in the US continued their campaigns against conscription and for the rights of conscientious objectors. Four issues of Omkeer, published by SA exiles in New York, were sent to the homes of national servicemen in the Transvaal encouraging them to either leave the country to play an active role in the liberation movement or alternatively to infiltrate the army and attempt to undermine it from within. The SADF investigated how the publishers came into possession of the computer programme with the names and addresses of national servicemen. Such organisations were also attempting to persuade the governments of several countries to accommodate SA deserters.

Several calls were made for an alternative form of national service not under the control of the defence force. During a debate on a motion in the Assembly on relations between black and white in SA an appeal was made to the government by PFP spokesmen for the establishment of a non-racial service corps for the purpose of upliftment programmes. It was argued that SA's security depended not only on its ability to defend its borders against foreign aggressors but also on its ability to solve the social, political and economic problems inside the country. A service corps could contribute to this endavour.

It was reported that national servicemen were being employed as teachers in Katlehong, a black township near Germiston, but a liaison officer of the Department of Education and Training said that they would not be used unless the black community requested it and

if the SADF was prepared to supply men. No denials of the previous reports were, however, made. In February a mass meeting in Soweto resolved that there would be a boycott of schools until soldieters were removed. The Secretary for Education and Training denied there were soldieters in Soweto schools. Chief Buthelezi said that KwaZulu appreciated the fact that national servicemen were being used in the homelands rather than on the borders of SA, but said the enforced wearing of uniforms by soldieters created qualms of conscience for blacks as it appeared that the propaganda value of the exercise was a priority rather than a genuine wish to help for humanitarian considerations.
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Defence said that as at April 22, 1980, 420 people were detained at the detention centres in Voortrekkerhoogte, Wynberg, Grootfontein, Potchefstroom and Simonstown. Offences included dereliction of duty, desertion, absence without leave, assault, disobedience and negligence. The highest number were detained for being absent without leave (243) and neglect of duty in the Citizen Force or Commando (130).

In reply to another question the Minister of Defence said that the SADF published 20 publications with a total distribution of 187 050 and total cost of R349 604.5. One of these, a journal called Warrior for black soldiers, employees of the SADF and civilians, was criticised for its support of government policy and attacks on those opposed to it.

In February, Colonel Viljoen, director of school cadets, said that in the light of the 'total onslaught' against SA, the youth must be involved in the total national strategy. The purpose of cadet training was to prepare the youth for military training. As at February there were 626 cadet detachments with 154 000 cadets. It was planned that 210 000 cadets would be involved at the end of three years, during which time Indian and coloured students would also be involved. The training of the latter students would begin in 1981 or 1982 and it was also intended to establish cadet training for white schoolgirls. Youth preparedness programmes continued to operate.

Equipment and Arms

Speaking during the defence vote the minister said that the armaments industry had developed an artillery rocket launching system to counteract a similar Russian system. The system was being produced locally. He also said that in order to ensure that the SADF would as far as possible be prepared and able to react to any eventuality, a team consisting of members of the air force, Armscor and the Atlas company was carrying out an extensive investigation into suitable helicopter design and local manufacture.

At a conference at defence headquarters in May it was announced that the SA Navy had acquired a surface-to-surface missile capability.

Mr Franklin Kramer, principal Deputy-Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs claimed that the SA army had 250 tanks with both 76 mm and 105 mm artillery. The air force had 160 jet fighters - 60 mirages, 5 bombers, 60 transports and 25 maritime patrol aircraft. Although by comparison with the other arms the nav was the weakest of the forces, it was still the strongest in subSaharan Africa, maintaining two submarines, two frigates, eight mari. time patrol craft and four minesweepers.3

During the year construction commenced on a R43m ammunition depot and air strip outside De Aar.
The controversy over whether SA possessed the capability to produce nuclear weapons continued. In a booklet South Africa's Nuclear Capability published by the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with SA, Mr Dan Smith claimed that SA had a military nuclear capacity which could produce up to four Hiroshima type bombs. There was however no definitive proof that SA had actually manufactured nuclear weapons. Coinciding with the publication of the report a worldwide campaign was launched to mobilise international support for a mandatory ban on all nuclear collaboration with SA.

In July a panel of scientific experts appointed by the White House concluded that the flash detected by an American satellite last year was not caused by a nuclear explosion. However, there were counter-claims that it was a nuclear test and was a result of nuclear collaboration between Israel and SA.

Dr W L Grant, managing director of the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of SA, said that if there was continuing pressure for a trade embargo against SA in the nuclear field SA might in the long term be forced to build its own nuclear reactors, just as it had done with its uranium enrichment plant. SA, he said, had the material resources and the qualified engineers and scientists with which to do so.

Regarding the signing by SA of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said in reply to a question in parliament that the matter was still under consideration.

Arms Embargo
The committee established by the UN Security Council to supervise the implementation of its mandatory arms embargo against SA held open meetings on March 5-14 to hear evidence from Mr Abdul Minty, Director of World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with SA. Mr Minty urged stronger action to stop the further development of an 'apartheid bomb'; that SA be expelled from membership of the International Energy Agency which provided SA scientists with the knowledge for the production of nuclear weapons; that negotiations for SA to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty be ended; and that the Security Council consider and adopt mandatory measures to prohibit all forms of nuclear collaboration and scientific exchanges. He accused Germany and France of supplying SA with nuclear equipment and material, Britain of training SA nuclear scientists at Imperial College in London, Italy of supplying aircraft components and engines to SA until 1972 and Israel of actively collaborating with SA in the production of nuclear weapons. He recommended that the recruitment and enlistment of mercenaries for SA be outlawed.

In January President Carter extended the US arms embargo against SA until December 31, 1980. The export controls related to arms and equipment including computers for military, police or governmental use. In February the US Appeal Court reversed the decision of the judge to acquit Mr Richard Beck of charges of having shipped arms to SA in contravention of the US arms embargo. In March he was sentenced to five years on probation, which he was permitted to serve in SA.
In March the UN Security Council was informed that SA had invested R10m in the American-Canadian Space Research Corporation, holding 20% of its shares in order to ensure a supply of artillery. Officials of the corporation were found guilty and fined on several charges of illegal export of artillery equipment of various types to SA. At the trial the defendants claimed that they had had government agreement for the exports, and before the trial there were allegations that the CIA had assisted in the manufacture and export of the arms. The corporation was fined R84 000 in August.

In June there were allegations that the vessels of two Danish shipping companies, Trigon As and JC Jespergaard Co, had been used to ship arms to SA. The matter was investigated by the Danish government. The SA government became involved in a lawsuit with a French shipping company for having allegedly seized Russian tanks and 150 tons of ammunition in Durban in 1979 without paying for them. SA’s 'Armscor' bank account was blocked.

SA was reported in March to have concluded a deal to provide Taiwan with uranium ore.

Civil Defence

In a statement issued by the Deputy Minister of Agriculture dated January 9, he said that the cabinet had decided that there were no financial resources for the implementation of the Promotion of the Density of Population in Designated Areas Act No 87 of 1979. However, it had been decided that special funds would be made available in terms of the Agricultural Credit Act of 1966 to provide financial assistance for farmers in border areas. He, together with the chairman of the SA Agricultural Union, had held meetings with farmers in border districts to explain the nature of the concessions and incentives for them to remain on their farms. The deputy minister undertook to do everything possible to meet their requests for the building and maintenance of an infrastructure in these areas. In September, at a meeting of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, the government was criticised for failing to implement the act and thereby prevent the depopulation of border areas.

Following reports in March of a rapidly decreasing population in the towns and farms of the northern Transvaal where there were large tracts of uninhabited land, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Schoeman, said that the government had agreed, immediately if necessary, to implement the act.°

It was reported in February that most farmers in Natal had become members of commandos in response to a call by the Natal Agricultural Union.

Defence:

There were reports that since the introduction of amendment to the Civil Defence Act which made civil defence a contractual obligation subject to penalties, and imposed medical tests and the wearing of uniforms on those who joined, the numbers of recruits had dwindled.°

Johannesburg’s civil defence organisations were consolidated into four sectors each incorporating several suburbs with a sector commander and committee. In
April the Transvaal Provincial Security Chief, Mr D F Coetzer, said that extensive security measures were to be introduced at all Transvaal provincial buildings, including schools, hospitals and the Provincial Administration's head office in Pretoria.

At a conference on July 1 organised by the SA Institute of Civil Engineers, the issue of designing buildings that would be proof against subversive activities was discussed. The National Key Points committee was reported to have requested companies, especially foreign multi-nationals, which had been identified as national key points, to implement security measures. The multi-nationals had expressed the fear that to do so would be seen as co-operating with the SADF in an endorsement of apartheid. It was also reported that industry commandos to protect factories against sabotage had been established.

In May it was reported that a secret para-military organisation, the Citizens Anti-Terrorist Unit, had been established in Krugersdorp by a group of Rhodesian war veterans. Spokesmen for the SAP said that it was illegal and would not be permitted.

Commandos established at Pretoria, OFS, Port Elizabeth and Potchefstroom universities, were incorporated as units of the military. In Chatsworth, an Indian township outside Durban, women were recruited into civil defence operations.

In reply to a question in parliament the following figures were provided by the Minister of Police.

During 1979:
- 128,227 firearms were issued
- 3,300 applications for firearms were refused
- 4,725 reports of stolen firearms were received
- 1,907 stolen firearms were recovered.

As at December 31, 1979 a total of 1,457,397 licences to possess firearms had been issued in SA and SWA/Namibia.

Homeland Defence

On February 4 a group of 120 recruits for the Venda National Force commenced training. In June the commander, Brigadier Mulaudzi, announced that an anti-insurgency unit was being added to the Venda National Force which had already engaged in anti-guerrilla warfare and border duty.

The strength of the force as at that date was 450. In March the non-aggression pact between SA and the Transkei was re-instated. Speaking in the Assembly the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Chief George Matanzima, said that the Transkei should not be used as a base to launch hostile acts against its neighbours. He said that his department was studying a ten-year plan for the Transkei Defence Force which would include schools for infantry, signals, military engineers, an equestrian school, a school of armour and a women's corps.

The Transkei civil defence force was called up for duty during the state of emergency declared in June to curb student unrest in the territory. They were used in patrolling government buildings, administration offices, ministerial complexes, banks and other strategic points.
According to the Bophuthatswana Minister of Defence, Brigadier Hennie Riekert, a former SADF officer, SA had donated R2m worth of equipment to Bophuthatswana. The Bophuthatswana army was being trained to deal with insurgents, a specialist course in counter insurgency being offered to recruits after they had undergone their basic training. Consideration was being given to the establishment of helicopter and mobile units to contain insurgents.65

Legislation

Defence Amendment Act No 77 of 1980

Clause one amends that section of the act which deals with indemnity in connection with the combating of terrorism, by including within the definition of 'court of law' in relation to criminal proceedings, a military court which would also have jurisdiction over such cases. In moving this clause the minister said that its purpose was to offer protection to soldiers in respect of alleged acts which could constitute an offence and which were committed in any operational area, which means any place or area including those outside of SA, where members of the SADF were employed on service in the prevention or suppression of guerrilla warfare. The aim was to establish jurisdiction in respect of acts committed in obedience to a 'legitimate' order and to give soldiers protection.

Clause two extends the powers of the State President with regard to the administration of the Military Discipline Code. Its effect is that civil offences (desertion and offences endangering the safety of the forces) can be brought to trial at any time after the commission of the offence. The act had the support of all parties.

Armaments Development and Production Amendment Act No 86 of 1980

The amendment provides for control by the minister of the export or marketing of certain armaments. It also prohibits the disclosure of any information in relation to the acquisition, supply, marketing, importation, export, development, manufacture, maintenance or repair of or research in connection with armaments by, for, on behalf of or for the benefit of the Armaments Corporation or a subsidiary company, except on the written authority of the minister or someone authorised by him who functions in connection with the above-mentioned activities. A person contravening the prohibition would be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R15 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding eight years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

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Defence: Legislation

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Defence: Legislation

In moving the bill the minister said that it would not be a paying proposition to operate an armaments industry solely for the purpose of meeting SA’s needs, and that exports would form an essential and growing component of this industry. It was necessary, to ensure that SA's national strategy was not harmed by unco-ordinated procedures in the export of armaments. Ill-considered marketing efforts, he said, could harm the political connections of SA and it was therefore
considered essential that control over the export of armaments be centralised under one body.

Regarding the prohibition of the disclosure of information, the minister said that as a result of the UN arms embargo SA was extremely vulnerable to international pressure on its programme for the procurement and marketing of armaments. The armaments industry was the main target in the present struggle in so far as its personnel, plant and means of transportatio.n were concerned. Secrecy was therefore urgently required. The amendment arose from recommendations of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into reporting on security matters concerning the SA Defence Force and the SA Police Force.

The commission drew attention to the danger of unpremeditated disclosure of Armscor's activities in court cases and other legal proceedings and recommended that a system be designed to protect Armscor's interests as well as the rights of its contractors and subcontractors. The clause prohibiting disclosure of information would cover such a situation as well as providing protection for the armaments industry.

The PFP supported the principle of the bill.

National Key Points Act No 102

The act empowers the minister to declare any place or area a 'national key point' if it is so important that its loss, damage, disruption or immobilisation may prejudice SA, or whenever he considers it necessary or expedient for the safety of SA, or to be in the public interest. The owner of such a place or area will be notified in writing of such a declaration, on receipt of which he shall take steps to the satisfaction of the minister in respect of the security of that key point. If he fails without reasonable cause to take the steps specified in the notice within the period specified he shall be guilty of an offence and be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R20 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to both such fine and such imprisonment. In addition the minister may take the necessary security measures and recover their cost from the owner.

The minister in order to exercise his powers may order any person to furnish him in writing with any information at his disposal relating to or in connection with any place or area. Any person who provides false or incorrect information or who makes known the information furnished to any other person except when permitted in specified circumstances, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding RIO 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

The minister or anyone authorised by him is entitled to enter any place or area so as to verify any information furnished, to gather information required or to check that the security measures have been taken.

Any member of the SADF may be compelled to perform functions in terms of this act as if they are functions which he can be compelled to perform in terms of the Defence Act No 44 of 1957 and they shall be deemed to have been performed under that act.
The state and its functionaries shall not be liable for any loss or damage caused by or arising out of or in connection with any act ordered, performed or executed under the act.

Any person who performs any act in relation to a national key point, which act would have constituted an offence in terms of the Official Secrets Act No 16 of 1956, if performed in relation to a prohibited place as defined in that act, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed by that act. A person shall also be guilty of an offence and on conviction liable to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years or to both such fine and imprisonment if he (a) hinders, obstructs or thwarts any owner in taking any steps required or ordered in terms of this act in relation to the efficient security of any national key point, (b) hinders, obstructs or thwarts any person in doing anything required to be done in terms of the act, (c) furnishes in any manner whatsoever any information relating to the security measures at any national key point or in respect of any incident that occurred there, without being legally obliged or entitled to do so, or without the disclosure or publication of the information being authorised by the minister.

The minister is empowered to promulgate regulations in respect of the security of national key points and may prescribe penalties for their contravention.

In moving the Bill the minister said that such legislation had become necessary in the light of events such as those at Silverton, Booysens, Sasol, Secunda and Natref. He said that guerrilla activities would increase and that there were many other places which rendered important services or manufactured products of such national importance that destruction or damage to them could cause harm to SA, handicap the state in its war effort and thereby seriously prejudice law and order. The private sector was in the front line of the onslaught and would have to take the necessary security measures. This would have to be enforced by legislation as the state could not allow its interests to be jeopardised by the indifference of a few people. During the debate the minister said that since the early 1970s, a National Key Point Committee had been in operation and had identified 633 national key points, 85% of which were fully co-operating and being guided as to standards by the committee.

The PFP proposed an amendment which would make as a reasonable cause for not undertaking the security measures specified by the minister, the fact that to do so would impose an undue financial burden without any offer of financial aid by the minister. The view expressed was that the state had an obligation to contribute to the costs of security measures. This was rejected by the minister. Another amendment required that the minister specify the nature of the security measures which had to be undertaken. This was also rejected.
Another PFP amendment proposed that there be no prohibition on the publication of information in respect of any incident if such publication would in no way assist subversive activities. Mr Schwarz said that it was necessary to draw the line between, on the one hand, the right of the public to know what was happening and on the other not to assist those who destroyed a key point and sought to benefit from it.

The minister rejected this on the grounds that journalists would not be able to judge what would assist guerrillas.

Finally the PFP proposed that the power of the minister to make regulations on arrest or application of force by security guards be limited so the guards would have to have reasonable grounds for suspecting subversive activities before using such methods. The minister said that he would consider including this in the regulations.

Compulsory Motor Vehicle Insurance Amendment Act No 23 of 1980
This removed the limitation of R12 000 on the liability of an authorised insurer to compensate any loss or damage incurred by national servicemen who were proceeding on authorised leave or returning to base from such leave. All members of the SADF, not only national servicemen, would be covered in this way.

The minister said that the provisions for the insurance of national servicemen made in the 1978 amendment to the act had been inadequate firstly because motorists had been reluctant to give national servicemen lifts because they had to determine whether the person was in fact a national serviceman in order to be covered in terms of the legislation. Motorists were reluctant to inquire about this.

Also the compensation which national servicemen could demand was limited to an amount of R12 000 which meant that the SADF had to take out reinsurance for any difference between the real damage and the limitation of R12 000. The premium payable for this re-insurance was excessively high.

References ‘Sunday Times’ March 23
2 Hansard 8 col 3325
Sunday Times June 29
Star March 24
Hansard 11 col 5303
Rand Daily Mail February 4
Paratus March
Beeld March 24
Citizen April 4
Die Transvaler February 21
Star March 3

Sunday Express March 9
Star May 28, Rand Daily Mail June 9 ‘4 Die Transvaler February 21 15 Star
February 22 11 Star June 6
Defence
17 Star April 12 and 28 " Beeld May 11 19 Post June 11 and 13 2’ Sunday Express
February 24 21 Rand Daily Mail May 26 22 Sunday Express June 29 23 Star June
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ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE POLICE AND PRISONS

According to the official estimates of expenditure for 1980-81 the following sums were budgeted for police, justice and prisons:

Police Justice Prisons Public Works:
309 765
45 813 110 618
27 300 13400 8 650

Prisons and Quarters Police Accommodation Judicial Buildings
Total 515 546 896

JUSTICE

Criminal Statistics

According to the annual report of the Commissioner of SA Police for the year ended June 30, 1979 the following number of cases were reported to the police:

Offences Infringements of the Law
Cases Reported
1977-78 1978-79
1 087 860 1 089 043
995 547 1 071 989
Percentage Solved 1977-78 1978-79
65.9 65.7

In his report for the year ended June 30, 1979, the Commissioner of Prisons stated that during the year there were 274 001 sentenced prisoners and 258 417 awaiting trial prisoners. Sentences imposed during the year are summarised as follows:

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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
Totals
Whites Africans Asians Coloured Total
56 475
2
934 1 314 778 1 261
14968 20 552 18882 82 261
1 395 84 080
1 200 732
3 926 6 743 5 958 14 910
21
Crimina Statistic!
2
19 933 28 712 25 729 98 709
256 13 593 99 324
6 83 385
9 204 - 55 268
5 949 221 660 859 45 533 274 001
According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons, of all sentenced prisoners admitted 81,66% were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to six months, 10,48% to imprisonment of over six months but under two years, and 7,55% of two years and over. Other categories comprised the remaining 0,31%. The report stated that over the past ten years the general tendency was for the number of prisoners serving long term sentences to increase while the number serving short term sentences decreased. However, this trend was not confirmed in the year 1978-79 as in that year the number of long term prisoners dropped by 1,37% and the number of short term prisoners increased by 1,9%.4
Of the total number of admissions of sentenced and unsentenced prisoners, 59 158 were women. The daily average of sentenced and unsentenced prisoners in 1978-79 was:5

African Asian Coloured White
Male
67 436
523 20 128 4 096
Female 5 013 16
947 133
Total
72 449
539 21 075 4 229
Total 92 183 6 109 98 292
In his report the Commissioner of Prisons stated year ended June 30, 1979 a total of 2 097 prisoners 18 in the following categories had been admitted: that during the years and under
According to the Department of Statistics 2,239 people were convicted of murder in the year 1978-79. Separate figures for each racial group were not available.

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 July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979:6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Soweto</th>
<th>Cape Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>1,151</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>7,532</td>
<td>3,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>3,549</td>
<td>1,175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cases brought to trial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Soweto</th>
<th>Cape Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>3,549</td>
<td>1,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cases Reported to the police in 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Soweto</th>
<th>Cape Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide</td>
<td>8,383</td>
<td>5,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>5,310</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inter-Racial Crime

The Minister of Police provided the following inter-racial crime reported during the period July 1, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Soweto</th>
<th>Cape Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape and attempted rape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide (excluding culpable homicide as a result)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of motor accidents)
Whites/ Whites
125 423
1 783
Whites/ Blacks
83 249
942
figures relating to 1978 to June 30,
Blacks/ Whites
93 199
Blacks/ Blacks 6 207 14 245
1 375 121 563
79 17 129 3 414
Comment on Crime
In July, after reports of a disturbing crime rate in Soweto, the police launched a
nation-wide campaign to gain public support for the fight against crime. A special
function, attended by senior police officers, newspapermen and members of
parliament and the provincial councils was held at John Vorster Square to launch
the campaign. Brigadier Gert Kruger, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the
Witwatersrand, said that the police planned to include members
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of the public on the various police committees which operated at divisional,
district and station level.’
In a study undertaken by Mrs Mana Slabbert of the Institute of Criminology at the
University of Cape Town, it was found that interrelated cycles of poor community
life and institutionalisation repeated themselves over generations in the lives of
criminal offenders. The first cycle of unsatisfactory socialisation was due to social
stress on the family. Problem areas included residential instability, unfavourable
surroundings, large, mainly female-dominated households, learning difficulties
and departure from school at an early age to become breadwinners. Gangs were
formed as a result. The second cycle was the institutionalisation of children in
homes, schools of industry and reformatories and as adults in prison, reinforcing
deviant behaviour more than modifying it. Apart from existing services, schemes
were needed for developing more meaningful, less stigmatising ways to assist
young people. The criminal justice system, she said, needed to be evaluated in
terms of its functioning and the degree of co-operation between courts, police and
prisons. There was a need to improve police-community relations.1"
In a survey of crime in the coloured community, Mr C Groenewald, sociology
lecturer at the University of Port Elizabeth, found a conviction rate six times that
of the white and nearly double that of the African sectors of the population. The
present annual growth rate of the prison population among the coloured people
was about 5%, which exceeded that of any other group as well as the general
population growth rate of coloured people by at least 2% annually. The coloured
sector of the population also had a greater tendency than other population groups
towards violent and property crimes. Most of the crimes were committed by juvenile gangs. He attributed the high crime rate among other things, to the apathy engendered by their exclusion from effective participation in the decision making process."

Developments in SA's Legal System
During the year two judges, Mr Justice Mervyn King and Mr Justice Mostert, took the unusual step of resigning from the bench. The reasons were not made public. Commenting on the resignations Professor Dugard said that repressive laws over the past 30 years had inevitably led to a conflict between conscience and the enforcing of laws on the part of judges."

Both attempted to gain admittance to the Johannesburg bar. The General Bar Council refused the applications on the grounds that it was undesirable except in exceptional circumstances for a judge to return to practice as an advocate in the division in which he sat. Their return to practice would cast reflections on their status as judges." The Johannesburg bar while supporting this principle accepted both applications.

Concern was expressed about the proposed introduction of intermediate courts, a matter being examined by the Hoexter Commission of Inquiry into the structure and functioning of the courts. If introduced, magistrates would assume many of the functions and the status of judges and be known as such. Magistrates, as members of

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the public service in which they had received their training, were seen to be subject to instructions from above and thus less able to independently oppose the executive arm of government. If introduced, the new system could thus undermine the independence of judges.

Mr Justice Didcott, in evidence to the Hoexter Commission, said there was a deliberate intention to harass and control the Supreme Court. The infiltration of civil servants, the growing influence of the Department of Justice and intermediate courts were, he said, part of this strategy. Three other judges and prominent lawyers supported these views.

There were reports that the General Bar Council was to make recommendations to the Schlebusch Constitutional Commission that a Bill of Rights be written into the constitution to protect the independence of the judiciary from state interference. There were fears that the judiciary would become part of the civil service. A recommendation would be made that judges be appointed by a nonpolitical committee consisting of judges and senior counsel."4

During the No Confidence debate Mr Dalling, PFP, objected to increasing legislative interference in the administration of justice, pointing to a steady removal of powers from the jurisdiction of superior courts, and politically motivated appointments of judges."
In August a code of instructions issued to magistrates in 1953 by the Department of Justice, was brought to light. The instructions included one that when adverse comments were to be made about the conduct of a member of the police force, it would be more appropriate to make this by means of a memorandum to the relevant police authorities rather than to criticise them in open court. Legal experts strongly criticised the code, calling for magistrates to be freed from their status as civil servants in the interests of an independent judiciary.6 In a press statement issued by the Secretary for Justice on August 5 in reply to these criticisms, it was said that the code, which was publicly available, served only as a guide for magistrates who were not bound by it. The Department of Justice, he said, would not prescribe to magistrates on the implementation of the code. When it was next revised the criticisms would be considered.

Arising out of the International Conference on Human Rights in Cape Town in January 1979, the Lawyers' Association for the Protection of Human Rights was established following a meeting of 200 lawyers at the University of the Witwatersrand in June. The executive committee consisted of Professor J L van der Vyver (chairman), Mr J C Kriegler SC, Mr S Kentridge, Mr E Wentzel, Mr A Chaskalson, Mr G Bizos, Mr K Lister, Mr S Bhengu, Mr R Tucker, Mr Sithole, Professor M Wiechers, Professor A Mathews, Mr S A Strauss and Professor C J R Dugard. The association aimed to offer lawyers the opportunity to consider in an objective manner concepts such as the rule of law and human rights, to assess what norms of justice should exist and to what extent deviations from them should be tolerated, to monitor violations of human rights, to unite the legal profession in a common approach to the problem of protecting individual and group freedoms against increasing executive hegemony and to attempt to reform legal practices.7 The association would monitor legislative and administrative activities of the central, provincial, regional and local organs of government and make representations to the appropriate authorities. It would also attempt to inform the public of the importance of adhering to human rights.

Support was received from 400 lawyers throughout the country and from seven judges, four of whom were present at the meeting. Mr Justice Didcott of the Natal Bench delivered a speech in which he urged lawyers to speak out against violations of human rights in SA and to question the social implications of the country's laws.8 The conference decided that judges would not be permitted to take an active part in the association but they would be eligible for honorary positions.

The Black Lawyers' Association and the Black Attorneys' Association refused to become involved in the association. As adherents of the black consciousness philosophy they claimed it was objectionable to do no more than theorise over human rights, the denial of which formed the essence of the oppression of blacks. Any discussion of human rights would have to take cognisance of the political system which was their foundation.19 They expressed doubt that the association, dominated by whites, would have an absolute commitment to the extension of human rights to black people.
The Bophuthatswana Law Revision Commission chaired by Chief Justice Hiemstra rejected many SA laws and revised the SA security laws because they did not conform to the bill of rights adopted and lacked judicial safeguards. In August the Bophuthatswana government withdrew permission for Mr G Maluleka, an attorney based in Pretoria, to enter the homeland without a visa or alien's permit, because of his allegedly derogatory comments about the President, Chief L Mangope. He was thus not able to operate his office in Garankuwa. His attorneys sought a court order against the decision, but the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court confirmed the ministerial order in October and dismissed his application with costs.

In January Mr Cassim Seedat, chairman of the Democratic Lawyers' Association of SA, became the first black person to be appointed to a law society, the Natal Law Society, a statutory body. In February the Pretoria Bar Association decided to open membership to blacks after discussions with the Minister of Justice in which he urged the association to open its membership.

In the Annual Report of the Department of Justice2° mention was made of the large number of resignations of legally qualified officers because of low salaries in comparison with the private sector. It was also reported that advocates were refusing offers of appointment as judges for the same reason. The Judges Renumeration Amendment Act granted salary increases ranging from 21% - 61%.

In August, 30 prosecutors in Johannesburg left their jobs because of inadequate salaries and some 13 courts could not function as a result. Giving evidence to the Hoexter Commission a senior public prosecutor in Johannesburg, Advocate A de Vries said that in the period October 1, 1979 to September 30, 1980, 659 district court sessions had had to be closed due to the lack of magistrates and prosecutors. 1 074 regional court sessions were closed in the first ten months of 1980 for the same reason.

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SA's Legal System

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Mr A R Klein chief prosecutor in the Criminal Section of the Pretoria Commissioners' Court, resigned from his job in protest against the application of apartheid laws and against the irregularities in trials relating to pass offences and curfew regulations.

The conduct of court cases involving pass offences was also criticised by Mr R Monama, a researcher for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies. He said that many of the accused tried in Commissioners' Courts were not given a fair trial because of inadequate interpreters and the great pressure under which commissioners worked, which resulted in their being unaware of certain important information in establishing the true facts behind every case. Errors of judgement in passing sentence thus occurred. He suggested that all pass cases should be automatically reversed by the Supreme Court.21
In evidence to the Hoexter Commission Professor Bosman, of the law department of UNISA, criticised the treatment of black children in the criminal courts which he alleged often treated actions like stone-throwing as criminal cases. In the vast majority of cases the children were not legally represented and their families had not been informed of the trial.

A number of lawyers assisting students involved in the school boycotts were detained. In November Mr Lewis Skwekiya, who had defended a number of people charged with entering the Transkei without travel documents, was detained (see Detentions).

For legislation providing for the establishment of black courts see section on Urban Africans.

SA Law Commission

According to the annual report of the SA Law Commission for 1979, its main activity during the year was the revision of the law relating to matrimonial property. The commission also assumed responsibility for the co-ordination of the statutory rationalisation process involving the consolidation of statutes and the repeal of their obsolete provisions undertaken by each government department as part of the programme to rationalise the public service.

Corporal Punishment

In his annual report the Commissioner of Prisons provided the following figures for the year ended June 30, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>No of persons receiving corporal punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that he did not see any reason for introducing legislation to abolish or limit corporal and capital punishment.22

Capital Punishment

According to figures provided by the Commissioner of Prisons for the year ended June 30, 1979, 194 people who had been sentenced to death had been admitted to prisons. The racial breakdown of these was 130 Africans, 62 coloured persons and two whites. As at June 30, 1979 there were 128 people in custody awaiting the death penalty.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that during 1979, 133 people were executed in SA23 - 98 Africans, 33 coloured people and two whites.24

The minister provided the following figures on executions which had taken place during the year 1978--79, and the crimes for which the death sentence was imposed:25

- Murder - 97 Africans, 34 coloured people, two whites.
- Rape - 3 Africans, one coloured person
- Robbery with aggravating circumstances - 10 Africans, one coloured person

Makgotla and Community Guards

The ‘All Nations Guard’ in Soweto, an arm of the All Nation Party of Mr David Thebehali, was reported in March to have assaulted people (see section on Urban Africans). Several people faced charges of assault and illegal possession of
firearms. Colonel Lerm, head of the Soweto CID, said the guards were not registered as police reservists and were not recognised by the police. Their activities were being investigated as a result of complaints by members of the community.26

Plans were being made for the establishment of makgotla in the Eastern Cape although this met with opposition. A meeting of the residents in Fingo Village near Grahamstown decided in June to request the Minister of Justice to ban a local vigilante group, the Peacemakers, 15 members of which had appeared on charges of assault since the end of 1979.7

At a law reform conference in Pilanesburg in August Mr B F Ndaki of the law faculty at the University of Zululand said that serious attention should be given to the status of makgotla tribunals in SA. The makgotla, he said, was a community system of indigenous law-enforcement that grew out of the failure of more overt legal machinery to satisfy the black community's sense of justice.8

Legal Aid

According to the annual report of the Legal Aid Board for the year ended March 31, 1979 the following figures reflect the activities of the board during the year:225

Legal Aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cases resolved</th>
<th>Cases referred applications</th>
<th>out of court to attorneys</th>
<th>Cases refused</th>
<th>Criminal</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Criminal</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Criminal</th>
<th>Civil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>6 593</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2 004</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>3 554</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Indian</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>8 522</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2 485</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1 557</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>2 375</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>5 074</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1 941</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>1 302</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>1 370</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 176</td>
<td>20 189</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>6 430</td>
<td>1 021</td>
<td>3 702</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>7 299</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Activity of a quasi-judicial nature have been omitted.)

There were 23 211 applications. 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 R3 241 700. The government contribution to the board for the year 1978-79 was R1 509 000. Since this represented the full amount budgeted for by the board, aid for the institution of divorce actions could be resumed. It was decided to open a branch in Germiston, Transvaal.

At an annual meeting of the Legal Aid Bureau in April it was announced that the bureau could only exist for another three months for financial reasons. In the year ending in April, 13 236 people had approached the bureau for legal help, 'attorneys had acted in 31 civil cases and counsel were appointed by the Legal Assistance Committee of the Bar Council in 215 civil matters.29

The Asingeni Relief Fund, established by the SA Council of Churches, continued to provide financial and other assistance to people charged in terms of security legislation. Inter alia, they paid for the legal defence for car owners who had given lifts to bus boycotters in Cape Town and who were charged with running private taxis; provided for the material needs of those detained during the
boycotts; paid the bail and defence costs of students arrested and charged during the boycotts and workers involved in the Johannesburg municipal workers’ strike; gave grants to COSAS and AZAPO for conferences and consultations; paid the legal costs of conscientious objectors in detention who were fighting to be recognised as such; provided overseas scholarships and gave subsistence grants to families whose breadwinners were in exile.

The Legal Resources Centre (LRC) established last year took on over 300 cases in the period January 1, 1979 - March 31, 1980 and the clinics under its control dealt with over 2 000 complaints during the same period. At the request of community leaders in Johannesburg and Cape Town the LRC lodged objections on their behalf to applications made by local bus companies for increased tariffs. (See section on Transport in chapter on the Urban African.) Other issues which were taken up were: the validity and application of African residential regulations which have had the effect, together with the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, of separating man and wife; representations to the Wage Board in regard to minimum wages; a dispute between the Krugersdorp Town Council and the local black community in regard to the maintenance of a rubbish dump; actions involving debt collectors, privately run benefit and burial societies, hire purchase dealers, salesmen and businesses which had taken ad- vantage of people; the unlawful dismissal without notice-pay of domestic workers; and assaults by farmers on their labourers. The LRC co-operated closely with the law faculties at the different universi- Police ties.

Personnel
In January it was reported that plans were being made to set up an advice office staffed by international lawyers to deal with the legal disabilities of SA women. It was backed by the UN.

The Legal Aid Clinic at Cape Town University established seven branches in Heideveld, Manenberg, Elsies River, Retreat, Kensington, Crossroads and on campus. Their application, for a permit to enter Langa to establish a clinic was refused by the Western Cape Administration Board.

In August an advice office to give legal assistance to pass offenders in Johannesburg was established by the Witwatersrand Council of Churches and the Black Sash. Lawyers had volunteered their services. In September law students of the University of Pretoria established a legal aid clinic for all races at Eersterust, near Mamelodi.

POLICE
Personnel
According to the figures contained in the annual report of the Commissioner of Police for the year ended June 30, 1979, the SA Police Force's numerical strength was 18 464 white and 15 612 black members.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Police said that as at December 31, 1979 there were 22 Indian, 32 coloured and 74 African commissioned officers serving with the SA Police Force. The highest rank attained by these groups as at that date was that of major. -30
(For details of the establishment and staffing of the police and reserve police forces see section on Public Authorities in chapter on Employment.)

In November the Minister of Police announced that the training of coloured, Indian and African women as fully fledged police officers would commence in 1981."

The report of the Commissioner of Police said that there had been an exceptionally high resignation figure in the force and recruitment had not been very successful. In March the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange said that one of the major reasons for the shortage was low salaries, which he was attempting to have improved. In April new salary scales were introduced (see section on Employment) but these were reported to have caused dissatisfaction and increased the rate of resignation.

In April Mr Le Grange said that criticisms of the police force by any of its members would in future be regarded as an act of disloyalty to the force. Police personnel could discuss their complaints with their superiors or report them to him, as he was ultimately responsible for their conditions of service.

The Minister of Police said in the assembly that provision had been made in the police budget for the gap in salaries between white and black to be narrowed. He also announced that a comprehensive adjustment of the existing system of promotion in the force had been approved."

During a debate on a private member's motion on police salaries Mr Brian Page (NRP) repeated the call for police salaries to be removed from the ambit of the Public Service Commission or alternatively to be given a special standing and status in the structure of the commission.)

In April it was revealed that the police were planning to launch a national force of schoolboy auxiliaries to help ease the manpower shortage. The force would consist of volunteers over the age of 16 and would assist regular policemen with crime prevention duties in urban and rural areas." In the assembly the minister said that the plan had his approval and that of the Directors of Education. The plan was to include volunteer schoolboys in the Reserve Police Force. They would also be used to do guard duty on their own schoolgrounds and buildings,"

In reply to another question the minister said that he considered it undesirable from a practical point of view to discontinue the provision of separate facilities for whites and blacks in police stations.41 It was reported that the government intended to build a complex in Soweto to house the riot squad and the security police.

The Police/Press liaison committee continued to operate (see findings of the Steyn Commission in chapter on Control of the Media). After the siege of the Volkskas bank in Silverton, an in-depth investigation into the operations of the police had been conducted and it had been decided that in future when such incidents occurred the head office of the Directorate of Public Relations would be notified and the Divisional Commissioner in the region in which the incident took place
would contact the liaison officer to proceed to the scene to establish an information point for the press.2

Police Amendment Act No 50 of 1980

The act provides that the commissioner may, with the approval of the minister, direct any member of the police force to perform police functions at any place outside the Republic. While performing such service the member of the force shall, unless the minister otherwise directs, remain subject to the provisions of the act. This was already provided for in the Police Act regulations but as its legality was dubious it was being incorporated into the principal act. According to the Minister of Police, this clause was intended to provide for requests for assistance from the SA Police from neighbouring states such as Venda, the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. It was not meant to cover the use of the police force outside SA in a defence capacity as there already existed a clause in the act of this nature. The second clause amends section 34A of the principal act concerning the establishment of a police reserve. A person who joined the force in a permanent capacity on or after January 1, 1980 will have to serve up to 48 months before he can become a member of the police reserve. The service obligations of such members are extended to a maximum of 240 days which may be served over a period of eight years. In moving the bill the minister said that these amendments were intended to overcome the disparities that existed between members of the permanent force, national servicemen and the police. Their effect would be to retain the services of members for at least four years after their enrolment.

Second Police Amendment Act No 82 of 1980

The amendment states that no person shall publish in any newspaper, magazine, book or pamphlet or by radio (which includes television) any information in relation to (a) the constitution, movements, deployment or methods of any member or part of the force concerned in any action for the prevention or combating of terrorist activities as referred to in Section 2 of the Terrorism Act. This included the activities of the SAP acting jointly with the SADF or the South African Railways Police Force; (b) any person or group of persons against which such action is directed or in relation to any action by such person or group of persons. This prohibition would not apply to information released for publication by the minister or the Commissioner of Police or people authorised by them. Any person contravening the prohibition would be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R15 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding eight years or to both such fine and such imprisonment. An amendment introduced in the senate by the Minister of Police changed the nature of the offence from the mere disclosure of information by any person to the publication of this information. The senate also deleted a clause in the original bill which prohibited the publication of arrests or detentions in terms of Section 22(1) of the General Law Amendment Act or Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Opposition had been expressed by the English and Afrikaans language press,
SAIRR, SACC, Azapo, Black Sash, Inkatha, Committee of Ten, WASA, SASJ, Coloured Labour Party, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference and legal experts. Professor John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand said the clause would remove the sole remaining protection of a detainee's publicity-- and would ensure that deaths in detention like that of Steve Biko remained secret. However, despite the deletion of the clause the minister said that the bill would still include detentions and arrests as aspects of police activities, the publication of which would be prohibited. In moving the bill the minister said that it flowed from the recommendations of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Reporting of Security Matters and was intended to give police time to carry out follow-up operations against guerrillas.

The NRP supported the bill on the grounds that it was necessary to combat terrorism while the PFP proposed that it be read again in six months. The PFP's opposition was motivated by the following reasons: that the bill undermined the right of the public to be kept informed of developments and of the press to inform; that it would give rise to rumour-mongering; that the bill was unnecessary as situations requiring control, could be regulated by improved cooperation and liaison between the police and the media; that sufficient legislation in any case existed to control the publication of such news; that it gave powers to the police to operate in secrecy in matters far beyond those directly affecting internal security; and that it allowed the police to arrest and detain people without this being made public knowledge. The PFP also pointed out that as the definition of terrorism in the Terrorism Act was so broad it would be impossible for journalists to know whether the section applied to a specific police activity.

The minister in reply expressed agreement with a view expressed in the Cilli6 Commission Report, namely - "there must be drastic security legislation; this must, however, be used selectively and must not stifle rightful criticism". He rejected an amendment proposed by the PFP which deleted the reference to Section 2 of the Terrorism Act.

Police Conduct

According to figures provided by the Minister of Police in reply to a question in the assembly, R252 626 was paid in 1979 to 100 people who had been assaulted by police members. An additional R42 925 was paid to 44 people who had sued the police for unlawful arrest.

The following number of people were shot during 1979 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>I (-)</td>
<td>8 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles</td>
<td></td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>8 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>2 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>2 (-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following number of policemen were convicted during 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common assault</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable homicide</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those convicted seven whites and twelve blacks had previous convictions. One white and five blacks with previous convictions and two whites and twelve blacks without previous convictions were dismissed from the force during the year. Mr Ray Swart (PFP) called on the Minister of Police to take steps to cut down the number of assaults by police. Greater discipline, he said, should be exercised.4"

Numerous allegations of assaults by the police were made by those appearing in criminal cases.

In February in Soweto at the funeral of Mr Wilfred Madela, one of the guerrillas killed in the siege of the Volkskas bank in Silvertown, police used teargas to disperse 200 mourners who stoned buses and cars. At the funeral of another guerrilla Mr Fannie Mafoko on March 9, attended by more than 10,000 people, police used teargas, batons and sjamboks to prevent the hijacking of motor vehicles. A photographer for the Sunday Express claimed that the police had assaulted him and confiscated his camera. Eight people were treated for minor injuries and two arrested for throwing stones.7

An account of the role of the police in the demonstrations by school students is given in the section on Education. Initially the police appeared to adopt a policy of restraint and Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, said that it appeared that as compared to the revolts of 1976 there was a completely different approach to the problem of riot and crowd-control, and he expressed appreciation for the fact that extensive use was being made of riot-control gear which reduced the possibility of injury to both sides."

However, after the police were accused of using unnecessary violence to break up a peaceful demonstration at Westbury High School in Johannesburg Mr van Zyl Slabbert led a deputation to the Minister of Police who said he would investigate reports of baton charges and mass arrests. Five people subsequently laid charges of assault against the police. Unrest continued and on May 28 two people were shot in Elsies River, Cape Town. The attitude of the authorities also hardened. The Minister of Police issued a statement that anyone who challenged the authority of the state must understand that it would not be tolerated. If they refused to use legal and constitutional channels to talk to the government he would ensure that law and order was maintained.49 Mr Swart (PFP) demanded an inquiry into the deaths.

On June 14, two days prior to the commemoration of the outbreak of the 1976 revolts, a ban on all gatherings of more than ten people in specified magisterial
districts was promulgated. As people, determined to hold commemoration services, defied the ban and as the police were equally determined to maintain 'law and order', violence erupted.

On June 15 police used teargas, batons and the sneeze machine to disperse several hundred people gathered outside the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. On the same day a police constable was stabbed to death during a baton charge to disperse a crowd of about 300 in Mfuleni township in Kuils River.

On June 16 in Soweto, police used guns, teargas and sneeze machines to disperse the crowd gathered outside Regina Mundi church. One person was killed. The crowd then decided to hold the com-

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Unrest

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Police Conduct: Unrest

memoration service at the Dutch Reformed Church in Diepkloof but police used batons and teargas to disperse them. Several youths were injured by batons during house-to-house searches by the police. In Noordgesig, a coloured township, 7 coloured youths were shot after allegedly looting a shop and stoning police vehicles and buses. In Bloemfontein five people were shot when police fired buckshot and plastic bullets to disperse the crowd. In Port Elizabeth teargas was used to disperse a group of 400 youths who had gathered at a hall in New Brighton for a commemoration meeting. In Kwa Thema, Springs, 210 people were arrested when they broke their way into the Dutch Reformed Church in order to hold a commemorative service. In Kwa-Mashu, Durban, police used teargas to disperse a crowd of schoolchildren who had set up road obstacles and stoned buses.

On June 17 25 people were reported killed and 150 injured in Elsies River in Cape Town as shops were gutted and cars set alight. Reinforcements of anti-riot police were flown to Cape Town. On the same day in the Boland one person was shot and several injured when petrol bombs were thrown at the Paarl East police station. Two schools were set alight and eight businesses were plundered and looted. The arson and violence in Elsies River continued.

On June 17 Lieut Colonel Leon Mellet of the Directorate for Public Relations said that newsmen would not be allowed into areas where there was trouble except under police escort (see chapter on Control of Media).

On June 18 the arson and looting on the Cape Flats continued, with police using their guns. It was reported that hospitals in the Cape Peninsula had instructions not to release any figures on the number of dead and injured. Police officials also refused to release figures.

Police used teargas and batons to disperse students at the University of Durban-Westville after stones were thrown at a meeting with the rector. One hundred students and three policemen were treated for injuries. The same day General Mike Geldenhuys, the Commissioner of Police, warned that police would "shoot to kill" people involved in cases of arson and looting in the black townships. The
police, he said, would use live ammunition in these cases." Two hours after issuing the statement General Geldenhuys withdrew it and said that the police would maintain law and order at all costs. The statement caused international protest and the US government warned that if the SA government did not use restraint in dealing with racial unrest, relations between the two countries would be impaired." The police continued to patrol Elsies River on June 19 and 20.

Arson in the area continued.

On June 19 the Minister of Police gave the following figures of those who had died or were injured during the revolts. A total of 30 people had been killed- 28 in the Western Cape, one in the Boland and one in Bloemfontein. A total of 174 had been injured, 100 of whom had suffered knife wounds and injuries from stone throwing. The unofficial figure of 42 deaths was denied by the minister.12 On July 29 Lieut Colonel Leon Mellet said 34 people were killed and 90 injured in the riots in the Western Cape during June.53

On July 5 one man was shot dead and another wounded in Elsies River when a police reservist opened fire on a group of people who allegedly attacked him with bricks and pangas.

In August AID, a Cape Town Fund to assist the families of those killed, was launched by a R5 000 private donation. It would be administered by the Students Health and Welfare Organisation (SHAWCO) and the Elsies River Social Welfare Organisation. By September R12 500 had been collected. Insurance claims amounting to nearly R100 000 were made by the Cape Divisional Council as a result of damage caused during June, mainly arson at offices, community halls, businesses and shops."

The unrest at schools continued and the Minister of Police said that the police would strictly apply the proclamation prohibiting public gatherings.' Brigadier A F Verwey, Acting Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Cape, said that anti-riot police would in some cases use sjamboks instead of batons to break up illegal gatherings of children. Police were later issued with 'squirts' to disperse crowds."

On July 11 Ms Violet -sili was shot by the police while in the yard of her house in the vicinity of the school where police had used teargas and batons to disperse a crowd of school pupils. The police accepted responsibility for her death. Her funeral on July 19 was attended by an estimated 15 000 people. The police used birdshot and teargas to disperse stonethrowing crowds leaving the funeral and killed Mr Boy-Boy Nobiba and injured 13 others. At Mr Nobiba's funeral, three men were shot dead by police after their armoured vehicle was attacked with petrol bombs. Beerhalls, schools and shops were set alight.

On the week-end of July 26--27 police fired birdshot to disperse crowds in KwaZakhele in Port Elizabeth when they set fire to a bus and threw stones at police patrols.

On August 7 police fired birdshot and arrested several students when over 4 000 students from Diepkoeloof schools marched on the West Rand Administration Board offices in protest against bantu education and increased rents in Soweto. On the anniversary of the outbreak of the 1976 riots in the Westm'n Cape on August
11, police used teargas and fired birdshot to disperse people in Crossroads. Arson and stonings continued in Nyanga and Crossroads until August 14, four people being killed. Between August 18-20, police used teargas and birdshot in Fort Beaufort to disperse crowds which gathered. A 19-year-old woman was killed and a 16-year-old youth injured.

On the weekend of August 24--25 stonings and arson continued in Port Elizabeth. Police fired birdshot to disperse youths attempting to set fire to an overturned police van.

Students and police came into conflict in Seshego on August 25 with police shooting to disperse students who were boycotting classes and stoning vehicles. During September and October unrest and stonings of vehicles continued in the townships in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape. Police responded with the use of firearms, batons and teargas. On September 10 a man was killed and four were injured when police

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Unrest

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Cillie 6 Commission

fired birdshot into crowds allegedly throwing stones in Guguletu. The police were criticised for killing a youth with shots fired from a bus in Guguletu. The SAP Director of Public Relations said that police occasionally boarded buses to protect them from stonings. On the weekend of October 25-26 two children in Guguletu were killed when police fired shots at stone-throwing crowds during celebrations of Mike Weaver's boxing victory over Gerrie Coetzee.

In Sada on September 11 a Ciskei policeman was stoned to death and a youth shot by the police during school unrest in the area. Students claimed that three children aged between 11 and 12 were killed and 50 people injured.

In Port Elizabeth four people were killed and 16 wounded when police fired birdshot at crowds allegedly throwing stones on November 6.

On October 15 police used teargas and batons and fired rubber bullets to disperse crowds in Soweto which had gathered outside the Soweto Council chambers to protest against rent increases and against a visit by Dr Koornhof. A service in Soweto on October 19 in commemoration of the banning of organisations was disrupted by a police baton charge.

For information on the role of the police during strikes see section on Labour Relations.

Cillie Commission

The report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and elsewhere from June 16, 1976 to February 28, 1977 was handed to the Minister of Justice on January 21. With regard to the actions of the police in handling the riots, the commission found that among the causes which appeared to have been largely and directly responsible for the riots was the failure of officials and policemen to foresee the imminent eruption in Soweto. The Soweto police did not realise the importance of the clear portents of disturbances and resistance before June 16.
They were therefore unaware of the preparations for the march and on June 16 they were unprepared as regards manpower, equipment and frame of mind for such a demonstration. They had practically no control over the rioters and the rioting. The commission did not wish to speculate about what would have happened had the police been prepared and able to control the situation. However, once the march and demonstrations had taken place it was the duty of the police to maintain law and order and to disperse the crowds. The commission found that the police themselves were largely responsible for their ignorance and therefore also for their own unpreparedness. No plans could be made to prevent or control the situation which emerged. However, the police could not be held responsible for the continuation of the riots.

The commission found that the police force had acquitted itself very well in executing its duties, namely the quelling of the riots and control of the rioters, in the face of exceptionally difficult and dangerous circumstances. The policy of the SAP in combating the riots was in the first place to prevent all outbreaks of rioting. In the second place, they tried to persuade rioters not to use violence and

where this did not succeed the police themselves used force, but only as much as was needed to maintain or restore peace and order, to protect lives and property and to make arrests. Rioters were not treated roughly, but firmly. It was possible that there may have been exceptional cases where a particular policeman went too far because of his own mental make-up or because of specific circumstances. However, the commission found that the evidence did not justify a finding that there were deliberate and impermissible assaults by members of the police force. In using firearms it was never the policy of the police to shoot rioters indiscriminately, nor did this happen. There may have been exceptions where as a result of an error of judgement, excitement, over-reaction, pressure or circumstances or fear, members of the force might have opened fire too quickly or might have fired before being quite sure that people who were not involved would not be hit. In these cases, the commission said that the police acted conscientiously and purposefully, sometimes under great pressure and danger. There was no known case of a policeman who used a firearm during the unrest being criminally responsible for the death of anyone.

The commission dealt at great length with the allegations made against the police in a pamphlet by the Ministers Fraternal of Langa, Fuguletu and Nyanga entitled The Role of Riot Police in the Burnings and Killings in Nyanga, Cape Town, Christmas, 1976 and also a memorandum by the Rev David Russell, The Riot Police and the Suppression of Truth which was banned for possession in May 1977. The commission summoned witnesses to give evidence on the allegations and found that nothing could justify a finding of deliberate and inadmissible assaults by the police. The memorandums alleged that the riot police had encouraged and instigated certain migrants to think that certain residents would stop them going to work; told the migrants to arm themselves to counter attacks by residents when no such attack was intended; had taken part in the attacks by migrants shooting at residents and preventing them from protecting their families and houses; encouraged migrants to kill some residents by pointing out the
wounded on the ground and taught certain migrants to make and use petrol bombs. The riot police were held responsible for the outbreak and continuation of the riots by inciting people to violence, their actual participation in the fighting and their passive attitude towards violence.

The commission, warning of the difficulties of arriving at accurate figures, estimated that between June 16, 1976 and February 28, 1977 575 people died - 494 Africans, 75 coloured people, two whites and one Indian. Police action resulted in the death of 451 people, the deaths of the remaining 124 being the result of actions of persons other than the police. Of the total, 134 were under the age of 18, 113 of these having died as a result of police action. In Soweto 262 people died, including four whites, 208 as a result of police action. In Cape Town, 137 people had been killed.

Figures on the number of injured were equally difficult to determine accurately the commission said, but the SAP had provided information to the effect that the police force had injured 2,389 persons while a further 1,518 were injured at the same time as the riots by other persons.

In the period June 16, 1976 to February 28, 1977 the following Cillie Commission estimated number of arrests were made by the police throughout SA for the offences stated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public violence</td>
<td>3,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offences related to Riotous Assemblies</td>
<td>1,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabotage</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malicious injury to property</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total number arrested throughout the country during that period, 56% of the males were over the age of 18, and 45% of the females.

In the same period 928 accused appeared in 175 criminal cases in the magistrates' courts on the Witwatersrand. In the period between August 7 and December 15, 1976 2,004 accused appeared in 95 cases in Port Elizabeth. In the month of December in Cape Town 66 accused appeared in 48 cases.

The commission did not investigate the unrest for the entire period of its duration and this, together with the difficulty in establishing accurate figures, renders those provided in the report incomplete. The figures on the number of deaths have been disputed.

During the debate on the report in the assembly" Mrs Suzman (PFP) criticised the commission for having exonerated the police who she alleged had been provocative. The Minister of Police had not considered the use of anti-riot equipment as a means of saving lives and reducing casualties and she could not reconcile the enormous number of people killed by the police with the behaviour of a police force intent upon using a minimum of force. The fact that only 15 blacks under the age of 18 gave evidence to the commission regarding the actions of the police had led to an imbalance in the findings of the commission on this
matter, as many policemen had given evidence. The Minister of Police in reply said that he could not accept that the police were responsible for the outbreak of the riots.
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Police said that the compensation committee had considered a total of 150 claims and had recommended ex gratia payments in 31 cases totalling R108 396.9 The policy of the committee was that where persons were injured or killed as a result of their own participation in or contribution to the riots or by intentionally or wilfully exposing themselves to danger by moving into riot areas, the applications were not recommended.

Prisoners in Police Custody
The Commissioner of Police was unable to provide a breakdown of those who died while in police custody and the causes of their deaths.

Merit Awards
In his annual report for the year ended June 30, 1979 the Commissioner of Police stated that during the year the following awards were made to policemen:
- SA Police Star for Merit
- The Bar to the SA Police Medal
- For Faithful Service
- SA Police Medal for Faithful Service
- SA Police Medal for Combating Terrorism
- Bars for Combating Terrorism
- Commendations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>465</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Police Casualties
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of that 10 policemen were killed and 41 seriously injured during their duties during 1979.

Police said in the ex-

PRISONS
The gross daily cost per prisoner was estimated at R3,00 for the year 1979-80.

Personnel
According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons for the year ended June 30, 1979, there had been a personnel gain of 695, but there was still a shortage of 1 480 in respect of the total strength of the department despite 2 284 new appointments. The total numerical strength of the Prisons Department as at June 30, 1979 was 9 036 whites, 5 332 Africans and 1 696 coloured people.

In co-operation with other departments, the Prisons Department assisted in the establishment of the Venda National Force.

Prison Population
In reply to a question in the senate, the Minister of Prisons said that the average daily number of prisoners and the average number of prisoners per 100 000 of the population for each race group for the year 1978-79 was as follows:
Daily Average
4 316
73 538
539
21 459
No per 100 000
97,1
450,6
68,1
847,2
237
Prisoners
White African Indian Coloured
238
Prisoners
Mrs M Slabbert, a criminology lecturer at the University of Cape Town, estimated that 16% of the daily average were influx control offenders.
Mr A E Nothnagel (NP) said in the assembly64 that the prison population per 100 000 of the population in SA was 389,1, in Denmark 58,5, in Belgium, 59,9, and in the Netherlands 23,2. The ratio of staff establishment to prisoners in SA was 1:14, in Denmark 1:5 in Belgium 1:23 and in the Netherlands 1:15.
In reply to a question the Minister of Prisons said that 19 prisoners had escaped from the maximum security prisons and 1 610 from all other prisons. Of the latter, 152 escaped from prison buildings and the rest from work teams, public hospitals, during transfer etc.66 In reply to another question he said that in 1977, 1978 and 1979 respectively 10, 19 and 12 prison wardens had been seriously injured by prisoners and in 1978 one had been killed. In the same years 33, 26 and 28 prisoners had been killed by fellow prisoners.66
Mrs Suzman (PFP), commenting on these figures in the assembly, said that the jails were overcrowded which made it difficult for the prison staff to exercise sufficient supervision.67
According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons there were 291 deaths of sentenced prisoners and 17 of unsentenced prisoners in the custody of the department, of which 243 were due to natural causes, 37 as a result of assault by fellow prisoners and 10 were suicide. During the Prisons vote the minister said that he had appointed an inter-departmental committee of the police and prisons departments to investigate the release of prisoners on parole. It would also give attention to the high prison population resulting from influx control.8
Prisons Amendment Act No 22
The amendment provides for the imposition of suspended sentences on prisoners in departmental disciplinary trials. In moving this clause the minister said that the previously held power to impose such sentences had been removed by the Criminal Procedure Act No 51 and suspended sentences were considered to be a useful disciplinary device.
The act also provides for the establishment of institutional committees which would have the function, among others determined by the commissioner from time to time, of making recommendations on the training, treatment and progress of prisoners and of submitting reports to the commissioner and Release Board. These functions were previously exercised by the Release Board. The functions of the Release Board (previously the Prison Board) were redefined as consisting only of the release of prisoners on probation or parole.

The requirement that the release on probation of prisoners declared habitual criminals be approved by the State President was removed from the act so that the Minister of Prisons would have the power to release prisoners both on parole and on probation.

Various other clauses in the amendment act relating to release on probation and parole merely clarified the clauses on these matters contained in the original act. The act was passed with the 239 support of all parties.

Prison Conditions

According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons, new conditions ration scales had been introduced as from April, 1 1979. The new scales were the first of three phases aimed at creating a uniform ration scale for all population groups. During the year 1978-79, a total of 529 persons visited the prisons, including 24 judges, 338 magistrates, 13 visitors from abroad and 154 other persons actively involved in the problem of crime. Twenty press projects had been undertaken and the media had made use of the liaison service.

Prison Labour

According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons, agricultural products to the value of R3 874 079 were produced by prisoners during the year ended June 30, 1979. Prisoners were also engaged in the erection, extension, alteration and improvement of 41 prisons. Prison labour to the value of R8 976 901 was supplied to government departments.

In March a northern Transvaal farmer, Mr L A Becker, faced three separate civil court actions by prison parolees who worked on his farm while serving their sentences and who claimed that he assaulted them. One of the prisoners, Mr Makonto, who worked on the farm while serving a 30-day sentence for a pass offence, said that he had been assaulted with a sjambok which resulted in his spending 20 days in hospital.

Mr Mofokeng, another prisoner, told the court that he had not been asked whether he wished to work on the farm as a labourer. At the farm 60 prisoners slept together in a large cell and on their first night had been forced to strip and lie naked in a row on the floor. They were then beaten with sticks and a truncheon. This happened to all new prisoners. They were also beaten while at work. Mr Becker denied the assaults. He told the court that between 1972 and August 1979 4 000 prisoners had worked on his farm. He used to fetch them from Modderbee prison. In an out-of-court settlement Mr Becker paid an undisclosed amount to Mr Mofokeng. The other cases were still being dealt with.

Social Work and Spiritual Care
The report of the Department of Prisons stated that there was an acute shortage of trained social workers. On June 30, 1979 the department had 36 posts for social workers, 117 for auxiliary workers, 12 for clinical psychologists and 15 for assistant psychologists. On June 30, 1979 there were 1 489 part time and full time spiritual workers of the various denominations appointed for the spiritual care of prisoners. These workers paid 20 425 visits to prisons.

According to the annual report of the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation for the year ended March 31, 1980, NICRO continued with its involvement in crime prevention and its rehabilitative services to awaiting trial prisoners, offenders serving non-custodial sentences, parolees and other ex-offenders. During the year NICRO caseworkers attended to 16 839 ex-offenders by Political means of interviews, home visits, telephonic and other forms of contact. The Dependants’ Conference of the SA Council of Churches continued to provide assistance to the families of political prisoners and detainees.

Robben Island and Other Prisons for Political Prisoners
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Prisons said that there were 38 persons serving life sentences for crimes against the state.7 There were 482 prisoners on Robben Island who were serving sentences for crimes against the state; of these six were under the age of 18. In August a spokesman said that two of the minors were 16 years old and four were 17 years old7, 53 were from SWA/Namibia. In addition there were 248 prisoners on Robben Island serving sentences for other crimes; of these eight were under the age of 18. After the closure of Robben Island as a prison it would be taken over by the SA Defence Force and the prisoners would be transferred to Leeuwkop prison in August 1983.72

In May for the first time in seven years Mrs Suzman, accompanied by senior officials of the Department of Prisons, was allowed to visit Robben Island and to speak on a 'contact basis' with any prisoner she wished. She said she had found a marked improvement since her last visit. During the Prisons vote she said that the prisoners were now supplied with beds instead of having to sleep on the floor and on bed rolls; they had adequate clothing and the phasing in of food on a non-racial basis had commenced though it had not been concluded. Recreational facilities were better, there were some sports facilities and prisoners were allowed to listen to censored newscasts and broadcasts of sporting events. However, they were still not allowed newspapers nor were they allowed to see visitors other than 'first degree' relatives.

The 30 single-cell prisoners were housed together (some for as long as 14 years) and were allowed out of their isolated recreation yard only once a fortnight for a walk. They were otherwise kept in this very restricted area. They were not permitted to play sport with other prisoners or to use the workshops and the only work available was of a hard manual type which they preferred not to do. Mrs Suzman called on the minister to set up a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the position of all long term political prisoners with a
view to parole or remission.,
In reply the minister said that the Commissioner of Prisons had appointed a departmental committee to investigate all aspects concerning political prisoners. One of the matters to which the commissioner would give his attention would be the making available of an English and an Afrikaans newspaper to political prisoners with the minimum of censorship. He also announced that study opportunities would be re-introduced for political prisoners who would be allowed to Study normal post-matric courses. As regards parole for political prisoners, the minister said that he would make a note of it, but would not take the matter any further.

He said Mrs Suzman was incorrect about the situation of security prisoners. There was a group of approximately 50 people who were regarded as the leadership group who were accommodated on their own and who did not associate at all with other prisoners. However, they were allowed to walk around and to participate in sport.4

In October the Department of Prisons announced that all political prisoners who qualified in terms of the categories into which they had been classified could receive one newspaper of their choice per day for which they would have to pay. Some prisoners would also be allowed to receive a variety of magazines. Robben Island prisoners were allowed to borrow books from the Robben Island branch of the Cape Provincial library service. All other prisons where political prisoners were held had their own library facilities.

In May the spokesman for the Department of Prisons Liaison Office confirmed that four women serving sentences for convictions under the Terrorism Act had been on a hunger strike from April 28 to May 5 at the Potchefstroom prison. They had been under constant medical observation during their strike.7

In January Messrs Lee, Jenkins and Moumbaris who escaped from the Pretoria Central Prison in December said that their escape had been assisted by the ANC, SA Communist Party and Umkhonto We Sizwe. They denied that they had been assisted by prison officials. However, a prison warden Mr Francois Daniel Vermeulen was charged in February with having assisted them in their escape. He pleaded not guilty saying that his confession to the police, in which he admitted having released the prisoners for a bribe of R200, had been extorted under police pressure and threats. He was found not guilty and discharged.

In October the conviction and sentence of five Robben Island prisoners on charges of public violence was set aside on appeal in the Cape Supreme Court. (See 1979 Survey p 119.) In November three Africans were awarded an out of court settlement without prejudice of R3 000 each by the Minister of Police and three warders. They had instituted a civil action for assault while awaiting correction in the St Albans prison in July 1978 (see 1979 Survey p 120).

Giving judgement in an urgent application in the Cape Town Supreme Court in October by Mr Nelson Mandela that he be allowed to give his attorney written instructions, Mr Justice Watermeyer dismissed the application with costs. Mr Mandela had argued that the terms of a prison regulation requiring him to have the approval of the Commissioner of Prisons before giving written instructions
and the fact that oral instructions could be overheard inhibited him from giving instructions of a privileged and confidential nature. The judge stated that it was unlikely that the legislature had intended to permit the uncensored removal from prison of documents alleged by convicted prisoners to contain confidential instructions to their legal advisers.

Professor Andre Brink of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde said at a meeting of that body that he had been informed by the Minister of Prisons that Mr Breyten Breytenbach had been reclassified into a higher category of prisoners and could request any book from the Cape Provincial Administration. However, he was not allowed to paint as this might set a precedent for other prisoners and his written Political work had to be handed to the prison authorities.

In June it was reported that a two-page letter by Mr Nelson Mandela had been smuggled out of Robben Island. It was read publicly in the British House of Commons on June 11. Mr Le Grange, Minister of Prisons, refused to comment until he had proof that the message was authentic. Between March and June Mr Mandela had seen Judge D M Williamson acting in his official capacity, his legal representative Mr S Kawalsky on two occasions, his wife on two occasions and Mrs Suzman (PFP).

In March the United States ad-hoc Monitoring Group on Southern Africa launched a campaign for the adoption of political prisoners in SA. During the year Mr Navarlall Babenia (convicted for sabotage in 1964), Mr Kadir Hassim (convicted in 1972 on charges under the Terrorism Act) and Mr Mogami Moeng were released from Robben Island. The latter two were banned on their release.

Calls for the Release of Political Prisoners

Following the election victory of Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe in March two Afrikaans newspapers called for a national convention to discuss a political solution for SA. In reply black leaders called for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela as one of the conditions for such a convention. Sunday Post then initiated a campaign to collect petitions calling for his release. Mr Mandela's release was linked to the concept of a national convention which was seen as the only alternative to a situation of escalating violence and confrontation. Committees were established in the different regions of the country to promote the campaign, mass meetings were held and petitions were distributed. As at June 15, 50 000 signatures had been collected.

Organisations which gave their support to the campaign were the following - Diakonia, the SAIRR, the Black Sash, the SACC, the Committee of Ten, Inkatha, Azapo, the Natal Indian Congress, the Coloured Labour Party, Cosas, the black Dutch Reformed Churches, Nusas, the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde, student representative councils on the English speaking campuses, the Black Lawyers' Association, the Natal Medical School, the executive committee of the SA Indian
Council, the Methodist Church, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the British Labour Party, the governments of Kenya, Zimbabwe and Nigeria, members of the US ad-hoc Monitoring Group on SA; the British Methodist Church, the Southern Africa Committee of the Commonwealth and others.

The attitude of the PFP as outlined by its leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert in the second Budget Debate was that the PFP had taken no decision in regard to the campaign and if PFP members participated they did so in their personal capacity. There was a difference of opinion in the party concerning the merits, effectiveness and nature of the campaign. However, the PFP was committed to a national convention at which the true black leaders must be present. If Mr Mandela was a representative leader and if he was prepared to negotiate peace and to reject violence he should participate in the negotiations. It was the responsibility of the government to ascertain the extent of Mr Mandela's leadership.

The government rejected the proposal. The Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, said that Mr Mandela was a communist and a founder member of Umkhonto We Sizwe, who advocated the violent overthrow of the state, who had not changed his views and who had been sentenced in terms of the laws of the land. He would serve his sentence. This view was endorsed by the Prime Minister at a meeting at Stellenbosch university. The leader of the NRP, Mr Vause Raw said that he had not been persuaded that Mr Mandela had altered his views on violence as a means of change and he therefore could not support the campaign. The Prime Minister of the Transkei, Mr Matanzima, said that Mr Mandela's release was an issue which should be negotiated between the governments of the Transkei and SA. The Transkei government would not be drawn into a campaign initiated by opposition organisations and newspapers.

Those supporting the campaign said it was meant to include all other political prisoners. By the end of the campaign in October an estimated 75 080 signatures had been collected.

In May Mr Mandela was invited to India to receive the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding in 1979 in recognition of his staunch support of freedom, individual liberty, justice and peace. The invitation was sent to his wife to receive the award on his behalf. Neither she nor her daughter were granted travel documents. Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, received the award on Mr Mandela's behalf.

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References


Hansard 2 Q col 30 7 Hansard 3 Q col 284 Hansard 16 Q col 848 StarJuly 1 o Rand Daily Mail April 16 Evening Post May 10 ! Star January 17
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21 Post August 16 29 StarApril 22 Hansard 2 Q col 27
Hansard 2 Q col 115 12 Hansard 8 Q col 436
Hansard 8 Q col 437 Hansard 2 Q col 115
: Rand Daily Mail November 11
Hansard 12 col 6019 17 Hansard 5 col 1757 31 Sunday Times April 20
Hansard 12 cols 6074-6076 40 Hansard 16 Q col 848 4 Hansard 4 Q col 242 42
Ibid
41 Hansard 6 Q col 332 44 Hansard 2 Q col 112 11 Hansard 2 Q col 115 46 Rand
Daily Mail March 12 47 Sunday Express March 10 48 StarApril 26 49 Post May
28 50 Starune 18 " Rand Daily Mail June 20 52 Star June 20 11 Post July 29 11
Post August 27
1 Rand Daily Mail July 12 56 Rand Daily MailJuly 14 " RP 55/80
58 Hansard 5 col 2329 11 Hansard 12 Q col 493 10 Rand Daily Mail April 25 61
Hansard 29 Q col 28 62 Estimates op cit 61 Senate Hansard 1 Q col 1 11 Hansard
13 col 610 65 Hansard 8 Q col 433 66 Hansard 12 Q col 735 67 Hansard 12 col
6079 68 Hansard 13 col 6126 6 Rand Daily Mail August 5 70 Hansard 11 Q col
628 " Star August 27 72 Hansard 6 Q col 331, Hansard 12 Q col 7333 71 Hansard
13 col 6087 74 Hansard 13 col 6129-35 71 Post May 8 '6 StarApril 19, Natal
PostApril 19
7 Hansard 17 Q col 881 78 Hansard 5 col 3985 7' Hansard 5 col 3971 80 Post
March 26 81 Daily Dispatch April 2

ADMINISTRATION OF SECURIT Y LEGISLATION
General
During the year the country experienced the most sustained period of unrest since
1976. School boycotts were widespread (see chapter on Education - school and
university, boycotts). There were bus boycotts (see Urban African) and strikes
with associated boycotts (see Labour Relations). These issues became interlinked
as symptoms of widespread resistance to the regime.
Government spokesman interpreted the unrest as a situation in which grievances
were being exploited by the system's opponents in order to challenge state
authority. The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, threatened action against
people endeavouring to achieve confrontation with the government by
unconstitutional means. The Prime Minister, speaking before the period of the
June commemorations, said there was an orchestrated effort afoot to subvert the
state and no self-respecting state could tolerate efforts to create anarchy. (For police action during the unrest see also section on Police Conduct.)

Government spokesmen made several attacks on organisations such as the Azanian Peoples Organisation, the Congress of South African Students, the Writers Association of South Africa and the SA Council of Churches, saying they were furthering the aims of the ANC. These attacks were interpreted as a prelude to government action against these organisations.

The Prime Minister accused the SACC of having distributed about R2.5m "to promote unrest" and of being in the frontline of a passive resistance and civil disobedience campaign engaged in a "total onslaught" against the political order in SA. Bishop Tutu denied the allegations saying the SACC used its funds to provide legal defence for those charged under the often vicious security legislation and to assist the families of banned and detained persons and political prisoners. He challenged the government to charge the SACC in court if it had fomented unrest. Mr Botha, he said, had linked the SACC with the ANC in an attempt to create "guilt by association".

The government continued its strict surveillance of organisations operating independently of its own political institutions. Members were detained and banned. A committee, established by the cabinet, prepared and distributed anonymous pamphlets to propagate government policies and to counter 'unrest' and the views of 'subversive elements'. The Cape Times, which came into possession of the documents of the committee's meetings, was requested by the security police and warned by the Prime Minister, not to publish them.

Several calls were made during the year for the government to repeal the security laws and re-establish the rule of law. The UN Security Council passed a resolution condemning SA's massive repression against all opponents of apartheid and called on the government to end the indiscriminate violence against peaceful demonstrators against apartheid, murders in detention and torture of political prisoners. It also called for an amnesty for people imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to apartheid, the lifting of bans on individuals and groups and an end to political trials.

Legislation
(For details of amendments to the Transkei Public Security Act see chapter on the Transkei.)

SECURITY TRIALS

Statistics
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Police gave the following information regarding trials in terms of the Internal Security Act during 1979:
Charged 34
Acquitted 12
Released without trial 2
Charged with lesser offences 1
Still on trial/awaiting trial 7
Three were held for 14 days, one for 21 days and 30 were summarily charged.
The Department of Statistics provided the following information on certain
offences for the period July 1, 1978-June 30, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public violence</th>
<th>Prosecutions</th>
<th>Convictions</th>
<th>Discharged</th>
<th>Total 7-17 yrs</th>
<th>Total 7-17 yrs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>493</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful and riotous assemblies (excluding strikes)</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabotage</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting to promote racial unrest</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malicious damage to property</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>2901</td>
<td>10091</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>6192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>517</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstructing</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of convictions was 16,707. (No breakdown of specific charges
was given in the case of 5,047 convictions under the general category of public
safety and good order.) Of the total, 2,222 were sentenced to corporal punishment.
Those sentenced to terms of imprisonment (with or without a fine or corporal
punishment) were sentenced as follows:

- Under 2 years
- 2 years and under 5 years
- 5 years and over
- Total

Security Trials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under 2 years</th>
<th>2 years and under 5 years</th>
<th>5 years and over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>8,892</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,604</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,604</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remainder were either cautioned and discharged, had their whole sentence
suspended, were sentenced to a fine only, had the passing of sentence postponed
or had other sentences imposed.
The table on p 247 indicates trials held during 1980 from January 1 to November
30 (including trials begun in 1979 and terminated in 1980).
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>13</td>
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<td>21-25</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Terrorism Act Sabotage Internal Security Internal Security/ Unlawful
Organisations High Treason High Treason/ Attempted murder and robbery
No of trials
No of accused
65 20 11
Convicted
36
4 2
Cases proceeding
3 2 2
Acquitted or charges withdrawn
19 3
Years
imprisonment for
convicted 227
14
3 years 9 mths
5
90 death
(as above)
Total 31 106 52 7 22 339 yrs 9mths
1979 42 126 77 11 13 5902

248 Major Trials
Pretoria ANC Trial
On April 14 the following nine members of the ANC appeared in Security the Pretoria Supreme Court on charges of high treason: Messrs Ncimbithi Lubisi (28), Petrus Mashigo (20), Naphtali Manana (24), Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi (27), Hiolile Benjamin Tau (24), Phumelani Grant Shezi (24), Jeremia Radebe (26), Boyce Johannes Bogale (26) and Thomas Mngadi (29).
It was alleged that the accused left the country in 1976, became members of the ANC and during the period 1977-1979 received military training in Angola. They were alleged to have returned to SA between November 1979 and February 1980 with the intention of conducting armed struggle and committing acts of sabotage. Messrs Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana were each charged with the attempted murder of Mr Mankutu Mashapa and Mr Thomi Mothibi when they attacked the Soekmekaar police station in Soutpansberg on January 4, and with having stolen a motor car in Soekmekaar.
They had allegedly established a base in Tzaneen from where attacks on various targets in SA could be planned, and attacked the Soekmekaar police station using three hand grenades and firing 56 shots with an AK47 rifle. They were each charged with being in possession of arms and ammunition.
Mr Molebatsi and Mr Tau were alleged, together with the three people who were killed during the siege on the Volkskas Bank in Silverton, to have planned attacks
on certain targets while based in GaRankuwa. They had also planned a rocket attack on the petrol storage tanks in Watloo, near Pretoria. Mr Molebatsi had made sketches of the area in preparation for the attack. He was also alleged to have planned an attack on the police charge offices at Pretoria West and Villeria and to have made sketches of them for this purpose.

Mr Tau, together with Mr Stephen Fanie Mafoko (alias Edgar Khulu Mkize), Mr Humphrey Makhubo (alias Kenneth Oupa Jalobe) and Mr Wilfred Madela (alias George Mbele), was alleged to have planned the attack on the Volkskas bank on January 25. The attack resulted in the death of two people and, insofar as they could have foreseen that their actions would result in death, they were guilty of murder on two counts and attempted murder on 21 counts. Both Mr Molebatsi and Mr Tau were alleged to have been in possession of arms and ammunition.

It was alleged that during December 1979 and January 1980 Mr Shezi and Mr Radebe planned an attack on the offices of the Port Natal Administration Board in Durban. They were also in possession of weapons in the Malangeni district in Natal. In addition Mr Shezi attempted, on January 26, to recruit Mr Kamble in Lamontville to become a member of the ANC and go for military training outside the country.

Mr Bogali and Mr Mngadi were alleged to have established a base in the Bloodrivierspoort district near Vryheid during the period February 29 to March 15, 1980, from where they would conduct attacks on various targets inside SA. During the same period near Mondlo, Vryheid, they were in possession of arms and explosives.

The trial began on August 4, the accused being represented by Mr J Browde SC with Mr Justice de Villiers on the bench. State evidence related mainly to the aims, objectives and strategies of the ANC, the attack on the Soekmekaar police station and the siege of Security the Volkskas bank. Trials

On November 17 judgement commenced. In summing up the evidence Mr Justice de Villiers said that the ANC's aim was to prevent the killing of civilians who were not part of the government which oppressed blacks. However the evidence of the accused revealed that they had foreseen the possibility of people dying as a result of their actions. The nine accused were acquitted on two charges of murder and 19 charges of attempted murder relating to the siege of the Volkskas bank in Silverton. They were found guilty of high treason.

Messrs Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana were in addition found guilty of two charges of assault with intent to murder and of robbery with aggravating circumstances, relating to the attack on tile Soekmekaar police station.

The prosecutor asked for the death sentence to be imposed on all the accused with the exception of Mr Bogale and Mr Mngadi. On November 26 Messrs Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana were sentenced to death. They were granted leave to appeal against conviction and sentence. Messrs Molebatsi and Tau were sentenced to 20
Mr Bhekizitha Nqubelani

Mr Nqubelani appeared in the Cape Town Supreme Court in March on charges under the Terrorism Act, alternatively attempted murder, for trying to kill members of the public, court officials or civil servants by planting a bomb in the Cape Town Supreme Court in May 1979. He had allegedly received military training under the auspices of the ANC and returned to SA with arms, ammunition and explosives. He was also charged with having written a letter while detained in Pollsmoor Prison designed to recruit members for the ANC. A statement by Mr Nqubelani to the court said that he had been instructed by his ANC comrades in Botswana not to injure people in his activities as a freedom fighter. When looking for a place to install the bomb he had continuously kept in mind that his aim was to cause extensive damage but not to injure people. The aim of the explosion was to remind the SA government that the ANC was still attempting to institute a redistribution of wealth in SA. Mr Nqubelani pleaded guilty to the charges under the Terrorism Act but not guilty to having written a letter in prison.

The prosecutor asked that the pleas be not accepted and that the state be allowed to prove its case as though Mr Nqubelani had pleaded not guilty, as the state wanted the imposition of the death sentence. In arguing for the imposition of the death sentence the prosecutor said that the court should disregard political motives. Long jail terms, he said, had no deterrent effect on those sentenced because there was an attitude of "time being on their side" and while in jail more people could be recruited.

Mr Justice Howard found the accused guilty on four counts under the Terrorism Act and imposed a total effective sentence of 20 years as follows: having planted a bomb - 12 years; being in possession of explosives, arms and ammunition and having undergone military training in Botswana and Angola - eight years; attempting to incite people to undergo training - five years.

Five years of the sentence would be served concurrently. In passing sentence Mr Justice Howard said that he had decided against imposing the death sentence only because Mr Nqubelani had been motivated by idealism and prompted by frustration. There was no reason to reject his statement that his initial object in travelling abroad was to further his education. In planting the bomb Mr Nqubelani had sought to minimise possible deaths.

Mr Mkwanazi and Eight Others

The trial of Messrs Thamasanqa Mkwanazi (38), Jeremiah Kgogong Matjatladi (23), Ronald Ephraim Mamoepa (18), Lebagang Mokone (18), Petrus Senabe (22), Cornelius Maphezi Leeuw (18), Andrew Phala (18), Deacon Sekobela Mathe (22) and a 16-year old youth, which began last year continued in the Pretoria Regional Court. They were charged under the Terrorism Act with having been recruited or having recruited others to receive military training outside SA with the intention of returning to overthrow the government.
by violent means.
The magistrate, Mr W F Krugel, ruled that the trial be held in camera with only those members of the press with proper identification cards being allowed into the court, and on condition that no names of witnesses be published. Several youths gave evidence on how they had been approached as possible recruits, while the security police presented 16 cassette tapes of conversations on the telephone of Post in Pretoria which they alleged incriminated one of the accused, Mr Mkwanazi, a reporter on the newspaper.
Mr Matjatladi and Mr Mkwanazi received seven years each and the rest of the accused received five years. In October, with the exception of Mr Deacon Mathe whose conviction and sentence were set aside, they lost their appeal against their convictions and sentences in the Transvaal Supreme Court.

Dr Renfrew Christie
On May 19 Dr Renfrew Christie, a research fellow at the University of Cape Town, appeared in the Pretoria Supreme Court on seven charges under the Terrorism Act and alternate charges under the Atomic Energy Act and the Internal Security Act. It was alleged that during 1978 and 1979 he unlawfully and with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in SA, conspired with the International University Exchange Fund and/or its director, Mr Lars Gunner Eriksson and/or the ANC and/or an ANC official, Dr Frene Ginwala and/or Horst Kleinschmidt, to aid or procure or to commission the aiding and procuring, and to make available to these people, information on all aspects of energy in SA. Specifically it was alleged that he had acquired information on where the Atomic Energy Board regarded it as being seismologically safest to explode nuclear devices and had conveyed the information by way of letter to Security Mr Lars Gunner Eriksson. He had also allegedly removed a drawing from the Escom library of the general layout of Koeberg Nuclear Power station and another confidential report and transferred these to Dr Ginwala; visited the Duvha power station at Witbank to inspect the premises and obtain information which he intended to pass on and had visited the Kriel power station near Bethal for the same purpose.
The presiding judge, Mr Justice Eloff, accepted one of the statements made by Dr Christie to the police in which he admitted having engaged in these activities, saying that he was sympathetic to the aims and objects of the ANC. His defence counsel had questioned the admissibility of the statements on the grounds that they had been made under duress. Dr Christie alleged that he had been made to stand for more than 12 hours. He was found guilty on five charges under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to a total of 30 years but an effective jail term of 10 years. The judge said that it had been proved that a conspiracy existed between the ANC and Dr Christie. The ANC wanted to use the information to conduct acts of sabotage and cripple certain industries, to endanger law and order in SA and disrupt the distribution of light, power and fuel. He was granted leave to appeal.
Other Security Trials

Of the trials which took place during the year 21 occurred in the Transvaal, five in the Eastern Cape, three in the Western Cape, one in Natal and one in the Orange Free State. In addition there was one trial in Bophuthatswana involving four men who were alleged to be propagating the aims of the ANC.

In January Mr Mange, sentenced to death in the Pietermaritzburg ANC trial last year, was granted leave to appeal against the sentence. He won his appeal on September 11, and was sentenced to 20 years. Mr Kentridge SC defending, submitted that he alone of the 12 persons convicted of high treason was sentenced to death. The grave disparity in sentences was not warranted. The death sentence was an excessive punishment and the judge had misdirected himself on the facts, he said. He had not been convicted for using arms, violence or any act of sabotage.

Mr Justice Rumpff said that though the trial judge had not misdirected himself the death sentence should not have been imposed in Mr Mange's case and the court had acted unreasonably in doing so. He gave several reasons for this including the fact that in the past SA courts had, in cases under the Terrorism Act, sent people to jail who had been found guilty of certain acts of 'terrorism' which also constituted high treason and which were in a sense similar to those which Mr Mange had committed. Had the death sentence been imposed on his fellow accused, he said, the death sentence might well have been a proper sentence.

In January Mr Setenane Segone (21), a Soweto student, appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on charges under the Internal Security Act for having allegedly been an office-bearer or Security member of the ANC and having furthered its activities by distributing pamphlets, attempting to recruit members and attempting to form an ANC cell between January and September 1979. He was also allegedly in possession of ANC literature.

During the trial his defence counsel challenged the admissibility of a confession made by Mr Segone to the security police, saying it had not been freely and voluntarily made. Mr Segone alleged that he had been severely assaulted in the 'truth room' at John Vorster Square, threatened with death and told what to say in his statement to the magistrate. The security police denied the allegations, and the magistrate accepted the statement as having been freely and voluntarily made and sentenced Mr Segone to three years imprisonment.

He won his appeal against conviction and sentence on one count and the sentence on the second count was reduced from one year to nine months.

On January 13 Mr Mbonjeni, alias Mr Bingo Bentley (43) and Mr Monty Mzinyathi appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on charges under the Terrorism Act. It was alleged that Mr Mbonjeni participated in subversive activities by harbouring and assisting Mr Mzinyathi on his return from Russia, where he was alleged to have undergone military training during 1977. Mr Mzinyathi was accused of being a trained member of the ANC who returned to SA with the intention of overthrowing the government by violent means. Mr
Mzinyathi alleged that he had been severely assaulted by the security police until he lost consciousness. He said he was forced to sign a statement saying that he had undergone military training in Russia between March and July 1977 although he had been in Lesotho during this time. He could not tell either the magistrate or the doctor who examined him that he had been assaulted as he was afraid that they would furnish this information to the police who would continue to assault him. The magistrate refused permission for evidence from witnesses in Lesotho to be heard on commission. Mr Mbonjeni also alleged that he had been assaulted and forced to make a statement.

Giving evidence Dr Norman Jacobson, a district surgeon, said that he had made medical reports on the accused in April 1979. He said he made sure that the police left his consulting room while he examined detainees. Mr Mzinyathi claimed to have hit his head against a table, but there were no signs of fresh assaults. He said that he had treated many detainees in the last five years and was familiar with the methods used by the security police. He said that he had been negligent in making his report as he had not reported on specific areas of alleged injuries and had not recommended X-rays for Mr Mzinyathi because he did not deem them necessary. He said he normally told the police what transpired with detainees and always gave duplicates of their complaints to the police, including their illnesses and injuries caused by alleged police assaults. He said that this was routine and he had no control over it. Dr Jacobson said that Mr Mbonjeni had complained of head and shoulder injuries and claimed that police assaulted him but that he had seen no marks which supported his claim. The magistrate accepted the statements as having been freely and voluntarily made.

In his defence Mr Mbonjeni said that he had no knowledge that Security Mr Mzinyathi was an ANC guerrilla when he came to stay with him. Trials He was acquitted in October and Mr Mzinyathi was sentenced to seven years.

On June 19, a 17 year old youth was sentenced to five years in the Johannesburg Regional Court under the Terrorism Act for having attempted to recruit a friend, Mr Lekgau, for military training. He was acquitted on a charge of having undergone military training. He alleged that he had been tortured by the security police to make an incriminating statement but the magistrate accepted his statement as admissible evidence. In the Johannesburg Regional Court on May 30 in an extremely short trial (the court record was eight pages) Mr Simon Lucky Moeketsi was sentenced to five years on charges of being a member of the PAC after leaving the country in November 1976. He appeared without legal representation and pleaded guilty.

Ms Ruth Thandi Modise (21), Mr Moses Nkosi and Mr Aaron Mogale appeared in the Kempton Park Regional Court on charges under the Terrorism Act on April 21. It was alleged that Ms Modise underwent military training in Tanzania or Angola between October 1976 and January 1978 and returned to SA with the intention of endangering the maintenance of law and order. She had been in possession of arms, ammunition and explosives. She conspired with the other
accused to set alight the clothing division of OK Bazaars and Edgars Store in
Johannesburg on March 14 in furtherance of the aims of the ANC. In February
she and the other accused were alleged to have reconnoitred the Krugersdorp
police station and administration board offices with the intention of committing
acts of sabotage. Mr Mogale and Mr Nkosi were alleged, in addition to the above,
to have aided and harboured Ms Modise on her return from military training.
Ms Modise, who was pregnant at the time of her detention, contested the
admissibility of the statement made to the security police on the grounds that she
was tortured. Giving evidence the district surgeon, Dr Norman Jacobson, said that
most of the detainees he visited complained of headaches, which he diagnosed as
tension headaches resulting from detention. Lengthy periods of interrogation, he
said, could constitute an assault. He had seen the security police subject detainees
to strenuous interrogation. In November they were found guilty as follows: Ms
Modise - an effective sentence of eight years; Mr Nkosi - five years and Mr
Mogale two years and six months suspended for five years. Mr Nkosi was granted
leave to appeal.

On April 21 Mr Ephraim Mogale, the president of COSAS, and Mr Thabo
Makunyane, a student at the University of the North, appeared on charges under
the Terrorism Act of promoting the aims of the ANC between October 1977 and
October 1979 by distributing pamphlets. Alternatively they were charged under
the Internal Security Act and Unlawful Organisations Act. They were also alleged
to have established youth clubs to promote unrest. On October 17 they were both
sentenced to eight years imprisonment. Mr Makunyane

254 was in addition sentenced to four months, to be served concurrently
with the eight years, for being in possession of banned literature.
The trial of the members of the Soweto Students League, Mr KeSecurity
dibane Mathabe (21), Mr Colin Kotu (21), Mr Simon Mashigo (19) and
Trials Mr Elias Modiga (19) which began last year continued. They were
alleged to have used petrol bombs to burn down the Rutagang Combined Primary
School on August 16, 1978, thereby attempting to kill or injure those inside. They
were also alleged to have incited riotous behaviour at the funeral of Mr Johannes
Matsobane, a prisoner who died on Robben Island. They also allegedly incited
others to set fire
to two houses and two schools in Soweto.
The state applied for the evidence of accomplices to be heard in camera,
ostensibly to protect them from death threats. Defence counsel opposed the
application on the grounds that it would defeat
the course of justice. The application was granted.
Several witnesses and two of the accused alleged that they had been tortured by
the security police. Evidence was presented on the aims and activities of the
Soweto Students League (SSL). The accused were found guilty and sentenced,
effectively, as follows: Mr Mathabe - nine years; Mr Kotu - seven years; Mr
Mashigo - five years; Mr Modiga - six years. In passing judgement the judge said
that the SSL was not a bona fide student organisation but one with ulterior
political motives and a successor of the SSRC. Defence counsel had argued that the SSL was a non-violent organisation but this submission was rejected by the judge. He refused leave to appeal.

In a separate trial two other members of the SSL, Mr Hlubi Pityana (24) and Mr Douglas Dalisile were sentenced to five years and seven years respectively on charges under the Terrorism Act, the former for inciting Mr Dalisile to undergo military training and the latter for having received military training from the ANC in Swaziland between April 1978 and April 1979.

Messrs Paul Khumalo (33), Vukile Gumenge (23), Wandile Dayile (23), Fikile Mohali (19), Xhego Dayile (18), Wandile Gcokasi (19), Lizo Khula and Vusumuzi Zibonda were acquitted on charges under the Terrorism Act in the Port Elizabeth Regional Court on April 25. They were alleged to have conspired to undergo military training in 1978.

The major part of the state's case rested on statements which the accused had made to magistrates. Defence counsel, Mr Bizos, contested the admissibility of the statements on the grounds that they had been obtained as a result of assaults. Giving evidence in denial of these allegations, Warrant Officer Gerber, a security policeman at Sanlam Building, said that in complicated cases it was advisable to make sure first of the investigation. He said that as soon as he was satisfied with what the accused had told him he took them to a magistrate.

Defence counsel submitted that this vindicated what the accused had been saying, namely that it was useless for them to protest their innocence as they were only taken to a magistrate if the investigating officer was satisfied. The statements of four of the accused were accepted as evidence but not those of the three others as the magistrate found that they had not been made according to the correct procedure.

In acquitting the accused the magistrate said that there was conflicting evidence on the way in which statements were taken from some of the accused. He was not satisfied that some form of duress was not used in obtaining them. He said that the security police had difficulty in proving offences of this nature as they often did not have exhibits. They had to rely on statements and admissions and people detained under the Terrorism Act did not confess easily.

In December 1979 Mr Elias Mabaso lodged an appeal against his conviction and sentence in May 1979. He and five others had been tried in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act. No evidence had been led, they had pleaded guilty and they were convicted on the basis of statements made to the police. In his application Mr Mabaso claimed that the proceedings were irregular. The charges had not been explained to him and his co-accused as required by the act and he had pleaded guilty because the police had promised to release him if he did so. Mr Justice Human set aside the case and ruled that it be tried by a different magistrate. Mr Mabaso, released on bail, fled the country before the trial.

There were other trials, mainly related to military training. In most the pattern was the same with the accused contesting their statements made to magistrates, alleging that they had been tortured into doing so and with the magistrate usually deciding to accept the statements as evidence. Alleged methods used by the
security police included inter alia electric shocks, suffocation, punches, sjamboks, threats of death and indefinite detention, and being made to stand for long periods.

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 to be operative from April 1, 1980 to March 31, 1981. This ban had been renewed annually since 1976.
In January the chief magistrate of Johannesburg refused an application by residents of Western Township and Newclare to march to the Johannesburg city hall in protest against proposed rent increases.
In March Mr Joseph Lengene was refused permission by a Johannesburg magistrate to hold a meeting in Soweto to discuss the residents' dissatisfaction with the community council.
In April the chief magistrate of Nkowankowa township in Tzaneen invoked the Riotous Assemblies Act to ban all open air gatherings of more than two people in the township following student demonstrations which had culminated in a confrontation with the police.
On April 27, 29 scholars and two journalists attending the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu were arrested, in terms of the Act, outside the administration offices in Mamelodi.
During the boycott of schools by colouled students thousands of people were arrested in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. In one incident 714 pupils, aged from 12 upwards, from Westbury High School in Johannesburg were arrested and appeared in an all night court session at the Newlands magistrates court. The attorney general of the Transvaal later decided not to prosecute them.
In May a 'Free Mandela' rally at the University of Natal was banned minutes before it was due to begin. Police ordered the audience to disperse. No other gatherings were included in the ban so the SRC organised an alternative meeting in support of the International Day of Solidarity with SA the following day but this too was dispersed by the security police.
In May the acting rector of Fort Hare University banned all mass meetings. On May 26 54 people, mostly priests including Bishop Tutu, were arrested when they marched in protest against the detention of the Rev John Thorne (see chapter on Churches).
In May the attorney general of the Eastern Cape decided not to prosecute 130 African children who had marched to the Grahamstown police station in April to show solidarity with 12 youths who had been arrested.

In May, 275 pupils in Uitenhage were arrested when they marched from Kwanobuhle township to town.

On June 14, two days before the commemoration of those who died in June 1976, the Minister of Justice placed a ban on all meetings of more than ten people until June 30. The ban applied to the following areas: Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vereeniging, Vanderbylpark, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock, Kirkwood, Fort Beaufort, Graaf Reinet, Albany, Cape Peninsula, Wynberg, Bellville, Goodwood, Simonstown, Kuils River, Durban, Pinetown, Inanda, Lower Tugela and Ndwendwe.9 (For information relating to defiance of the ban on gatherings and consequent violence see section on police conduct.)

The ban was criticised by black leaders as a violation of the significance which June 16 had for blacks, and by lawyers for being so wide as to embrace non-political social gatherings. On June 16 the chief magistrate in Bloemfontein placed a 48-hour ban on public gatherings in the magisterial district.

In June the chief magistrate of Uitenhage prohibited a gathering of workers at the Volkswagen plant arranged to enable union representatives to report back to the workers on wage negotiations. A strike at the factory followed.

At the end of June the minister extended to the end of August the ban on political meetings of more than ten people and included magisterial districts not included in the previous prohibition. These were Roodepoort, Springs, Benoni, Brakpan, Germiston, Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Westonaria, Pietermaritzburg, Stellenbosch, Somerset West, Strand, Worcester, East London, King Williamstown, Victoria East, Queenstown, Aliwal North, Bloemfontein and Kroonstad.10 The minister said that the ban applied in districts where ‘agitators and intimidators’ were active. He said he had information that meetings aimed at further boycotts and other subversive actions entailing the danger of renewed unrest had been planned. It also appeared, he said, that activists changed the venue of meetings planned for districts covered by the prohibition to other districts not

so covered. He would not allow these people the opportunity to disturb the ‘delicate calm’, and had extended the ban in order to ensure a return to ‘normality’. The ban was not renewed.

In response to criticism by the PFP that their by-election campaigns would be affected by the prohibition, he said that it was not his intention to include in the ban the activities of political parties wanting to conduct politics on a constitutional basis, and requests for meetings for this purpose could be lodged with magistrates.1

After consultation with the cabinet Mr Schlebusch, the Minister of Justice, refused to give blanket permission for candidates in the Natal municipal elections to hold public meetings without having to apply for permits in each case. But, he said, magistrates would be told to give permission freely.
Following the refusal by the Simonstown magistrate of an application by the PFP for a blanket exemption from the ban during the Simonstown parliamentary by-election campaign, the PFP called on the government to repeal the proclamation forthwith. The fact that parliamentary political parties could not meet except under licence from the government indicated serious totalitarian tendencies in the community. The minister said that he was not prepared to consider the PFP request because the circumstances which had necessitated the ban had not changed sufficiently to justify its being lifted. It affected all political parties in the same way, he said, and he would request the magistrate of Simonstown to grant permission for party political meetings. At the end of August the ban on political meetings of more than ten people was lifted.

In August the chief magistrate of Grahamstown prohibited funerals and burial services in the black townships over a specified weekend because of confrontations between police and residents at previous funerals. The ban on public outdoor gatherings except of a bona fide religious or sporting nature in specified areas of central Cape Town was extended from August 12, 1980 to August 11, 1982. Mr Schlebusch said that he had issued special instructions to the magistrates in Cape Town regarding the authorisation of exemptions.12

The chief magistrate of Port Elizabeth banned all meetings to commemorate the death of Mr Steve Biko on the weekend of September 13-14. On the weekends of October 11-12 and 18-19 the Lebowa government prohibited all public meetings. On the first weekend AZAPO intended to hold a meeting to discuss the detention of its leaders and the bus boycott and on the second weekend, meetings to commemorate the banning of the black consciousness organisations were planned.

A meeting of WASA on October 19 in New Brighton in Port Elizabeth was prohibited. As it was a branch executive meeting and not open to the public, the chairman of the branch said that it was not possible for it to be prohibited as the police had no jurisdiction over WASA meetings.

On June 5 the Transkei government promulgated emergency regulations. (For information on the regulations see Transkei and for

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Banned Gatherings

258 information on the use of the Riotous Assemblies Act against striking workers see section on Labour Relations.)

Banning Restriction Orders

Orders In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice pro, vided the following information relating to restriction orders in terms of the Internal Security Act during 1979:13

Section 51 (e) Section 9 (1)  
Orders issued 1 23
Orders withdrawn 0 6
Orders expired 0 12
Of these the number renewed 0 3

On May 30 in reply to a question in parliament, the minister said that there were 166 persons banned as at that date and of these 34 had left SA. As at November 30 there were 156 banned people.

Banning Orders 1980

As at November 30 twelve people had been banned, seven of them for three years, two for two years and three for five years. In December 1979 Mr Achmad Cassiem was banned for two years.

On February 27, after being released from detention under the Terrorism Act, Mr Thozamile Botha, president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO), Mr Phalo Tshume (secretary) and Mr Mona Badela, a journalist for Sunday Post who had close links with PEBCO and was chairman of the local branch of the Writers Association of SA, were banned for three years. Also banned at the same time for three years was Mr Qeqe, an executive member of PEBCO who had been released in January after spending two weeks in detention. Mr Botha and Mr Badela were house arrested from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. on weekdays and at all times over weekends.

As the terms of his banning order prevented Mr Botha from entering a factory or industrial premises he was unable to take up his former employment at Ford Motor Company. Mr Badela was prevented from continuing to work as a journalist. Both applied for a relaxation of the terms of their orders to allow them to work but this was refused. Mr Botha fled the country for Lesotho in May.

On their release from Robben Island in April Mr Mogami Moeng was banned for two years and Mr Kadir Hassim for five years. Mr Hassim was house arrested in addition.

In May Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, executive member of the Solidarity Front an chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, was banned for three years following his release from detention under the Ter"rorism Act. His banning order prohibited his entry into any educatiO"nal institution and he was unable to continue his profession as a te"cher. COSAS and AZASO, organisations representing school a university students respectively, protested against the banning.

Mrs Helen Joseph, a listed person, was banned for two years the fourth time during June.

In jLyIV Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, assistant director of the SA Coun- 259 cil for Higher Education, (SACHED) secretary of the Soweto Teachers' Action (mmittee and executive member of the National Education union of SA (NEUSA) was banned for three years. He too was pro- Banning hibited irorm entering an educational institution and so was pre- Orders vented from continuing with his work. The US government and educationist, inside SA expressed their deep concern over the banning.

In November Mr Jamoloudien Hamdulay, Mr John Issel, chairman ot the Rocklands Ratepayers' Association in Mitchell's Plain in cape To\n, and Mr John
Ferrus, regional chairman of the Labour party, were banned. All had been involved in the school boycotts and, with others, had been detained under the Internal Security Act.

The banning order of Mr John Copelyn was lifted on April 22 and that of Mr Vusumuzi Mvelase on May 25. Amnesty International collected a petition of 5000 signatures to request that the banning order of Mr Chris Mokoditoa not be renewed when it expired on July 31. He was not banned again.

Several applications were made by banned people to have the terms of their banning orders relaxed for various reasons. Mr Lawrence Ntloko was given permission to write his examinations at the University of the Witwatersrand in January although restrictions were placed on the times he left and returned to Krugersdorp. His request to stay with his parents in Soweto while writing examinations was refused.

Mr Achmad Cassiem, restricted to the magisterial district of Wynberg, was refused permission in January to visit his sick mother in Cape Town, to visit the Cape Town city library for reference books in connection with his studies and to find work in the city.

Mr Hlaku Richidi was granted permission to leave, under strict conditions, the magisterial district of Johannesburg to attend lectures at the University of South Africa.

An authorised visit to Mrs Winnie Mandela by Mrs Suzman in August was interrupted by the security police who said that the administration board had no right to give her permission to be there and told her to leave. The Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, said that he had received a full report of the incident but would not comment.

Mrs Mandela laid charges of assault and crimen injuria against a policeman at Orlando police station in April and he laid similar charges against her but the attorney general refused to prosecute in either case.

In August Mrs Mandela received permission to take up employment with the Sigma Motor company in Pretoria. She did not do so however as she was refused permission to live in Soweto. In October she was given permission to attend the funeral of a relative in Soweto. The white residents in Brandfort, the town to which she is restricted applied to the Minister of Justice to have her presence in the town reconsidered as it was causing 'unhappiness'. She was reported to have been assisting the black community in various ways.

In June Mr Govin Reddy was refused permission to move to Johannesburg to take up a post as co-ordinator for an African studies course organised by SACHED. Mr Lybon Mabasa was given permission to attend his sister's wedding in June.

In August Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa applied for an alteration of his banning order to allow him to change his residence from Shoshanguve because his house had been attacked by a member of Banning the Wit Kommando.

In October Dr Beyers Naude invited by the African Independent Churches Association to speak at the funeral of the Reverend Maye, thula, was refused permission to do so.
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that he had decided not to embark on an immediate formal review of all cases of persons restricted in terms of the Internal Security Act but to reconsider individual cases as and when such reconsideration was indicated by existing or changing circumstances. During the previous six months, he said, he had reviewed the cases of 28 persons, in some instances more than once, and had decided in four instances to withdraw the restriction notices.\(^{16}\)

Prosecutions in terms of Banning Orders
In February the Reverend David Russel was found guilty in the Parow Regional Court of 11 contraventions of his banning order, namely: being absent from the magisterial district of Wynberg, failing to report to a police station on December 6, 1979, being present at Thomas Pringle Hostel at Rhodes University between November 8 and December 8, attending a social gathering in Grahamstown city hall on December 5; and seven counts relating to his attendance at the Anglican provincial synod in Grahamstown from December 2-8.

He was sentenced to an effective 12 months, the remaining 42 months of his sentence being suspended for five years. He was released on bail pending his appeal against the conviction.\(^{17}\)

On April 17 he was sentenced to a further eight months imprisonment suspended for five years for having been absent from his home between 6 p.m. on April 25 and 6 p.m. on April 26.

In February Mr Thandisizwe Mazibuko was acquitted in the Johannesburg Regional Court on a charge of contravening his banning order by attending a social gathering at his home and attending a Political meeting of the Soweto Committee of Ten on August 19, 1979.

Father Mkhatshwa was charged with having received visitors at his home and having attended a meeting at his home in May and June 1979. The charges were withdrawn. Mr Qeqe was charged in March with having contravened his banning order by leaving the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth and travelling to Uitenhage without permission.

In April Mr Mokoena appeared in the Johannesburg magistrates court on five charges of contravening his banning order by attending two meetings of the AME Church in May 1979.

On July 11 Mr Ntlokoa was sentenced to four months imprisonment suspended for three years after being found guilty of having left the magisterial district of Krugersdorp to go to the cinema without permission.

On October 19 Mr Ntlokoa and Ms Zubeida Mayet were arrested in Krugersdorp and Lenaisia respectively and charged with contravening their banning orders by attending services in commemorative of the organisations banned on that day in 1977.

In November Ms Judy Favish was convicted in the Wynberg Regional Court on a charge of having contravened her banning order by going for a walk in a park outside her magisterial district. She was sentenced to six months conditionally suspended for three years.
On November 11 Ms Fatima Meer and Mr Baptiste Marie had the suspended sentences of their conviction for having broken their banning orders set aside on appeal in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. They had attended a dinner party in 1977. Mr Justice Didcott and Mr Justice Shearer said in judgement that what was of prime importance was the intelligibility of the legislation to those whose activities were affected by it. The definition of a social gathering in the banning orders did not perform that function and was 'incorrigibly' obscure. The orders did not exactly tell the appellants what they were required to avoid. Their contention that the definition of social gathering was void for uncertainty was therefore upheld.

Legal experts regarded the judgement as historic and said that other banned people could appeal against the provisions of their banning orders. They did not have to await prosecution before going to the Supreme Court for a declaration of their rights.

Banishment and Removal Orders
Mr Nimrod Mkele and Mr Michael Khala were deported from the Transkei to SA on their release from detention. In August the four children of the former president of the SRC at the University of the Transkei, Mr Ezra Mtshontshi, were banished to the Xalanga district. The banishment order was reported to have been originally intended for Mr Mtshontshi who, anticipating that it might be issued, had moved to King Williamstown.

Mr Mlamli Makhwethu, a former member of the ANC, was banished in August to Western Pondoland and the Reverend M Mdolo, a minister of the United Methodist Church, was banished and restricted to the Cofimvaba district. In 1979 he had refused to transfer from the Buntingville mission to Namaqualand.

Mr Joseph Kobo and Mr Livingstone Malotana who were banished from Ciskei in April 1979 after their alleged participation in a bus strike appealed to Dr Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development in September to provide them with alternative accommodation in Duncan Village, East London. Their own attempts to do so had proved fruitless.

In November the Transkei government deported one of its citizens, Mr Marcus Ngani a reporter for Sunday Post, after his release from detention.

Travel Documents
The following statistics in regard to travel documents were contained in the report of the Department of the Interior for 1979.18 During the year:

261 205 794 passports were issued, 79 refused and 12 withdrawn;
4 291 other travel documents were issued and 23 refused;
4 291 exit permits and one permanent exit permit were issued; Travel 246
517 visas were issued;19
Restrictions 103 persons renounced and 38 were deprived of SA citizenship;
876 deportation orders were issued; 260 applications for SA citizenship were refused and 4 255 approved. In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of the Interior said that of those whose passports were withdrawn in 1979 five were white, four were African, two Indian and one coloured and of those who were refused passports or the renewal of their passports 31 were African, 24 were white, 18 Indian and six coloured. 2°

In January the government refused to allow the Reverend Jesse Jackson to bring a delegation to SA to investigate the labour unrest at Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth. Mr Johan Maree, senior lecturer in industrial sociology at the University of Cape Town, was refused a passport to travel to the United States on an international visitors programme. The general secretary of the SA Council of Sport Mr M N Pather, was granted a passport. However, this was withdrawn again in June, a few days before he was to leave for the United States to take up the position of adviser to the UN Special Committee on Apartheid for a few months.

In February Ms Mankekolo Mahlungu, secretary of the Soweto Committee of Ten, was refused a passport for the third time and was unable to accept an invitation by the US government. The visa exemption granted to Swaziland citizens was withdrawn from the Bishop of Swaziland, Bishop Mandlenkos Zwane, so that he was unable to attend the plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference in Pretoria. The visa exemption of Mr Mike Pitos, a freelance journalist living in Lesotho, was also withdrawn.

In March the application for a passport by Mrs Winnie Mandela in order to travel to India to receive the Jawaharlal Nehru Award on behalf of her husband was refused. The withdrawal of the passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary general of the SA Council of Churches, met with international protest both from governments and churches in several countries. Mr Fanyana Mazibuko was unable to take up an invitation to travel to America extended by several institutions in that country because he was refused a passport.

In April Mr Gavin Robson, a freelance journalist scheduled to visit America at the invitation of the state department, had his passport withdrawn.

In May the government refused to grant visas to 13 West German newsmen who had been invited by the SACC to tour SA. It refused a visa to the director of the American Lutheran Church, pr May.

In July Ms Lorraine Tabane, a community worker for the Domestic Workers and Employers Project, was refused a passport to travel to Canada to study. Father S Mkhathwa, a banned per(ni was refused a passport to travel to Swaziland to attend the funeral of Bishop Zwane. Passports for three officials of the Federation of 5 Trade Unions, who wished to attend the conference of the Interl’”

Jial Metalworkers Federation in Britain, were refused. The Reverend T Anthony, a Canadian who had marched through Johannesburg, ith other clergymen in protest against the detention of the Reverend Thorne, was refused a visa to enter SA to stand trial with the Exiles others charged. The government
refused to grant Mr Garfield Todd, now a member of the Zimbabwe senate, a visa. Mr Todd had been invited to speak at the University of the Witwatersrand. The government had demanded a copy of his speech beforehand.

In August the government refused to renew the passport of Mr Selby Msimang, former secretary-general of the ANC, so he was unable to visit his daughter in Swaziland. Mr Justin Nyoka, under-secretary for information for the Zimbabwe government, invited by the University of Cape Town to deliver a lecture, was refused a visa.

In October Dr Beyers Naude was refused a passport to attend the centennial festival of the Free University of Amsterdam. The government refused an entry visa to Mr Paul Stephenson, a member of the British Sports Council who had been invited by SACOS to investigate the position of non-racial sport in SA. In November Ms Zinzi Mandela was refused a passport to collect the Janusz Korczak Literary Award for her book Black As I Am in New York. The passport of Mr Mohammed Bhana, formerly banned, was withdrawn.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that visas for a New Zealand television team had been refused. He would not disclose the reasons. In reply to another question he said that 11 members of the Foreign Policy Study Commission on US policy towards Southern Africa were granted visas to visit SA from January 19 to February 4.22

There were several reports of the government refusing to grant SA passports to people whom it regarded as being citizens of independent homelands. As they refused to take out homeland citizenship and obtain homeland travel documents they were unable to travel overseas.

Political Exiles

In January it was reported that Mr Jimmy Elias Mabaso had fled the country in December after winning his appeal against a five year sentence for sabotage imposed in May 1979.

In March, after having been refused a passport, Ms Mankekolo Mahlangu, secretary of the Soweto Committee of Ten, left the country and sought asylum in Botswana.

In April Mr Thozamile Botha left the country and was granted political asylum in Lesotho. He was later joined by his wife, Mrs Fekeza Botha. In September he was invited by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid to address a meeting organised to express solidarity with SA political prisoners.

In May it was reported that the former Transvaal regional organ of SASO Mr Jacob Selebi, had fled the country and settled in Botswana after he lost his appeal against his conviction and two year sentence for obstructing the course of justice.
Detentions

In July Mr Ngwako Ramatlhodi, a former law student at the University of the North, fled the country and was granted political asylum in Lesotho. Chief Sabata Dalinyebo fled from the Transkei after being deposed as paramount chief. Father Drake Tshenkeng, banned former vice-president of the BPC, left the country in August with his family. In July Ms Lephina Khanyele was given leave by the London High Court to appeal against the refusal by the Home Secretary to grant her political asylum. In September Mr Martin Seve, president of the Black Municipal Workers' Union in Johannesburg was believed to have left the country following charges of sabotage being laid against three BMWU executive members for their alleged role in the strike by municipal workers. Ms Florence Mancotywa, publicity secretary for the Transkei Progressive Democratic Party, fled the Transkei for Lesotho because of the continued harassment and detentions she was subjected to. In November Father John Oshers, a SA exile living in Lesotho, was refused re-entry after a visit to London and declared a prohibited immigrant.

Detentions during 1979

According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons for the year July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979, the following numbers of people were detained: 34 under the Terrorism Act, 37 under Section 101(a) bis of the Internal Security Act, 20 under Section 12B of the Internal Security Act, 21 under the General Law Amendment Act and one under Section 185 of the Criminal Procedure Act. During 1979 42 males and six females under the age of 18 were detained in terms of the General Law Amendment Act and Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Those held under the General Law Amendment Act were held for periods ranging from 4-14 days. Those held under the Terrorism Act were held for the following periods:

- up to 30 days: 12
- 30-60 days: 6
- 61-90 days: 4
- 91-120 days: 2
- 121-150 days: 3

As according to the minister, there were no detentions in terms of Section 101(a) bis of the Internal Security Act during 1979. No cases were referred to the review committee established in terms of the act. In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that during the period January 1, 1979 to February 5, 1980, 1 002 visits were made by the inspectors appointed to visit persons detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Seven cases of ill-treatment were reported to him as a result of the visits, three of which were referred to the Attorney General who declined to prosecute. Three
were found, after investigation, to be groundless and one was still being investigated.26

Detentions
petentions 1980
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Police said that as at March 3,
49 people were detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, 14 in terms of
Section 12B of the Internal Security Act, one in terms of Section 185 of the
Criminal Procedure Act and six in terms of Section 22 of the General Law
Amendment Act.27
On May 828 the minister said that 21 people had been detained in terms of the
General Law Amendment Act and on June 6, he said that 156 people had been
detained in terms of the act since May 23.29
According to records kept by the Institute a total of 768 people had been detained
for varying periods as at November 30. A breakdown of these is as follows:
School students 341
University and college students 117
Lecturers, researchers, principals and
teachers 32
political leaders 67
Community workers or those actively
involved 39
Journalists (excluding those briefly
detained for questioning) 10
Workers and trade unionists 21
Those whose capacity is unknown 141
Total 768
In addition 146 people were known to be detained in terms of the Ciskei
Emergency Regulations, one in Venda and 41 in the Transkei in terms of the
Transkei Public Security Act.

Students
The high number of students detained was attributable to the school boycotts, to
which the state responded by detaining the leaders and those actively involved.
Events at Fort Hare also resulted in many students being detained. The detentions
occurred mainly during April, May and June. The provincial distribution of
school Students detained was as follows: Western Cape - 123; Eastern Cape -121;
Transvaal - 69; Natal - 6; OFS - 22. Most of those detained were held under the
General Law Amendment Act which aLOw for a maximum period of 14 days' 
detention. However 35 students were detained under Section 10(1) bis of the
Internal Security Act (excluding those who were detained under the act but who
were not specified as students and have been included in the 'unknown' egory in
the table above): Mr Tyrone Seale, Mr Ridwaan Adams, F4s Nazeema
Mohammed, Mr Shaun Braun, Ms Esme Fillmore, Mr NLogelo Lekgoro, Mr
Bradley Potgieter, Mr Ashraf Karodien, Mr

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Owen Geldenhuys, Mr Johannes Flemmit, Ms Nathalie Leon, Ms Rabiah Samuels, Mr George Simms, Ms Cornelius Scheepers, Ms Sindizwe Pekade, Mr Juan Kariem, Mr Godfrey Julies, Mr Randolph Erasmus, Mr Ahmed Cachalia, Mr Daniel Netnou, Mr Frankie Maas, dorp, Ms Nicollette van Driel, Mr Rustim Naidoo and Mr Johannes Sym; they were held for various periods ranging from one to four months.

COSAS (the Congress of SA Students) was hard hit by detentions as 17 of its officials and members were detained. Those detained were as follows: Mr Thango Lamani, chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch (May 23 to September 25 and then again on October 28); Mr Wantu Zenzile, an executive member detained April 22, released May 6, redetained May 15 and released on May 25; Mr Modise Metsing who was detained on March 14 under the Terrorism Act; Mr Ismail Moecketsi, chairman of the Sharperville branch, detained on May 2 and released after one day; Mr Thami Gqweta, an executive member who was detained on November 19, 1979 and released on April 14, 1980 then released on August 7 and released on August 11; Mr Godfrey Bothule, a member in Port Elizabeth who was detained on May 24 and again on October 28; Mr Vusi Gqoba, the national organiser who was detained on November 23, 1979, released on April 14, 1980 and then redetained on April 29; Mr Titi Mthenjane, a member who was detained on December 16, 1979, released on May 14, 1980 and then redetained on May 30; Mr Jabulani Ngwenya who was detained on December 16, 1979, released on May 14, 1980, redetained on August 7 and released on August 11; and Mr Simon Nkodi and Mr Petrus Malindi secretary and chairman respectively of the Vaal branch who were detained on October 18.

Others detained were Mr Ntoampe Mampuru, vice chairman of the Pretoria branch and Mr Oupa Masuku, an executive member of the branch. Mr Mpho Masetla, Mr Johannes Matsena and Mr Jacob Maleho, detained in November and December last year, were released on May 14. Mr Ephraim Mogale, the president, who was also detained at that time was charged under the Terrorism Act. Also detained was Mr Duma Lamani (September 9-25), the president of the Port Elizabeth Students Committee who was detained while at a meeting held to discuss the school boycotts.

Protests arose over the detention of Ms Nomvula Mashiya (14) Ms Mildred Maxhama (15), Ms Ethel Mdlalana (15), Ms Carol Plaatjies (15), Ms Nancy Quika (15) and Ms Elizabeth Nzule (13) on August 14, initially in terms of the General Law Amendment Act but then under the Terrorism Act. The fact that children of such a young age could be held under a law which provides for solitary confinement was attacked.

Fifty-one of the university students detained were from Fort Hare. Those detained in terms of Section 10(1) bis of the Internal Security Act were as follows: Messrs Mathew Thlhanole, Tebego Les, habane, Cameron Kopane, Moses Mogamise, Leslie Mokunyane' Johnson Poto, Mlungisi Bushwana, Sandile Masina, Mbulelo Koman, Jolisa Kobus, Diphoko 'Tshithlo, Kenosi Thulo, Walter Thebe, Reuben Sibisi, Lulama Kesi, Mqibisi Magoga, Kenneth Twala, Gladmafl Mkwai, Vena Xola, Bafana Khumalo, Sydwell Matakata, Nrhimot-e

Those students from the University of the Western Cape who were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act were: Messrs Ebrahim Patel, Cecil Esau, Winston Middleton, Allan Liebenberg, Cornelius Arries and Kenneth Jacobs. Mr Patrick Ricketts, a training college student was also detained.

Students from the University of Durban-Westville detained in terms of the Internal Security Act were: Messrs Yunus Shaik, Zunaid Osman, Cassiem Bawa, Althaf Karrim, Parmasiveq Soobrayan, yacoob Abba-Omar, Adhir Maharaj and Ridwhan Motani. Those from the University of Natal Medical School detained under the act were: Mr Vejay Ramluckan, president of the SRC and Mr Trevor Smith, vice president.

Seven students were detained in terms of the Terrorism Act. Mr Edwin Angless, a student at the University of Cape Town and Mr Andrew Boraine, president of NUSAS, who was detained after addressing a meeting at the University of Natal, Durban were held in mid-June and released on August 6. Four students at Rhodes University, Messrs Mike Kenyon, Devon Pillay, Chris Watters and Allan Zinn were detained under the Terrorism Act in July and August, and Mr Sello Sealetsa was detained in April.

Lecturers, Researchers, Teachers

Teachers detained in terms of the Internal Security Act in Cape Town were: Messrs Patrick Bastian, Errol Yon, Otto van Nooie, Eden Kariem and Allie Savahl. Mr Parsat Paharboo, a teacher in Durban, was also detained.

Lecturers detained under the act included Mr Mike Morris, a lecturer in economic history at the University of Cape Town and voluntary worker for the Western Province General Workers Union, and from the University of the Western Cape Mr Basil Kevido, a sociology lecturer, Mr Dennis Adonis, mathematics lecturer, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Professor of Afrikaans and Nederlands, Mr Jan PerSons, lecturer, and Mr Jimmy Ellis and Ms Lila Adams, both sociology lecturers. On their release Messrs Adonis, Ellis, Gerwel and Persons were required to sign a statement undertaking not to participate in any student activities during the unrest.

Mr Vuyani Mqinqwana, a researcher at the Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research and Mr Richard Stevens, codirector of the Institute of Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town were also detained.

Lecturers, teachers and researchers detained in terms of the General Law Amendment Act included Dr Neville Alexander, Mr Ishmail Momoniat, a science lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand and Mr Mohammed Moosa, a labour research officer at the same university. Eight other teachers and two school principals were also detained in terms of the General Law Amendment Act.

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Mr Guy Berger, a lecturer in journalism at Rhodes University and Mr Greg Fredericks, a teacher at John Bisseker Senior Secondary School in East London, were detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.
Political Leaders.

Of the political leaders detained, 41 were officials or members of AZAPO. The acting president, Ms Nombulelo Melane, was detained in terms of the Internal Security Act on March 19 and released on September 26 and the suspended president Mr Curtis Nkondo was detained on April 23 and released on May 23.

Dr Yusuf Variava, an AZAPO official, was also detained in terms of the Internal Security Act from May 2 to August 10 after addressing a large public meeting in Lenasia on May 1. While in detention he was given permission to give medical attention to his sick father and later to attend his funeral. The AZAPO chairman, Mr Ismael Mkhabela, was detained together with the secretary, Ms Thoko Mpaphane, on March 14 and released on April 14.

Others detained were Mr Kibi Tshabangu, chairman of Sebokeng branch, Mr Duke More, chairman of KwaThema branch who was detained together with five members of the executive committee, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, an executive member, Mr Sammy Tlobatla, the national secretary and Mr Nimrod Yende, vice chairman of the Soweto branch.

On June 19 the chairman of the Welkom branch, Mr Velile Soga, the deputy chairman, Mr Nkosinathi Dladla, the treasurer, Mr MerryMan Mgabadeli and an executive member, Mr Michael Ndamase were detained in connection with the commemoration services held on June 16.

On October 6 the chairman of the Seshego branch, Mr Raphesu and two members of the executive, Mr Moses Moalusi and Mr Mangope Ramohlola were detained in terms of the General Law Amendment Act and subsequently the Terrorism Act. Mr Ramohlola was transferred to detention in terms of the Internal Security Act. The AZAPO branch had been active in the organisation of a bus boycott in the area. Also detained under the General Law Amendment Act on October 6 were the chairman of the Northern Transvaal branch, Mr Mmutle Phasha, the vice-chairman Mr David Mohwibudi and two executive members, the Reverend Mamobola and Mr Molala. With the exception of Mr Molala, they were subsequently transferred to detention in terms of the Internal Security Act. Later in October, six members of the Northern Transvaal branch were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Six executive members of the Natal Indian Congress, which was involved in the school boycotts, were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act. Some of the members, as lawyers, had been representing students detained or charged as a result of the boycotts.

Those detained were Mr George Sewpersadh (president), Dr Farouk Meer (vice-president), Mr M Naidoo, Mr Rabbi Bughwandeen, Mr Thumba Pillay, Mr Seth Morgan and Mr Saravan Chetty, who was also a member of the Pietermaritzburg Housing Committee.

Several executive members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation were detained in January, preceding a planned stayaWay to protest against the proposed
removal of residents in Walmer. Mr Thozamile Botha (president), Mr Phalo Tshume (secretary), and Mr Mono Badela, a founding member and journalist on Sunday Post, were detained on January 10, initially in terms of the General Law Amendment Act and later under the Terrorism Act. They were released on February 27. Also detained were two executive members, Mr Dan Qeqe and Mr Hole.

Other politically prominent people detained were: Messrs Peter Jones, Johnny Issel, Vuyesile Mdleleni, Mokie Cekesani, Achmad Cassiem, Miley Richards (chairman of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee), Mohammed Dangor (executive member of the committee), Hennie Ferrus (official of the Coloured Labour Party in Cape Town) and Paul David (chairman of the Release Mandela Committee in Natal).

Trade Unionists and Workers
Several workers were detained while involved in strikes, and 11 trade unionists were detained.

Three officials of the Western Province General Workers Union, Ms Diane Cooper, Mr Wilson Sidina and Mr David Lewis were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act in May and June and released in August. Another official, Ms Zora Mehломakulu, was released on June 20 after being questioned. Mr John Frankish, organiser of the WPGWU in Cape Town, was also detained in June in terms of the act and released in August.

Two organisers of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, Mr Bonisile Norushe and Mr Oscar Mpetha were detained in June and August respectively.

Three officials of the Black Municipal Workers Union in Johannesburg were detained in August following the strike by municipal workers. They were subsequently charged with sabotage and released on bail.

Mr Phillip Masia, an organiser for the Industrial Aid Centre in Vereeniging, was detained on December 15, 1979 and released on July 10, 1980.

On November 7, ten officials and members of the SA Allied Workers Union, five officials and members of the Western Province General Workers Union and three officials of the Food and Canning Workers Union were detained in East London in terms of the Ciskei Emergency Regulations.

Community Workers
A number of people actively involved in issues concerning their communities were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act. These included Ms Theresa Solomon, chairman of the Woodlands Rent Committee, secretary of the Combined Mitchells Plain Residents' Association and assistant to the Dependants' Conference; Ms Edna van Harte, student affairs officer and prominent community worker in Cape Town; Mr Rashaad Khan, a lawyer in Cape Town who had been providing legal assistance to the Committee of 81; Ms Jean Naidoo, a worker at the Community Arts Project; Mr Rommel Roberts, a prominent community worker in Cape Town; Mr Trevor Wentzel, a prominent community worker and official of AZAPO; Mr

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Abduraman Achmat, a community worker in Hanover Park; Mr Michael Sedgewick, a youth organiser of the Churches’-Urban Planning Commission; Mr Moses Chikane, a community worker for the Roman Catholic Church in Pretoria and Ms Eedah Hassam, a member of the Laudium Action Committee in Pretoria.

Mr Monde Mditshwa, chairman of the Moswelane Relief Fund, was detained on November 29, released on April 14 and redetained in May.

Journalists
Ms Zubeida Jaffer, a reporter for the Cape Times, was initially detained under the General Law Amendment Act on August 26, and later under the Terrorism Act. She was released on October 15 on bail after charges of possessing banned literature.

Others detained during the year were Messrs Ernest Nehemia Motshumi (The Friend), Willie Nkosi (Star), Willie Bokola (Post), Kingdom Lolwane (Post), Charles Nqakula (Daily Despatch), Marimutto Subramoney (Daily News), Malose Matsemela (Post) and Michael Nemitz, a reporter for a German newspaper, detained while visiting SA.

On October 13, 25 journalists returning from the WASA conference in Cape Town were detained for five hours for questioning in Bloemfontein. Mr Arnold Geyer, a reporter for the Rand Daily Mail was detained on October 20 while reporting the annual conference of the Methodist Church in Welkom. He was released after four days. (For detentions of journalists in the Transkei see section on press control.)

Homelands
Among those detained in terms of the Ciskei Emergency Regulations were Mr Mzamo Njokweni, a member of the Ciskei legislative assembly, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, the national organiser of the SA Allied Workers’ Union in Mdantsane and Mr Hintsa Siwisa, a lawyer in Mdantsane who had been assisting Ciskei school students during the boycotts and who was detained on September 22.

Among those detained in the Transkei were former Robben Island prisoners Mr Sipho Ndaleni and Mr Joe Gwabeni, members of the Democratic opposition party, members of the Youth League and others. (For further information see sections on Matters Relating to Press Control and Political Developments in the Homelands.)

Of those detained in the Transkei in previous years the following were released during the year: Mr Toboti Waters, released after six months in detention; Mr Joseph Kobo, detained on August 17, 1979 and released on October 12, 1980, and Mr Hector Ncokazi, detained on November 22, 1979 and released on April 14.

Some members of the PAC detained in the Transkei in November and December 1978 were released on September 23. They were
Messrs Vuyisele Mketi, Z Gushu, S Mapundulo and Mack Mabuza. Those of the group who remained in detention were: Messrs S Gqweta, Irvin Mketi, Rex Mketi, Trevor Mketi, M Vitshima and Ms Violet Mketi. In August they appealed to the UN, OAU, Amnesty International and Red Cross to intervene on their behalf. In February the detainees had gone on a hunger strike to protest against their continued detention and as a result two were admitted to hospital.

Matters Relating to Detentions

Several accused and witnesses in security trials made allegations regarding torture at the hands of the security police in order to coerce them to make statements. (See also preceding section on security trials.) Mr Jarius Kgogong lost his appeal in the Transvaal Supreme Court in May against his conviction and two year sentence on a charge of obstructing the course of justice, by giving evidence in 1976 at the trial of Mr J Molokeng and others, which conflicted with the statement he made to the security police. He told the court that the statement had not been freely and voluntarily made.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Police said that 32 actions for damages brought against the state by persons detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act or by their next of kin, were pending. The plaintiffs were: A Xaba, J Nene, T Magubane, R Cooper, M Ramphela, L Marai, J Ganya, H Keke, M Khala, J Landingwe, M Shinners, M Matsobane, B Ntoele, W Khanyile, C Ndhlovu, N Mohapi, S Cooper, X S Mene, T Duna, G Moni, D Matsobane, Z Mothopeng, R Tsoletsane, T Hlatshwayo, M Thlale, R Maphanga, M Maphumulo, D Chileza, H Phungula, G Manzi, C Montwedi and D S Montsitsi.

In March Ms Cynthia Montwedi accepted an out of court settlement for a claim against the Minister of Police for R1000 damages. The amount she received was unreported. She said in her claim that while she was detained at John Vorster Square, she had been assaulted, kicked and punched and given electric shocks during interrogation. She was also made to stand for long periods resulting in swollen feet; during some of these periods she was compelled to hold objects above her head. She sustained a perforated ear drum after she had been hit across the ears. A doctor who had examined her while she was in detention said she appeared to be mentally exhausted and had been unable to speak. He had advised the doctor on duty to check on her every ten minutes.

Ms Fekeze Botha, wife of the banned Mr Thozamile Botha, applied for a court interdict in May restraining the security police from molesting or assaulting her. She was held for questioning by the security police in Port Elizabeth following the departure of her husband for Lesotho. She alleged that she was assaulted by three security policemen, Col Erasmus, head of the security police in the Eastern Cape, Captain du Plessis and Lieut J Moolman. They had allegedly struck her with their fists, kicked her in the back and thrown a brick at her. During the interrogation she was on her feet from 8.50 p.m. on Monday night to 3.00 a.m. the next morning and was forced to sign a statement that two men had assisted her husband to leave the country. She believed that the police would assault
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her further especially if they did not ascertain the whereabouts of her husband or how he had disappeared. She had been threatened with further assault if she did not notify the police when her husband made contact with her.
During her interrogation her brother Mr Makinana, had been brought into the room crying, his eyes bloodshot and blood streaming out of his mouth. Mr Makinana presented an affidavit in court alleging that he had been assaulted. The security police denied the allegations.
Mr Justice Howie granted the application, the interdict also serving as an interim order pending her civil claim for damages against the Minister of Police which would have to be undertaken within two months or else the temporary interdict would lapse. Judge Howie found that it was not possible on the grounds of the sworn statements before the court to determine whether Ms Botha had been assaulted and threatened or not. However, it was possible that she would attempt to get in touch with her husband and the security police would then question her again. He ordered the security policemen not to assault her and ordered Col Erasmus to ensure that the security policemen under his command did not do so.
In June Mr Justice de Kock, sitting in the Cape Town Supreme Court, granted an interim interdict restraining the security police at Worcester from assaulting Mr John Hennie Ferrus, an Internal Security Act detainee. The application had been brought by his wife who had been told that he was being assaulted. The interdict was granted until July 23 when the judge would hear evidence why the order should be made final. The order was withdrawn in July.
In July an Internal Security Act detainee, Mr Rashaad Khan, applied for his detention order to be set aside in the Cape Town Supreme Court. He alleged that his detention had been in bad faith undertaken for the improper purpose of forcing him to become an informer and was therefore null and void. He had not engaged in activities intended to endanger the maintenance of public order. The security police had told him he would be released if he revealed the names of the people leading the school, bus and meat boycotts. He said that he was being kept under oppressive and humiliating conditions and as a result had suffered poor health, tension and anxiety. Opposing the application, Col Kotze of the security police denied the allegations and said that Mr Khan was a threat to public order.
Mr Justice Fagan dismissed the application with costs, saying that the Supreme Court had no right to question the decisions of the Minister of Justice regarding detentions provided the minister had not acted in bad faith, with an ulterior motive or had failed to apply his mind to the matter.
In August, Ms Diane Cooper, another Internal Security Act detainee, made an urgent application to the Cape Town Supreme Court for an order to end the solitary confinement to which she had been subjected since her detention on May 29. She said that the lack of social contact had caused severe psychological pressure on her. She had explained her difficulties to a psychiatrist who examined her on July 25. The psychiatrist gave her report to the prison authorities who refused to give either her or her lawyers a copy of it. Her conditions
of imprisonment had remained unchanged. Her request to have contact with other Internal Security detainees in the prison was refused on the grounds that she was white while the rest of the detainees were black. She said that she was incarcerated in a cell measuring approximately six by four metres and was allowed out for two half-hour periods each day to bathe and exercise. The only persons with whom she came into contact were the warders, many of whom refused to speak to her." She was released the day after lodging her application.

On September 5 the mother of Ms Pumeza Ngxale, a schoolgirl from Mdantsane detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations, brought an urgent application to the Grahamstown Supreme Court for an order restraining the Ciskei police from assaulting her daughter.

Mr Justice Cloete granted a temporary interdict restraining the Ciskei Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of the Ciskei Police, the Mdantsane station commander and the head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services from assaulting her. On September 11 the defendants denied the allegations saying that Ms Pumeza had been injured while attempting to escape arrest. The hospital records could not be produced as they had 'disappeared'. On October 11 the application was dismissed with costs. Mr Justice Cloete said that all the affidavits supporting the application were based on hearsay.

The application by Mr Curtis Nkondo to have the detention of his brother Mr Zinjiva Nkondo declared unlawful (see 1979 Survey p 145) was dismissed with costs in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court on March 5. Mr Z Nkondo was charged under the Terrorism Act but the charges were withdrawn, and after negotiations between the Lesotho and SA governments he was released and taken to Lesotho.

On July 8 57 of the Internal Security Act detainees at Victor Verster Prison in Cape Town went on a hunger strike in support of their demand that they be charged or released, and in protest against the alleged victimisation of certain persons, inadequate medical facilities and harassment by prison officials. A few days later all 66 of such detainees were on strike. Five detainees had been charged with contravening prison regulations by ignoring a command to keep quiet. During the trial Mr A Achmat collapsed and was taken to hospital. Nine of the detainees were treated in the prison hospital as a result of the hunger strike. It ended on July 16.

Ten women detainees at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town went on a hunger strike from July 11-18 and 15 detainees at Modderbee Prison in Benoni went on a hunger strike from July 12-15. After the extension of their detention orders on August 8, Ms Nombulelo Melane and Ms Nicolette van Driel, the two remaining detainees at Pollsmoor Prison, went on a hunger strike which lasted 15 days. The mass detentions throughout the country during the school boycotts elicited protests from several organisations both inside SA and overseas. In July a petition was organised in Cape Town to protest against the detentions and demand the immediate release of those detained. Following their release from detention at Modderbee approximately 40 detainees issued a declaration attacking the policy of apartheid, articulating their aspirations for a future SA and
attacking all forms of detention and imprisonment resulting from apartheid. Their detention, they said, had not in any way changed their views or mitigated their resolve to continue striving for a united democratic SA.

In February the Transvaal Law Society decided to request that the Minister of Justice institute an inquiry into alleged assaults on detainees and accused persons. Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, called for an open judicial inquiry into the allegations of torture. He also said that Section 6 of the Terrorism Act should be abolished or amended because as long as this provision remained on the statute books mental cruelty directed at detainees was both authorised and inevitable. Professor Matthews of the Law Faculty at Natal University expressed doubt about the efficacy of a judicial inquiry and suggested that a better alternative would be to allow regular visits to detainees by members of their families and their own doctors. The system whereby detainees were visited by an inspector was criticised as grossly inadequate.

Following his release from detention De Yusuf Variava said that the inspectors were totally ineffective in their handling of complaints. Approaches made to Mr A J Mouton, the inspector for the Transvaal and OFS, went unheeded and brought no change or improvement in the conditions of detention. This was corroborated by other unnamed detainees who had been released.

In November Professor F Ames, head of the department of neurology at UCT, said that he and several doctors intended forming a national medical ethics organisation which would attempt to ensure that the security police did not prevent detainees from getting adequate medical treatment. They wanted a revision of security laws to give detainees the right to be attended by a doctor of their choice at any time.

On August 11th the Minister of Justice promulgated regulations stipulating that the provisions of the Prisons Act of 1959 and the regulations promulgated in terms of the act as they applied to unconvicted awaiting trial prisoners would also apply to persons detained in terms of Section 10 (a) bis of the Internal Security Act, providing that (a) no person shall have access to any detainee except with the approval of the officer in command of the place of detention; (b) a detainee shall not communicate in writing with any person outside the place of detention except with the consent of the officer in command; (c) the officer in command shall receive and pay to an account any money paid in on behalf of a detainee to such amount as may be considered reasonable by such officer; (d) a reasonable supply of private clothing approved by the officer in NO can be received at the place of detention on behalf of the detainee. A spokesman for the Department of Justice said that these conditions were not new nor had any of them been changed in 11
Deaths in Detention

The case involving the claim for damages against the Minister of Police lodged by Ms Mohapi continued in January. (See 1979 Suve p 149). Evidence on commission was heard from Ms Theniwa Mtintso, banned and exiled in Lesotho. In evidence she alleged that she had been tortured in several ways while detained at the Kei Road police station, including being suffocated by a wet towel drawn tightly across her face. After this, she alleged, Major Hanson a security policeman had said to her: "Now you know how Mohapi died". Ms Mohapi, Dr Mamphele Ramphele and Mr Malusi Mpumlwana also gave evidence. Witnesses for both the defence and the state gave evidence on the alleged suicide note. Summing up the defence case, Mr Andrew Wilson SC said that the attitude of the police was inexplicable except on the grounds that they either knew Mr Mohapi had not committed suicide, or that they did not want to find out the truth. The conclusion that Mr Mohapi did not commit suicide but died as a result of injuries inflicted during assaults by the security police was unavoidable, and was the only reasonably probable inference to be drawn from the facts before the court. He submitted that Mr Mohapi had been assaulted to extract desperately needed information. Force had been applied to his neck in such a manner that he was prevented from breathing properly and had died. The suicide note was a forgery, he said, and part of an elaborate plan of the police to disguise the real cause of death.

Ms Mohapi's claim was dismissed with costs estimated to be between R100 000 and R200 000. In judgement Mr Justice Smallberger said that the case revolved entirely around the suicide note. After examination of the handwriting evidence he had accepted the evidence of police witnesses and rejected that of the two overseas handwriting experts, Dr Jules Grant and Professor Clarence Bhln. The suicide note was genuine, he said, and he had no reason to doubt Police evidence that Mr Mohapi hanged himself. Even if he had not been able to make a positive finding on the suicide note he would not have been able to make a judgement in favour of Ms Mohapi. The evidence of various policemen who testified stood virtually uncontradicted, he said, and in those cases where there was conflict, it was not material to the ultimate finding. He rejected Ms Mtintso's evidence. Ms Mohapi's attorneys lodged an appeal against the finding on July 24.

Ir Steve Biko
For further developments see section on Health.

KSaul olisile Ndumo

Mr Ndumo died in Umtata while in detention under the Transkei Public Security Act. He had been detained in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow the Transkei government. He was said to have died from natural cause,
related to his suffering from heart trouble, diabetes and high blood pressure. No inquest into his death was held. Security

Operations Banned Organisations

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that the assets of the organisations banned on October 19, 1977, had been liquidated except for those of the Christian Institute. The balances remaining in respect of each organisation after payment of debts were given as follows: ASSECA R2 184; Black Community Pro.
grammes R1 3 481.76; Black Parents Association R76 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; Soweto Students' Representative Council R150.00; Union of Black Journalists
R1 656.70; Zimele Trust Fund R64 627.88.39

On August 22 the Minister of Justice said that the assets of the 18 banned organisations would be given to the Human Sciences Re.
search Council for use in research on community development among blacks. To this amount would be added any money available in future from the liquidation of the assets of the Christian Institute and the SSRC which were still subject to litigation. The HSRC refused to accept the money as it did not wish to alienate certain members of the research community who had expressed objections, and did not wish to have aspersions cast on its autonomy. It asked the government to reallocate the money.40

Services to commemorate the banning of the organisations were held in several places on October 19.

In January the Transkei Youth League which had committed itself to the struggle for freedom and independence in SA, was banned. The Minister of Justice, Mr T Letlaka, said that any of the existing parties could establish youth leagues as vehicles to bring the youth of the Transkei within their ranks, implying that youth organisations without such party links were unacceptable.41

National Intelligence Services (NIS) and the Security Police In December 1979, Mr Arthur McGiven, a former employee of the Department of National Security (DONS - previously BOS5) who left SA in 1978 in possession of DONS documents, revealed these to the Observer, a London newspaper. He said that the government used DONS (the name was later changed to NIS) as a politcal police force to spy on and destroy organisations, political parties groups and individuals who were opposed to its policies.

He said that DONS consisted of the following divisions: Division A dealt with white subversion including political parties, the preS5 churches, students, academics, writers, diplomatic corps, home foreign-based pressure groups, sports bodies and individuals; Division B dealt with black subversion including black consciousSfiet1 organisations, black education, ANC and PAC; Division C dealt "i coloured people, Indians, the homelands and SWA/Namibia; Division D and F dealt with economic and political analysis of Atr
The operational arm consisting of several divisions controlled agents inside and outside SA. He said that DONS maintained a network of spies and agents inside SA which paralleled the work of the security police. At times the two agencies collaborated but more often they worked separately on a 50-50 basis to give the National Security Council two assessments of perceived threats. He said that the mail of several people, including Mrs Suzman had been intercepted since 1976 and that the department, concerned about the growing strength of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), had tapped its telephones. He also said that BOSS, after the failure of the Schlebusch Commission to stifle the left-wing student movement, had launched a campaign to counter the growing strength of NUSAS by finding groups of conservative students to print right-wing pamphlets and by subsidising a sophisticated rightwing campus newspaper called Campus Independent at the University of the Witwatersrand.14 The Prime Minister requested the head of NIS, Mr A van Wyk, to submit a report on the disclosures.

During the no confidence debate the leader of the opposition Dr van Zyl Slabbert (PFP), said that BOSS had transgressed the boundaries of its functions if as it had been alleged its prime function was to provide information on internal, legitimate political organisations and that all the other functions it performed were a cover for this main purpose. He asked for the minister's assurance that NIS was not involved in activities of this nature.

Mrs Suzman said that the disclosures by Mr McGiven showed the government to be guilty of breaching parliamentary privilege and the privacy of persons and organisations which did not have the slightest connection with subversion.3 This view was supported by the SA Party.

The Prime Minister, in reply, said that the allegations that NIS was established as a party political instrument were untrue. He gave an assurance that no meetings of legitimate political parties were 'bugged' by NIS, and that no members of parliament were receiving unfavourable attention’. He said that the newly appointed head of IS had been instructed together with colleagues from other intelligence services, to submit a security survey to the leaders of the three Parliamentary parties provided they treated it as confidential.44

The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications said that the written request for the interception of the communications of certain individuals had to be motivated if such an interception was to take place. No request had been made nor was any permission granted or the mail of any member of parliament to be opened or for his telephones to be tapped. It was, however, possible that this had "en done by someone else without permission.45

The Deputy Minister of Defence and NIS said that the reason VS Mrs Suzman’s mail had been intercepted was the misuse of her name, address, envelopes and letterheads by certain people. It was a "clgnised practice for hostile elements to misuse the titles of imt. rant persons to avoid interception. Mrs Suzman, he said could claim immunity for people who abused her mail facilities.46
Security Operations

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Mrs Suzman proposed a motion in the house calling for the pointment of a select committee to inquire into and report on the circumstances which led to authority being granted for the interception of postal and telephonic communications to or from members of parliament and related matters.47 The HNP lodged a complaint about NIS surveillance with the Advocate-General. In his report, tabled in parliament and accepted by the Prime Minister, he found that NIS had illegally tapped the telephones of the HNP. The two post office officials who gave permission for the interception of telephone calls by the editor of the HNP newspaper Die Afrikaner, Mr Beaumont Schoeman, had not done so in a manner authorised by the act. He recommended that Section 118A of the Post Office Act, which provides for the interception of mail and telephone conversations "in the interests of state security", be changed to enforce stricter control over its application and to protect the privacy of the individual.48

After the disclosures by Mr McGivern, Mr Craig Williamson, assistant director of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) an organisation based in Geneva which provided scholarships for black students from inter alia SA, and funded organisations Opposed to apartheid, revealed that he was a security police agent. He had been operating as such since 1968 and had held positions on the University of the Witwatersrand SRC and the NUSAS executive. The Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, said that Mr Williamson's position in the IUEF had allowed him to gather information not only on this organisation but also the SACP, ANC and PAC.49 Fears were expressed that those people and organisations which received money from the IUEF would be endangered. The money for SA projects had been channelled by Mr Williamson and monitored by the security police. As a result of this exposure the IUEF faced a severe crisis with donor countries withdrawing their support. A commission of inquiry was instituted into its affairs and discovered, among other things, serious financial irregularities. The committee recommended that the IUEF disband. In November a new organisation, the International Association for Education and Liberation, was established to fill the gap left by the IUEF's collapse.

Another security police agent who was exposed was the former executive member of NUSAS and an official of the IUEF, Mr Karl Edwards. He distributed the IUEF funds inside SA and established the Rural and Educational Development Trust and ran the Educational Research Trust.

The Swiss government sent an official protest to the SA government in February denouncing the illegal activities of SA spies operating in Switzerland.50 As a result of these and other disclosures during the year regarding spies at universities Mr Norman Manoim, SRC president of the University of the Witwatersrand, requested the university council express its opposition publicly to spies on campus, make spying, breach of the rules of discipline and to inform the parents of present and future students of its stand. Mr Manoim said that spies on
c011 pus would adversely affect academic freedom in that students """" lectures would censor themselves. The vice-chancellor of the 01 said that the presence of government informers was to be de-ed, but the university would not take any action against them as such action could damage the fabric of the university.

Other revelations of NIS activities concerned the surveillance of Left Wing trade unions and verligte Afrikaners.

Left Wing Political Violence
On January 4 three men attacked the Soekmekaar police station in Lebowa with AK-47 assault rifles and hand grenades. No damage was caused and one policeman was slightly injured. The police launched an extensive search. On January 8 a man was killed at Duiwelskloof and the police discovered an arms cache nearby.

On January 8 petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of Ford cortina plant workers in Port Elizabeth who had returned to work contrary to a decision taken by the workers not to do so. An attempt was made to blow up the supermarket of Mr A T Yeko in Port Elizabeth on January 15. Mr Yeko had become unpopular when he resigned from the executive of PEBCO because of policy differences on negotiation and announced his intention to establish a rival organisation which would enter into negotiations.

On January 22 a man was killed and two children seriously injured in a bomb explosion in a house in Atteridgeville, Pretoria.

On January 22 three guerrillas, Mr Thami Makhubu, Mr Wilfred Madela and Mr Fannie Mafoko, all of whom had left SA after the 1976 revolt in Soweto, took 25 people hostage in the Volkskas Bank in Silverton, Pretoria and made certain demands. The Minister of Police refused to disclose these, but it was reported that they demanded to see the Prime Minister and the former State President, Mr Vorster, the release of Mr Mandela and Mr Mange, R100 000 and an aircraft to fly to Maputo. In a shoot-out with the police the three guerrillas and two hostages were killed and nine hostages and two policemen were seriously wounded. A survey of 504 people in Soweto conducted by Marplan (Pty) Limited for the Star indicated strong support for the guerrillas. Thousands of people attended their funerals in Soweto."

In January the police unearthed a huge arsenal of rocket launchers, guns, ammunition and explosives and a large quantity of ANC Pamphlets buried near a mine dump near Springs.

In February a cache of arms was found in northern Natal and a trading store in the Inqwavuma district in northern Zululand was destroyed. Parts of an RPG-7 rocket launcher were found among the debris. Police spokesmen said that they had discovered another Cache of arms near Durban and had arrested three guerrillas who had entered SA from Swaziland with the intention of sabotaging a specific and important target.52 A live hand grenade was found on a bridge over the Vaal River in the Western Transvaal.

In March caches of arms were found in Pondoland. Three Ople were killed and two seriously injured when a hand grenade found in the veld exploded in a house
near Herschell in the northern hranskei. Two guerrillas were arrested in Mondlo township in Vryh id in northern Natal and a small quantity of ammunition, makarov b"Iso5, grenades and other equipment was found. In 0huthatswana three guerrillas clashed with the security forces.

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Two were killed and the other escaped. The police said that they found a large arms cache nearby.
On April 4 eleven guerrillas attacked the Booysens police stati. in Johannesburg using hand grenades, RPG-7 rocket launchers and AK-47 assault rifles. No one was injured. Pamphlets demanding tb, release of political prisoners, and specifically Nelson Mandela a., Walter Sisulu, were found near the police station. The ANC claims responsibility for the attack.
On June 1, the storage tanks at the fuel from coal plant at Sasol 1 and Natref were blown up. An unsuccessful attempt was made on those at Sasol 2. Total damage amounted to R58m. The ANC and SACP claimed responsibility. On June 2 three bombs found at the recruiting offices of SASOL in Springs were defused by the police. In July the ANC claimed responsibility for fires at the Yeoville tele. phone exchange and the Edenvale plastics factory although the auth. orities attributed the fires to other causes.53
Mr Tennyson Makiwane, a former expelled ANC official working for the Transkei government, was shot dead. It was believed that the ANC was responsible for his death. (For information on his conflicts with the ANC see section on Political Refugees.)
Security police defused a SA made mortar bomb found near the wall of Emmerentia dam. In August what was believed to be a mortar bomb found near Heatonville outside Empangeni exploded, seriously injuring two children. Two men were killed when a hand grenade exploded in the servants' room in a house in Sandton. In August a security policeman, Detective Segeant T G Zondi, was shot at with an AK-47 rifle in Sobantu Village outside Pietermaritzburg while in his car. He was not injured.
On October 15 the main Soweto-Johannesburg railway line at Dube was blown up causing a four hour delay in the train service. The police found ANC pamphlets at the scene. The previous day a meeting of Soweto residents had decided to call a stayaway from work to protest against the increase in rents and against the visit to Soweto by Dr Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development.
On October 29 two hand grenades of foreign origin exploded in the offices of the West Rand Administration Board in Diepkloof, Soweto. The building was extensively damaged and a security guard and his girlfriend were injured. On October 30, the house of the Transkei counsel in Port Elizabeth was damaged by a powerful bomb placed on the doorstep. No one was injured. On November 21 there was a shoot-out between the police and a man in a house in Chiawelo, Soweto. A police bullet seriously injured an eight-year-old boy staying in the house and the man was killed when a hand grenade exploded in his hand.
During the school boycotts, destruction of property such as houses, shops, businesses and community halls occurred, particularly in the coloured townships of Cape Town.

Right Wing Political Violence
Despite allegations and speculations about the killers of Dr 'I' Turner and Mr Robert Smit, and despite police investigations the latter case, no progress was reported.

In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Police said that the Attorney-General had declined to prosecute two right wing political organisations, the National Front of SA and the NS Boerevasie or any of their members although both organisations had been investigated by the police. Whether steps would be taken or contemplated would be determined by the future activities of the organisations. 54

On April 12 a petrol bomb was thrown into the hall of the SAIRR headquarters at Auden House, Braamfontein. In a letter sent to the Institute the Wit Kommando (White Commando) claimed responsibility, saying it opposed racial integration of whatever kind and would attack integrated places and destroy them as well as institutions and organisations which financed and promoted integration. The group also claimed responsibility for a fire at the Metro drive-in at Halfway House which had become non-racial.

In April a bomb exploded in a building occupied by the French Anti-Apartheid Committee in Paris wounding four people. Mr Moumbaris, a member of the committee, claimed that there had been other attacks.

In May the tombstone of Mr Solomon Mahlungu who had been executed for his role in the Goch Street shootings was desecrated. A few days afterwards an attempt was made on the life of his mother in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

On June 27 the headquarters of the 'Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Between All People' in Paris was bombed for the tenth time in the past seven years.

In August the office of Professor Jan Lombard at Pretoria University was blown up and an anonymous caller threatened to plant a bomb in his home. Prof Lombard was an economic advisor to the Prime Minister and had drawn up a plan for an autonomous confederal system in Natal. After the attack the Wit Kommando sent a letter to the Pretoria News claiming responsibility. The letter reiterated its opposition to integration and said that those promoting it and the 'crypto-marxist design' of the government would be eliminated. Professor Wiehahn, chairman of the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, said that he had been forced to adopt elaborate security precautions at his home after receiving several telephone calls threatening his life after the publication of this report.

In August the Wit Kommando threatened to kill Bishop Tutu if he had not left the country within a month. Shots were fired at the homes of a community leader Mr Peter Mopps in Buffalo Flats in East London, Mr Alistair Bentley, the chairman of the East London branch of the PFP youth branch and Mr Bunny Stevens, chairman of the local branch of the SAIRR and part-time PFP organiser.
In September Mr Hassan Howa received telephone calls from a member of the Wit Commando who threatened to kill him. The Right Wing.

Ifrika J Moselane, two executive members of POLSTU, the verligte Arriaans student organisation, and Mr Mpho Mashinini, who addressed the POLSTU conference, were also threatened.

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References
1 Post February 8
2 Star August 2 1 Star June 14
4 Hansard 2 Q col 3 Alternative charges are not included in the classification. The figures are based on records kept by the Institute of Race Relations
6 Post, Rand Daily Mail August 22, Rand Daily Mail September 12
Rand Daily Mail August 26 a GG 6895 GN 594, March 28 ' GG 7081 GN 1301, June 14 10 GG 7115 GN 1405, June 30 11 Star July 2 12 GG 7175 GN 1682, Post August 9 I Hansard 4 Q col 211
4 Hansard 15 Q col 817
1 Rand Daily Mail August 28 ', Hansard 2 Q col 46 17 Argus February 26, Citizen March 4 18 RP 21/80
19 Citizens of certain countries do not require visas to enter SA 20 Hansard 2 Q col 26 21 Hansard 17 Q col 863 22 Hansard 17 Q col 879 23 RP 36/80

CONTROL OF THE MEDIA
Statistics on Control of Publications: 1979
According to the 1979 Annual Report of the Department of the interior', the following statistics reflect the activities of the Directorate of Publications and the Publications Appeal Board:
1 publications or objects submitted for examination:
by members of the public 120
by customs officers 822
by publishers 204
by the police 903
by the Directorate 89
Total 2 138

2 Of these:
those decided undesirable 1 207
those decided not undesirable 869
under consideration as at December 31 62

3 Films:
examined and rejected 34
approved unconditionally 322
approved subject to excisions and/or age restrictions 288

4 Public entertainment:
considered and rejected in toto 1
approved unconditionally 12
approved conditionally 11

5 Periodicals of which every edition was declared undesirable 21
6 Publications or objects, the possession of which was prohibited 2 420
7 Appeals to the Publications Appeal Board against decisions that
Publications were undesirable:
Decision Set Set aside
confirmed aside conditionally
Publications or objects 10 12 1
Films 8 1 2
Public entertainments 1 - -
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8 Appeals by the minister or Director of Publications against deci
sions that publications were not undesirable: Decision Confirmed Set
Publications confirmed conditionally aside
Control Publications or objects 19 1 9
Films - - 2

9 Publications declared undesirable submitted for review:
Decided not Again decided Approved undesirable undesirable conditional,
Publications or objects 16 13
Films 5 11 9

In addition 15 applications for the variation or deletion of con. ditions imposed in
respect of films previously approved Were
granted, 13 of them partially and none were refused.

According to the consolidated list of publications banned during 1979 their
bannings were in terms of the following provisions.4 (Foot.
note No 4 contains explanations of provisions (a) to (e.).)
(a) 560 (77)
(b) 13(-)
Matters Relating to Publications Control

In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of the Interior said that during 1979-80, R246 314 was spent on the administration of the Publications Act.

According to the Report of the Department of the Interior, since the constitution of the Committee of Experts, the Appeal Board had accepted its advice in all but three of 12 cases. The most important cases, where the advice had been accepted, were Andre Briks Gerugte van Reen and 'n Dro6 Wit Seisoen and Nadine Gordinier I Burgher's Daughter. The Appeal Board indicated in its decisions that harsh political criticism formed part of SA political life and that the reasonable reader was aware of this and would read the books in that light.

As regards scientific, as opposed to propaganda, works on communism, the report said that the Appeal Board had decided these should not be prohibited as the general ban on the distribution of such works was effective enough. This would make it easier for researchers to use such works. The report said that during 199ir total of 699 ad hoc committees on publications were appointed.

these, 301 were appointed to deal with publications and objects, 376 films and 22 with public or proposed public entertainments. The former chairman of the Appeal Board, Judge L Snyman, presented a paper at a conference on censorship organised by the Department of Public Administration of the University of Cape Town although arguing for retention of censorship controls, revealed the workings of the system and its weaknesses. He said that no consistency in the decisions made by the committees was possible as there were so many, each with its own opinion. They were incapable of objective judgement as they based their decisions on their personal views rather than community values. He suggested that only one body, the Directorate of Publications, should make the decisions. He also said that the censorship system, because it operated on the basis of complaints, was not able to prevent the inflow of foreign literature.

In August the government, on the recommendation of an official committee of inquiry into the prevention of the importation of 'undesirable' publications, ordered firms importing books to do their own censoring by deciding which books appeared undesirable. Officials would make spot checks on imported books. Importers who co-operated by preventing the importation of undesirable literature would have their shipments embargoed less often for examination by Post Office and customs officials. Those discovered in spot-checks to be unco-operative would have their goods embargoed more frequently which would entail financial...
loss. Some importers expressed opposition to the role of censor being delegated to
them, while others said that they had always imposed self-censorship to avoid
financial loss.
A notable decision during the year was the lifting of the ban on Etienne Leroux's
Magersfontein. As two years had elapsed since the original banning the publishers
lodged an appeal in March for the ban to be lifted. This was despite the fact that in
January a publications committee had decided that while the book was no longer
undesirable because it was indecent, offensive and harmful to public morals, it
was still undesirable as being offensive to the religious feelings or convictions of
a section of the population. In lifting the ban the Appeal Board said that the likely
reader would be someone Seriously interested in literature who would understand
the satirical genre in which the book was written. Professor J C van Rooyen,
newly appointed chairman of the Appeal Board, said that the criterion of the
'probable reader' would in future assume more importance in the board's
deliberations
In June a book on sex by William Strydom, Sophie's Choice, previously banned,
was passed by the Publications Appeal Board on Condition that it be made
available to adults only and from libraries
'T0.Y- Professor van Rooyen said that this was an attempt to find a so"on to the
problem that arose when a book of literary value was t found to be undesirable. It
would make the book available to I r Serious reading public only. Booksellers,
publishers and librarians thought the experiment would not work because the
restrictions would be impossible to enforce.'
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Control

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Publications Control
The new trend in the decisions of the Appeal Board evoked a variety of
interpretations. Many progressive writers viewed the trend as the beginning of a
subtler and more sophisticated form of censorship. Nadine Gordimer said that
the censors' new emphasis on literary standards was an excuse to tighten political
control of contemporary black writing. Despite the fact that a number of books by
well known white, especially Afrikaans, writers had been Lin. banned since Prof-
van Rooyen assumed office, there had been no significant change in the repressive
censorship apparatus. The uu. bannings were aimed at placating white writers and
at dividing the interests of black and white writers. The reason for the banning of
works by black writers was not lack of literary quality but political control over
reading matter likely to reach the black masses.9
Professor John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University
of the Witwatersrand, said, on the other hand, that greater tolerance towards black
writers and a greater liberality to. wards creative writing on political matters was
being shown by the Publications Control Board."8
At the conference on censorship mentioned previously Professor Andre Brink
said that dissenting Afrikaans writers were subjected to stricter control than their
English counterparts because they posed a threat to the monolithic structure of
power politics in the country. However, this was not as severe as the intimidation
and harassment of black writers.1
In February four ministers of religion, including the Reverend David Russell,
were acquitted in the Cape Town Supreme Court on an appeal against a
conviction for having produced two undesirable publications: The Role of the
Riot Police in the Burnings and Killings, Nyanga Cape Town, Christmas 1976
and Message for 1977- to Those in Authority and to White SA. They were said to
be harmful to relations between sections of the population and prejudicial to the
safety of the state, the general welfare or peace and good order. Mr Justice
Watermeyer said that two questions arose in relation to the appeal, namely
whether the magistrate was correct in holding that the publications were
undesirable and whether the accused had the necessary mens rea (subjective
intent).
Concerning Message he said that it was true that the publication called attention
to the unfair consequences of racial discriminatiol and there might be some who
felt that such things were better left unsaid and that any publication thereof would
be harmful to race re, lations in SA. However, the language used was quite
moderate, it was basically a criticism of government policy, its stated aim was the
achievement of reconciliation between the races, it called attention to various
issues for the purpose of contributing toward peaceful relations and although it
criticised racial discrimination it was not pointedly directed at all whites, nor
did it encourage any form ot Vio" lent change. In his opinion, parliament did not
intend the pro dUC" tion of such a document to constitute an offence.
Concerning Riot Police he said that while the normal read would gain a very poor
impression of the riot police if the allegai°ih or even some of them were true, it
would be in the interests Of ted general welfare, peace and good orde r that they be
comm L11'C4
to those in authority and their recurrence prevented. However, he tid that he did
not have to make a finding on the undesirability of
he document as the state had failed to prove that the producers had the necessary
mens rea.12
On July 13 students at the University of Cape Town were discharged after being
charged with having distributed the Freedom Charter of the African National
Congress and pamphlets calling for the release of Nelson Mandela. The
magistrate accepted the argument of defence counsel that none of the documents
had been declared undesirable at the time of distribution - this occurred six hours
later with the publication of the government gazette. The accused, therefore, did
not have the necessary criminal intent to commit an offence."
In March Mrs Dorothy Cleminshaw was sentenced to R100 or one month's
imprisonment for being in possession of banned publications. In her defence she
said that it was impossible to know which publications were banned for
possession and which for distribution. She lacked the necessary guilty intent to
render the possession of the books unlawful. She was found guilty and served her
prison sentence in protest. In April the Reverend David Russel was sentenced to R500 or three months' imprisonment for being in possession of a banned book. Student publications continued to be subjected to heavy censorship. As at October 31, 55 student publications had been banned. The ban imposed in 1979 on all further editions of Varsity, the student newspaper at the University of Cape Town, was lifted after an appeal was lodged.

Significant books banned during the year included Forced Landing, a compilation of works by black writers edited by Mr Mothobi Mutloase. According to the Publications Control Board the reason for the ban was the inclusion of a speech by SWAPO leader, Mr Herman Toiva Ja Toiva which, it said, had no literary value and could only discredit the state in the eyes of blacks. The rest of the book, it said, was not undesirable.4

In accordance with a decision by PEN, a writers' organisation, that no appeals be lodged against bannings as this only lent legitimacy to and reinforced the censorship system, no appeal was lodged. However, the Directorate lodged an appeal against the banning of this book and that of Vol 3 No 2 of Staffrider, a literary magazine mainly for black writers. Forced Landing was later unbanned.

A book on forced removals and resettlement, Black Uprooting F," mWhite SA by Margaret Nash, a researcher for the SA Council of Churches, was banned in May. Several publications dealing with the bus boycotts, school boy's, strikes and the Free Mandela campaign were banned. These are mostly pamphlets but included four consecutive issues of Musi cews and the April issue of Race Relations News, which carried a Pub., form for the release of Mr Mandela which the Directorate of can Ications said was tantamount to propagating the aims of the AfrihrStitutional Congress. Race Relations News was unbanned after the appeal.

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Publications
Control

288 The importation of all publications published by the following organisations, except on the authority of a permit, was prohibited.
SA Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF), Halt All Racist TOurs Press Movement (HART), International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Control: Africa, Anti-Apartheid Movement (Britain), SA Congress of Trade Unions, African National Congress and Pan African Congress.
Commission Press Control
Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Reporting of Security Matters Regarding the SA Defence Force and the SA Police
Force 15
The original terms of reference of the commission were widened to include the national security interest of the SA Police emanating from the provisions of section 5 of the Police Act (which requires that newsworthy information should sometimes not be made known) as well as an examination of the effectiveness of this act.
The commission's report was met with a guarded, sceptical response by some sections of the press. As the editor of the Rand Daily Mail said on April 16, the report was "a curious mixture of good and bad, of enlightened judgement and unsubstantiated tendentiousness". Among the 'good' things which the report accepted were the role of the press as a watchdog of government; the importance of keeping the public as fully informed as possible especially in a situation of escalating conflict; that the authorities were wrong in holding the view that they should make available as little information as possible; that only information which genuinely affected the basic security of the state should be kept secret; that the authorities were sometimes oversensitive to press reporting so that they withheld information which in fact had nothing to do with national security; and that the principle that restrictive legislation be kept to a minimum and that the authorities rely on co-operation with the press to control sensitive information be endorsed.

What was considered to be 'bad' was the proposed system whereby news was to be 'managed' by the authorities. This included recommendations on the proposed partnership between the authorities and the media, the formulation of a communication policy by the government as part of its total national strategy to neutralise the propaganda onslaught, the 'more refined' system of accreditation of military correspondents, the 'more selective' system of issuing press identity cards by the police and the registration of foreign correspondents. The latter proposals were interpreted as giving the authorities the power to sift out those reporters whom they found undesirable for one reason or another.

The report seemed ambiguous and contradictory in its attempt to reconcile the desirability of a free press and the interests of national security and commentators suggested that much would depend on how the government interpreted the recommendations. The commission, assuming the existence of a consensus about the nature and direction of South African society among its inhabitants, asserted that members of society had an obligation to support the national interest. In a situation where the society was threatened, the security of the state took precedence over the rights of the individual.

The commission said that SA faced the threat of external intervention by the Soviet Union, and the USA and their puppets whose aim was the removal of the present form of government and its replacement by black majority rule. SA society, the commission asserted, needed to unite to combat this threat. The essential feature of the 'internal manoeuvre', according to the commission, was to develop issues such as the lack of political representation, the desire for liberation from oppression and labour exploitation, in order to cause confrontation and to discredit the existing political order, and to cause polarisation between black and white. Front organisations and agents provocateurs were used to orchestrate agitation campaigns which culminated in demonstrations and, if possible, violence. The target was the broad mass of the people and it was on their perception of the situation and of their future prospects that the outcome of the conflict depended.
An aspect of this 'total onslaught' mentioned in the report was the campaign of war resistance and civil disobedience, the aim of which was to undermine the morale of the people by making the concepts of political change and freedom fighters morally acceptable, while describing the state machinery for the maintenance of law and order as immoral. People would then refuse, on moral grounds, to take up arms to defend an 'unjust' social order.

Freedom of the press was subordinate to the promotion of the national interest, and the report said that the government had sole discretion in determining the requirements of national security as regards the disclosure of information. While, according to the report, it was the press's function to report on errors, inefficiencies, misconduct and corruption on the part of government officials, this freedom should not be used to start a 'witchhunt' by means of all sorts of insinuations, repetitions and exaggerations.

The freedom to criticise should not be used to "denigrate, weaken or undermine" the state or its institutions, and should not be confused with the right to revolutionary or instigatory behaviour. The right to criticise did not mean creating enmity between the 'racial groups and publications which did this, or which generated hostility between sections of the population and the SADF, should be punished. The commission proposed the notion of 'loyal criticism' or 'fair and acceptable criticism' which sought to achieve the desired change in a 'legitimate and peaceful manner'.

The press should guard against assisting in the propagation of Unlawful and unjustifiable' political objectives. The media should minimise the psychological impact of guerrilla activities by downplaying them.

The commission resisted the legislative enforcement of these ideas, as urged by SADF and SAP witnesses who appeared before it, _this would serve to heighten the conflict between the state and D Press. Instead it suggested the voluntary co-operation of the less. If the press refused to co-operate, legislation could be used against it.

289
Press
Control:
Steyn Commission

290 The commission argued that the SADF and the SAP "served as symbols of national unity" and were "the upholders/guarantors national security, law and the existing order", and therefore should be regarded by the citizens as their 'friends'.

Control Nothing should be published which cast aspersions on the image and effectiveness of the SADF and SAP. There should be no public disclosure of information relating to the order of battle, operational methods, equipment and actions of the security forces. No news which adversely affected the defence, capability of the state, the combat-readiness of the security forces and the safety, mobility and efficacy of the armaments industry should be published. What could
be published about the SADF and SAP was information on salary structures, malpractices and inefficiency.

The commission made recommendations for the amendment of certain laws. It also recommended that legislation be introduced for the purpose of identifying 'foreign propaganda' aimed at destabilising the internal situation. The proposed legislation would require the registration of all agents inside SA collecting or distributing information on behalf of a foreign body. Periodically the agent would be required to give a report to the Department of Justice on all his/her activities as well as copies of each speech and of statements made. These would be monitored and evaluated to determine whether any laws had been contravened.

Mr R Swart (PFP) commented as follows: "Some of the recommendations of the commission, if implemented by the government, will be used to place the press in an impossible straitjacket where the press will be threatened by very tough penalties. Others such as the reference to national strategy may well be used to muzzle the press if it does not conform to National Party strategy. Liaison between the government and the press is one thing but laying down a rigid policy as to the part the press can play in the so-called national strategy could be very onerous. Having regard to the government's general attitude to press freedom, if this is interpreted by the government as meaning that the press should be enslaved to report only that which the government decrees is in the interests of the national strategy, then the concept of the free press in SA will become a myth". 16

Matters Relating to Press Control
(For legislation affecting the press see Second Police Amendment Act, National Supplies Key Points Act and Armaments Development and Production Act.)

Government relations with the press deteriorated steadily during the year as unrest among school students and workers intensified. This trend was demonstrated by the warnings given to the press by government officials.

At a National Party meeting in February the Minister of police Mr le Grange, said that the government was closely watching the black newspaper in Johannesburg. In April Mr Marais Stey, Minister of Coloured and Indian Affairs, attacked English-language newspapers, asserting that 'propaganda' exaggerating the extent of school boycott was encouraging students to join in. Newspapers, he said, would have to decide whether they were on the side of law and order or whether they were on the side of those attempting to bring about change by force.

Control
During his vote in parliament, the Prime Minister called on the press to formulate a policy to prevent the publication of "revolutionary aims and objectives" and warned that, if the press did not co-operate, the government would take steps to
ensure that it did so. The government would not allow an organised daily campaign of negative propaganda such as that during the school boycotts, to precipitate confrontation. He called on the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) to clearly state what it intended to do about the recommendations of the Steyn Commission.18

All editors rejected these threats, saying that what was being requested was the suppression of 'unpleasant' news.

Mr A Schlebusch, Minister of the Interior, said during the debate on his vote that with national security being endangered by attacks such as those on the SASOL plant, he would not hesitate to use his powers to establish a fact-finding committee with at least one magistrate to investigate alleged transgressions by newspapers."

At the Republic Day Celebrations at the Rand Afrikaans University, the Prime Minister said that the government had proof that the ANC had intensified its efforts to infiltrate certain sections of the mass media which were playing a leading role in the onslaught on SA.

The view that the press played a role in the fomenting of revolt, and should therefore be controlled (although contrary to the finding of Cilli Commission of Inquiry into the 1976 Soweto riots), was applied practically during the June unrest which developed during the commemoration of those who died in 1976. On June 17 the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, placed a ban on journalists entering townships and other 'operational areas', i.e. those in which the police were active. Areas declared operational were SoWeto, Noordgesig (Johannesburg), Bonteheuwel (Cape Town), and the African townships in Bloemfontein. Only selected groups of local journalists, under police escort, would be allowed to enter these areas.

He claimed that members of the SA press had informed the police that they had seen foreign television cameramen inciting people '0 Soweto to riot. No foreign journalists would be allowed to enter these areas and their permits to do so were withdrawn.

At a meeting between foreign journalists and the head of SAP Public relations, Colonel Mellet, he said that the police had a videotape of a foreign television cameraman asking youths in Soweto to give the black power salute so that they could be filmed. Col Mellet refused to identify the man and said he could not show the videotape as it was not available. The police, he said, felt that without the presence of the press in operational areas of the townships, there would be little trouble. The riots had received exaggerated coverage over the overseas press.

292 The journalists present said the police were trying to prevent reporting on the conflict situation in SA, and that foreign journalists had not been present at all places where there was conflict.'
However, any police officer in those areas could ask journalists to leave if, in the officer's opinion, the situation warranted this. The ban was condemned by newspaper editors and Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of Post, said that he and his reporters would defy the ban. Journalists escorted on conducted tours complained that they were only taken to places where all was quiet. Some foreign journalists ignored the ban, thereby courting arrest, which was the fate of a West German television cameraman in a coloured area in Cape Town.

On June 20, with widespread strikes in Uitenhage, the whole of the town as well as the surrounding townships was declared an operational area. Journalists could only enter with written permission and only under police escort. No photographs could be taken. On June 20 a photographer, Mr Mike Holmes, following a march by strikers through the town, had his camera and film confiscated and was taken to the police station for questioning, after which he was released.

The culmination of these developments was the announcement on June 27 of a commission of inquiry into the mass media under the chairmanship of Mr Justice M T Steyn, who had also chaired the Commission of Inquiry into the Reporting of Security Matters. The new commission's terms of reference were "to inquire into and report on the question of whether the conduct and the handling of matters by the mass media meets the needs and interests of the SA community and the demands of the times and, if not, how they can be improved".

Mr Schlebusch, Minister of the Interior, said that no consensus had been reached between the NPU and the government on certain important issues. He did not think the Press Council had "enough teeth" and did not think the Press Code of Conduct was wide enough to be effective. As an indication of what he would like to see introduced he referred to the proposals he had made in 1979.22 The NPU and all the English and Afrikaans newspapers were opposed to the appointment of a commission of inquiry, arguing that it was an attempt by the government to harass the press into supporting the 'total national strategy'. The NPU requested that one of the commissioners, Mr Basil Landau, withdraw, alleging that he had in the past made hostile comments about the press and had thus prejudged the issues facing the commission.

Mr Joel Mervis, on behalf of the International Press Institute, made an in limine (preliminary) application calling on the commission to refuse to carry out its mandate. He said that the government's terms of reference were loaded in that they implied that there was something already wrong and that a change was necessary. The commission, he said, had been appointed in the hope that its findings would give the government the opportunity and justification for imposing further restraints on the press. The terms of reference, he Press said, were inconsistent with the accepted function of newspapers Control which was to publish news, and not "to meet the needs and interests of the community or the demands of the times", in
the words of the commission's terms of reference. The terms were also incompatible with the professional and ethical standards by which a newspaper was published. The conflict between the press and the government was a matter to be solved amongst themselves.23

On August 10 at a special hearing convened for the purpose, the commission considered the application and in a lengthy judgement delivered later, rejected its submissions and decided to carry out its mandate, which it said was neutral and allowed for a fair, objective and just inquiry.

In August the Minister of Police said that the government was investigating ways of limiting publicity of funerals of insurgents killed by the police, which were used by political agitators to incite people. In October he accused the English language newspapers, which had a monopoly amongst the black reading public, of creating negative anti-government attitudes which could threaten state security. The press were barred from reporting on the schools unrest in the Ciskei in August and on the Onverwacht resettlement camp in September.

In April SA Associated Newspapers and two editors of the Rand Daily Mail won an appeal against their conviction for having contravened the Commissions Act by anticipating the findings of the Erasmus Commission. The judges, in setting aside the convictions, said that the law of contempt of court should not be made applicable to a commission of inquiry. To 'anticipate' the findings of a commission meant to anticipate the actual findings and not any possible findings it might make. No offence was committed by merely saying something about a matter within the commission's terms of reference. Defence counsel argued that the principle of free speech was at issue since, if the conviction was upheld, public discussion of matters of importance could be stifled because commissions concerning them were sitting.

The application of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, which requires a person to appear in court and answer questions about the source of information, continued to harass journalists. In February Mr John Mattison, a reporter for the Sunday Express, lost an appeal in the Cape Town Supreme Court against his conviction for refusing to answer questions on the source of the information on the foreign bank account of the Christian League of Southern Africa. The presiding judge, Mr Justice Rose-Innes, said that a journalist had no privilege greater than any other person entitling him to refuse to assist in a criminal investigation or to refuse to disclose information.

In May the sentence of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Writers Association of SA and news-editor of Post, was set aside. The judge referred the case back to the magistrate for inquiry into the privileges that Mr Sisulu claimed he had against self-incrimination. Defence counsel had argued that to answer the questions relating to 294 telephone calls with a Mr T Mkhwanazi, who was convicted under the Terrorism Act, would be to possibly incriminate himself and lay himself open to criminal proceedings for an offence about which he had not been properly informed. When the case was reheard in September Mr Sisulu was discharged.
In May the assistant editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Ken Owen, was ordered by
the Commissioner of Police to answer questions about statements made to the
Erasmus Commission that he knew an official who could provide clues to the
murder of Dr Smit. Mr Owen, having promised this official that his name would
be kept secret, refused to identify him and was therefore charged. The charges
were withdrawn after his informant made a statement to the police.
In August the editors of the Rand Daily Mail and the Star and the Rand Daily
Mail’s labour correspondent were subpoenaed to provide all the information in
their possession concerning Mr Joseph Mavi, the president of the Black Municipal
Workers Union in Johannesburg, who had been involved in the strike by the
members of the union and who faced possible charges of sabotage which the
police were investigating. The editors had refused voluntarily to make available
the information which had been gleaned from interviews with Mr Mavi.
In September a journalist, Miss L Loxton, was subpoenaed to give information on
possible charges of contempt of court against
the former Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn.
In August police investigated charges against Mr Joseph Kruger, a member of the
Potchefstroom University SRC and leading member of POLSTU (the ASB
breakaway movement), under section 27B of the Police Act which prohibits
publication of any untrue information about police actions. He was alleged to
have made a statement about the arbitrary powers of detention of the security
police. Charges against Beeld which published the statement were also investigated.
In October the editor of the Transvaler paid a R75 admission of guilt fine on a
charge in terms of the Internal Security Act of having quoted an exiled ANC
member, Mr Thabo Mbeki, who was a listed
person. Several journalists were refused press identity cards.
According to the annual report of the SA Press Council for the year ended April
30, there were 139 complaints against the press. Of these, 48 were discussed, 38
lapsed and 46 were settled between the parties. Only seven complaints reached
the stage of being heard by the council, three being settled by the parties while
four were
upheld.
In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of the Interior said that during
1979 the Press Council received 12 complaints from government departments,
seven of which were from the Commissioner of Police, and one each from the
departments of Justice Community Development, Defence, Indian Affairs and
Environmental Planning and Energy. Five of the complaints were against the
Rand Daily Mail. Of those complaints which had already been considered (nine)
two had been rejected by the Council.24 In reply to a question as to whether the
government had lodged any complaints against the press in 1979 the minister said
the government lodged two com-
plaints, one against the Sunday Times and one against the Sunday Ex-295 press.
A resolution passed at the conference of the SA Society of Journalists rejected the fundamental philosophy underlying the Steyn Press Commission. The conference dissociated itself from statements by Control the NPU which it claimed passively accepted and even hailed potentially restrictive and/or discriminatory legislation and expressed its abhorrence of the continued attempts by the security police and/or the National Intelligence Service to recruit journalists as informers.2"

The Transkei government also took action against journalists and newspapers. In January Chief Minister Matanzima threatened to ban Sunday Post from the Transkei for printing a letter from a Transkeian which was critical of the rule of the Matanzima brothers. The Daily Dispatch was also threatened with banning for carrying a mistaken report that the Chief Minister’s senior wife had been detained in Lesotho.

Mr Peter Honey, a reporter for the Daily News and correspondent for the Star in Umtata was detained in solitary confinement on January 14 for refusing to answer questions about a report containing confidential information on the resignation of the Transkei Attorney General. Mr Honey’s wife and the Argus Printing and Publishing Company successfully lodged an application on January 29 in the Transkei Supreme Court for his detention to be declared unlawful and for his immediate release. The judge said that the report did not endanger the administration of law and order and it was incorrect to assume that an offence under the Official Secrets Act was necessarily an offence under the Transkei Security Act.27

On April 17 the Daily Dispatch was banned from the Transkei and two of its reporters, Mr Sydney Moses and Mr Richard Wicksteed, were detained in connection with sources of information for reports they had written. Prime Minister Matanzima issued a statement saying that the ban was precipitated by the long record of persistent false reporting by the Daily Dispatch, as displayed by its tactics in trying to incite the people of the Transkei to revolt. He provided examples of what he considered to be 'false reporting' dating back to 1963 and said that the newspaper had ignored numerous warnings. After discussions between the Prime Minister and the editor and managing director of the newspaper early in May, the ban was lifted. The Daily Dispatch had published an apology for a report alleging that there was a plot to assassinate the Prime Minister though this was said not to be a condition for the ban being lifted. The editor of Drum, Mr Stan Motjuwadi, and a Post journalist, Mr Marcus Ngani, were also detained in the Transkei.

In May the International Federation of Journalists, at its annual congress, adopted a resolution protesting against the handling of the press by the SA and Transkei governments and instructing its executive to examine ways in which journalists' unions could take positive action in support of their SA colleagues.28

Developments in Black Journalism

In March the Argus and SA Associated Newspaper groups began publishing free weekly newspapers, The Sowetan and Soweto News respectively, which were distributed door-to-door in Soweto. They
were aimed at reaching those people who did not travel into Johannesburg.

SABC  In April a newspaper, the KaNgwane Times, was launched in KaNgwane. The Inkatha newspaper, The Nation, closed down in July.

In July the reporters and editorial staff of Post, supported by the Writers Association of SA, went on strike for higher wages (see section on Strikes).

WASA continued to participate in black politics.

At its annual conference in Cape Town WASA decided to become a trade union representing all workers in the media industry and changed its name to the Media Workers Association of SA, (MWASA). The conference reaffirmed its belief in the black consciousness philosophy. The president, Mr Z Sisulu, said that the SA situation left black journalists with no option but to be propagandists. The choice was between being a collaborationist propagandist or a revolutionary propagandist advocating change and expressing the aspirations of the people.

SABC

Charges that the SABC, although supposedly operating under an independent charter, was being used as a propaganda tool of the government continued to be made.

In his evidence to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry (1979) the director of the SABC News Services said that the policy code of the SABC stated that all reports should be impartial and accurate; that they should not create panic but uphold good order and the security of the state, and should not contravene any legislation. The SABC, he said, had a good relationship with the SADF regarding the broadcasting of sensitive news. Through its external radio service the SABC was fighting a verbal war with neighbouring African states broadcasting anti-government propaganda. In March an SADF document (see Defence) stated that SABC decision-makers and SADF generals had met in 1978 to decide on a campaign to boost the army's image on television.

In May, in his speech on the duties of the mass media regarding national security (see section on Control of the Press), the Prime Minister said that the SABC would be directed not to give prominence to revolutionary activities. The SABC was financed by the state and he would ensure that it followed this policy. Opposition spokesmen said that this statement confirmed the fact that the SABC was a tool of the government.

In February the SABC attacked the black press, specifically Sunday Post for being negative and disruptive, for promoting confrontation and for undermining the conciliatory attitude permeating the country. The SABC refused to allow the editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, to answer the accusations on television.

During the budget debate on the Post Office and Telecommunications, Mr D Dalling, the PFP shadow cabinet minister, called for the appointment of an ombudsman to preside over disputes arising from SABC newscasts and commentaries. People aggrieved by SABC reports had no redress except in the
Supreme Court. Mr Dalling said that the SABC's former chairman, Mr Piet Meyer, ex-chairman of the Broederbond, had made the SABC into the spokesman for extreme right wing news. In May Mr Dalling said that the SABC did not give exposure or views opposed to government policy and the selection of news items often presented a distorted picture. The bias of SABC reports, he said, left SA whites in complacent ignorance of the pressures and tensions building up in the country.

Arising out of the dissatisfaction on the part of PFP MPs, a request was made for a meeting with the board of governors to discuss the matter. The chairman, Professor W Mouton, agreed to the meeting which was held in August.

At a meeting of church leaders in Hammanskraal in February it was decided that church ministers should refuse to participate in SABC broadcasts since the SABC was a vehicle for racist propaganda. In May Bishop Stephen Naidoo (Roman Catholic) and the Reverend Howard Eybers (Presbyterian) withdrew from the religious programme, 'Epilogue', while in June the Reverend Abel Hendricks, immediate past-president of the Methodist Conference, followed suit, the latter after his use of certain words and phrases was queried.

In February the SRC of the University of Cape Town refused the SABC permission to attend a meeting addressed by Bishop D Tutu, secretary-general of the SA Council of Churches, giving as reasons the SABC's misrepresentation of comments by student leaders and its propagandistic nature. In October the US government accused the SABC of misquoting its officials in order to create a favourable view of SA.

In August a TV producer, Ms Donna Wurzel, resigned after her programme which dealt with black domestic workers was withdrawn. Several blacks appearing on TV programmes were refused the use of the SABC canteen facilities.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications said that the total operating expenditure of the proposed black television service, 'TV Two', during its first five years was expected to be R204m, the revenue R108m and a resultant loss approximately R96m. Preparations for the introduction of this channel are continuing.

References
RP 2 P/80

'When publications are declared undesirable their distribution is prohibited. However, a publication can, in addition, be banned for possession 'Includes appeals against conditions imposed

'Government Gazette 6962, Notice 829, April 25 A publication is banned if any part of it:
(a) is indecent or obscene or offensive to public morals Ib 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
Hansard 11 Q col 681
Star April 8, Sunday Tribune April 27, Citizen April 8 Rand Daily Mail March 26, April 2
Sunday Times June 8
Rand Daily Mail July 31

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Control of the Media
Sunday Times January 20 Sunday Tribune April 27, Cape Times February 9
Citizen July 3 '4 Post May 22
RP 52/80. For the terms of reference of the Commission see 1979 Survey p 77
Sunday Express April 20 17 Star April 18
Hansard 11 col 5158 I, Hansard 16 col 7729 20 Rand Daily Mail June 18 2'
Government Gazette 7107, Proclamation 115 June 27 2.' Star June 27, Sunday
Express June 29. For a list of proposals he made see Survey 1979,
p 165
2 ' Rand Daily Mail August 9 24 Hansard 3 Q col 154 " Hansard 3 Q col 152 "
Rand Daily Mail May 26
2 , Daily Dispatch February 1 'C Cape Times May 19
Rand Daily Mail February 12, Star March 19
Hansard 1 Q col 651

URBAN AFRICAN AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT POLICY
The Quail Commission report indicated that power-sharing in a
unitary system was favoured as a first option by the majority of urban Africans.
The government was not however prepared to grant urban Africans a voice, even
as a separate group, in its new constitutional system. All Africans were excluded
from participating in the newly created President's Council, and urban Africans
were excluded from the separate council for Africans which the government had
intended introducing. The government was forced to abandon this idea after
concerted opposition by homeland leaders.
Passing reference was made to the concept that urban Africans might have an
independent voice on the government's proposed council of states - the envisaged
co-ordinating body for all territories represented in any future constellation of
states. No further clarification concerning their constitutional position was
forthcoming during the year.
At the local level the government continued with its, community council policy.
This system's popularity, particularly in the major urban centres, showed little
increase. In an attempt to make the system more acceptable the government
indicated that the councils would eventually be accorded full municipal status. An
important section of African political opinion believed that there should be no
participation in government-created local councils until there was representation
at the central government level.
The government appeared to concede that the homelands policy as previously conceived was a failure economically and that it would not be possible to relocate all urban Africans to the homelands. The permanence of an urban African population was recognised. Nevertheless substantial relocation of people occurred, especially of urban Africans in terms of the pass laws.

It was acknowledged that further African urbanisation was inevitable in the future. Current government thinking was, however, concerned with regional development along existing growth axes which could contain nodes of new African urbanisation. Further African influx to existing metropolitan areas would still be discouraged.

Amendments to the Black Labour Regulations in accordance with the Riekert Commission recommendations accorded greater geographic mobility to urban Africans. (See section on Labour Bureaux in chapter on Employment.) Draft legislation which appeared for comment was designed to further implement its recommendations on influx control and other matters.

As regards influx control the bills proposed replacing the existing system with more modernised controls, linking permission to be in urban areas to the availability of approved employment and housing. The exact implications of the draft legislation were unclear at the time of writing.

There was a breakthrough on housing policy, with the government showing a new willingness to consider alternative housing concepts as a means of reducing SA's African housing backlog. It also recognised for the first time that SA's squatter problem would not disappear overnight and that, given the backlog in housing, a certain amount of squatting was unavoidable.

Transport continued to be a problem and a flashpoint for unrest. Many urban Africans felt that they were involuntarily housed far from their places of work, and they resisted fare increases.

**Citizenship**

A confidential report submitted to Dr Koornhof the Minister of Co-operation and Development by the PWV regional committee established in 1979 as one of six committees to advise the Cabinet Committee on Urban African Affairs—stated that a "large and significant percentage" of urban Africans objected strongly to attempts to link them to the homelands. The committee, under Mr F B du Randt chief commissioner for the Witwatersrand, recommended:

* that Africans living outside the homelands should not be automatically linked to the homelands; and

* serious consideration should be given to a new constitutional dispensation which would provide for maximum satisfaction of African people's needs at all levels and in all geographic areas.

The committee recommended the drawing of a distinction between citizenship and nationality. Citizenship rights it held were concerned with the political rights
an individual enjoyed within his own community. Under its proposals all individuals would enjoy citizenship rights which, the committee felt, were essentially equal even though individuals would exercise them through different channels. Nationality, it held, was concerned with the status and protection which individuals received on the international level. It added that there should be a common nationality for all citizens. It envisaged the issuing of a common passport to all citizens by a supra-parliament.

The Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, appointed three academics to advise the government on citizenship in the context of a constellation of states, with special reference to travel documents of people from independent homelands whose passports were not recognized internationally. They were Professor Charles Nieuwoudt of the University of Pretoria, Professor J J Ahlers of the University of Port Elizabeth, and Professor Willem Olivier of the University of the Free State.

There were reports later in the year that the Nieuwoudt Commission had not accepted the idea of a common confederal or SA citizenship for all because of resistance by conservatives in the National Party. The conservatives reportedly supported associative citizenship under which Africans would enjoy revocable privileges, including SA travel documents but not rights. This was contrary to the views held by the non-independent homeland leaders who had declared that SA nationality was non-negotiable.

It was reported that Education and Training Department policy required matric pupils in the Eastern Cape to provide reference books before they could write their examinations, and that they could only obtain such books once they and their parents had taken out Ciskeian citizenship. This caused widespread dissatisfaction in the Eastern Cape.

An investigation by Weekend Post revealed that SA Africans had to apply for Ciskeian citizenship in order to register children's births and obtain work permits and passports despite the fact that this was not officially required.

It was also reported that Africans who applied for duplicate reference books or new reference books in Johannesburg were being issued with homeland identity documents if they were Xhosa, Venda or Tswana. Mr J Oosthuizen, a spokesman for the Department of Cooperation and Development, stated that his department was issuing identity documents on behalf of 'independent' homelands as a result of agreements signed by the SA government and the governments of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda homelands. Xhosas from Ciskei were exempt as Ciskei was still not 'independent'.

Chief Lennox Sebe stated in April that urban Africans who refused to take out homeland citizenship certificates robbed the homelands of a bigger financial grant from the SA government. Grants were based on the population figures of the homelands. Ciskei was receiving a grant based on half-a-million people whereas the Ciskei's population was 2.8m.

The Lesotho government instructed its labour office in Johannesburg not to issue passports or travel documents to Lesotho nationals, causing great confusion. This
meant that Lesotho nationals working in SA had to return to Lesotho when their documents expired. (See also chapter on the African Homelands - citizenship.)

Arrests and prosecutions under the pass laws

The report of the Commissioner of the SA Police for the year ending June 1979 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
- Registration and production of documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cases reported 1977-78</th>
<th>Cases reported 1978-79</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>22 706</td>
<td>14 968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>20 870</td>
<td>11 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Government policy**
- 117 700
- 129 984

302

Cases reported 1977-78 1978-79

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act</td>
<td>124 583</td>
<td>144 796</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass laws</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The minister gave the following figures for the number of Africans arrested for offences relating to reference books and influx control in each of the main urban areas in the Republic in 1979:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1979 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>35 269</td>
<td>4 901</td>
<td>43 291</td>
<td>3 005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>17 519</td>
<td>1 922</td>
<td>49 273</td>
<td>5 851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soweto</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>3 707</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>3 297</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1 680</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Peninsula</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>11 823</td>
<td>4 525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2 019</td>
<td>668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>4902</td>
<td>1 398</td>
<td>14 261</td>
<td>4 535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>6 753</td>
<td>2 104</td>
<td>20 500</td>
<td>5 865</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above relates to people arrested by the SA Police and not those arrested by officials from the administration boards. The total number of pass law arrests by the SAP in the whole Republic in 1979 was 99 660 males and 20 209 females.

Arrests made by officers of the administration boards in the major urban areas during 1979 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>3 391</td>
<td>1 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>1 387</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Soweto 23 30
Durban 292 165
Pietermaritzburg 266 47
East London 539 574
Port Elizabeth 128 13
Cape Peninsula 6 342 3 413
Bloemfontein 2 308 452
West Rand 3 870 2 942
East Rand 12 309 4 458
Total 30 855 13 823 44 678

The total number for the boards throughout the country was 83 397. The total number of arrests (SAP and boards) for 1978 was 224 910 males and 49 977 females; and 191 338 males and 32 970 females in 1977 respectively. The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 6 437 African males and 3 200 females were prosecuted for offences in the

Alexandra Commissioner's Court in 1979. Of these 5 115 males and 303 females were convicted. None were referred to aid centres.°

The number of males and females tried in the Langa Commissioner's Court in 1979 numbered 3 614 and 4 365 respectively and Pass those convicted were 2 814 and 2 970 respectively. Thirty-two cases Laws were heard daily.11
The numbers arrested per suburb in Johannesburg and outer areas in 1979 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburb</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Randburg</td>
<td>2 567</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillbrow</td>
<td>4 535</td>
<td>2 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkview</td>
<td>4 177</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardy East</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwood</td>
<td>1 682</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramley</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Administration of the pass laws

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that an estimated 10-12 million Africans over the age of 16, including citizens of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, were in possession of reference books. 12

The government-appointed regional committees set up to investigate matters affecting rural and urban Africans, including influx control, submitted their reports to the cabinet committee this year. However, their recommendations had not been published at the time of writing.

Statements that the government intended to replace the pass book with an identity book similar to that carried by whites were made by Dr P Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development. Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP) in response commented that years of African resentment and anger at influx control would remain unassuaged by replacing reference books with another identity document carrying the same restrictions on movement.
Public arrest of Africans under the pass laws continued despite the view expressed by the 1979 Riekert Commission that the public apprehension of Africans under these laws created resentment and was harmful to SA's image. Over the weekend of March 21-23 more than 1 400 people were arrested by police in raids on Johannesburg, Randburg and surrounding suburbs. The arrests were conducted publicly and of the total number apprehended more than 1 000 comprised arrests of Africans under influx control regulations. Of these 357 men and 75 women were arrested for trespassing, 387 men and 52 women for remaining in a prescribed area for longer than 72 hours without permission and 77 men and 11 women for having no reference books. Further raids were conducted in May when 2 000 people were arrested and again in September.

In Cape Town complaints were made in March to the Cape Times that people were being harassed by Peninsula Administration Board officials at bus stops and railway stations, and that pre-dawn raids were being conducted in townships, particularly at the single mens' quarters. Mr P Pietersen, director of labour at PAB, denied these charges but stated that the board was busy with normal and routine inspections. He said that six sectional inspectors were allocated to specific areas under the direction of a chief and two senior laws inspectors. Inspections which commenced around 7 a.m. were conducted from house to house, at factories and in streets.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that influx control in the Western Cape would be more strictly controlled than in the past. He held that the effectiveness of the R500 fine for employers illegally employing Africans was one of the reasons for the reduction in the number of influx control prosecutions in 1979.

However, he stated that a solution to the problem of illegal influx into the Western Cape would not be found until sufficient job opportunities were provided in the homelands.13

He also stated that R351 028 was derived by the Cape Peninsula Administration Board during 1979 from fines imposed for offences relating to influx control and identity documents; of this R105 380 was paid by 1 177 employers in respect of illegal employment of Africans.14

Dr George de V Morrison, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development announced at the Cape National Party Congress in October that the government was planning to take steps to make influx control more effective. The Port Elizabeth commissioner's office recorded a radical decrease in pass law convictions this year. The commissioner stated that this was due to the screening done by the aid centre which meant that only the 'hard cases' were appearing in court. Figures released by the administration board showed an increase of 35% in people referred to the aid centre in the first five months of 1980 when the figure was 2 755 as opposed to the first five months of 1979 with 2 041 being referred. The majority were released without being charged.
A historic judgement was made in the Appeal Court this year concerning the right of African women with 10(0)(c) qualifications to remain in an urban area. The appeal, which was taken to the court by the Black Sash and lawyers, was made after the Supreme Court had dismissed the case of Mrs Nonceba Komani in which she contested an administration board ruling that she did not have the legal right to live with her husband, Mr Veli Komani in Guguletu, Cape Town. The Appeal Court ruled that she was entitled to live in the area by virtue of the provisions of section 10(0)(c) of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. The court ruled that a regulation which required anyone living in an African residential area to have a lodger's permit or site or residential permit was ultra vires and therefore invalid.

Until the ruling a woman with 10(1)(c) qualifications could only remain in an area if she had a valid lodger's permit. The implication of the ruling was that women and dependants who qualified for 1(I)(c) rights could enter urban areas to live with their husbands and/or fathers without requiring a lodger's permit. The Black Sash stated that people seeking 10(1)(c) stamps now had the right to seek a declaration of rights from the Supreme Court and an order compelling the relevant administration board to enter a 10(I)(c) endorsement in their reference books.

Dr Koornhof warned that it "would be completely wrong" to draw a generalised conclusion from the case. Professor Dugard of Pass the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, however, stated that when a regulation was declared ultra vires it had implications going beyond one particular case. The Department of Co-operation and Development after deliberations accepted the ruling and sent out circulars informing regional offices of the department that people should no longer be required to take out lodger's permits.

72-hour restriction
In February Dr Koornhof announced in parliament that the 72-hour restriction on African visitors in urban areas would be abolished as an experiment in Pretoria and Bloemfontein. The Rieket Commission in 1979 had recommended that the 72-hour provision be abolished and that entry of Africans into urban areas be dependent on the availability of housing and work. The white paper had stated that although the government accepted this in principle the measure should remain for the time being.

After protests from Nationalist MP's, and a complaint by the mayor of Pretoria that he had not been consulted, Dr Koornhof said he would consider whether the experiment would be implemented or not. It was then announced by Dr George de V Morrison, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, that the provision would not be lifted but that a test survey would be conducted "with the view to establishing the further practicability or otherwise" of the scrapping of the measure." Later reports stated that the experiment was being implemented. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, in an attack on government bureaucracy and discriminatory legislation, also called for an end to the 72-hour measure.
The Black Sash at its annual conference warned that if the government failed to act on grievances about influx control as revealed in the Cilli6 Commission report, the Zimbabwean experience of "civil war and terror" would be unavoidable in SA. It stated that the pass laws had never been more rigidly enforced and efficiently administered. According to its annual report, the number of people the advice office had dealt with from June to October in 1979 had doubled in relation to the previous year. (See later section on the new draft legislation on influx control.)

Curfew
The Minister of Police stated that 20 777 Africans were prosecuted under curfew regulations from July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979.17
The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that the government was investigating the possibility of abolishing the curfew regulations with a view to establishing the effects of such a move. The Riekert Commission had recommended that the measure should be abolished and the white paper had concurred.8

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave ing details regarding the number of persons referred to during 1979:9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aid centre</th>
<th>Benoni</th>
<th>Bloemfontein</th>
<th>Boksburg</th>
<th>Brakpan</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Durban</th>
<th>East London</th>
<th>Germiston</th>
<th>Johannesburg</th>
<th>Kimberley</th>
<th>Klerksdorp</th>
<th>Pietermaritzburg</th>
<th>Port Elizabeth</th>
<th>Pretoria</th>
<th>Randfontein</th>
<th>Springs</th>
<th>Vereeniging</th>
<th>Welkom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No's referred</td>
<td>6 237</td>
<td>4 721</td>
<td>6 642</td>
<td>2 232</td>
<td>2 316</td>
<td>8 298</td>
<td>3 752</td>
<td>14 247</td>
<td>34 316</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>7 198</td>
<td>1 232</td>
<td>7 617</td>
<td>25 696</td>
<td>2 865</td>
<td>4 541</td>
<td>9 619</td>
<td>9 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No's prosecuted</td>
<td>2 322</td>
<td>2 010</td>
<td>2 223</td>
<td>1 017</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>7 884</td>
<td>1 011</td>
<td>5 934</td>
<td>16 459</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>4 887</td>
<td>1 173</td>
<td>7 015</td>
<td>17 913</td>
<td>1 163</td>
<td>3 969</td>
<td>4 264</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisted to find employment</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1 325</td>
<td>5 328</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>311</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pass laws

HOUSING

The following information on the housing situation the various administration boards for their areas as 1980:

was given by at September

306 Aid Centres

the followaid centres

Returned to homelands

578

46

1 075

313

4 819

146

3 657 2 080

16

447 491 307 11 750

478 474 957

Pass Laws
Amendments to various acts were introduced to facilitate the implementation of the 99-year leasehold scheme. An amendment to the 99-year Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 by the Laws on Colease operation and Development Amendment Act No 3 enabled surveying of a portion of a township to take place for leasehold purposes. Previously surveying had to take place in terms of the whole township. Authorities had found the surveying of an entire township to be impractical and expensive.

An amendment to the Building Societies Act by the Financial Institutions Amendment Act No 99 extended the powers of the development companies of building societies to enable them to erect buildings on leasehold land. It also empowered them to advance, in the case of a dwelling, apart from 80% of the value of the property, up to 80% of the transfer costs of the property or leasehold right or licence, and of the cost of registration and stamp duty as well as fees and charges payable to an administration board in respect of a leasehold right (but not including the amount payable for the use of water reticulation systems). The effect of these amendments was to reduce the cash outlay which Africans wishing to obtain a lease were required to pay, thus making the leasehold system accessible to a
greater number of people.
The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated in February that 100 agreements under the 99-year leasehold scheme had been registered. A further 395 applications were being processed. By the end of January 43 000 stands had been approved for the scheme.
At the time of writing all registrations were in Soweto, i.e. 184 with about 700 applications to be dealt with. About 30 000 houses and stands were for sale in various parts of Soweto. Surveying had been completed in the Oranje-Vaal Administration Board area, while surveying was to be completed on the East Rand. Plans had been completed in the Western Transvaal. No plans were available in the Highveld, Free State and Northern Cape. No title deeds had been registered in the Northern Transvaal and Natal owing to uncertainty about consolidation plans concerning these areas. As at April 30, 1980 850 persons in Soweto had applied for 99 year leases.10
The Department of Co-operation and Development announced a substantial cut in the cost of 99-year lease houses to encourage more people to participate in the scheme. A house which had previously cost R2 790 under the scheme would now cost Ri 710- a difference of Ri 080. Repayments over 30 years would now be R33,38 per month instead of R42,57. However, leaseholders would have to pay higher site and water tariffs than other households.1
Mrs Suzman (PFP) requested in parliament that the government write off the R63m owed by the West Rand Administration Board to the Department of Community Development for housing. This would release houses for 99-year leasehold, as houses not wholly owned by WRAB were not eligible for the 99-year leasehold system.
Only 40% of houses in Soweto were eligible under this system at the time of writing.
She also stated that the 99-year leasehold scheme for Africans 309 had been bedevilled by high costs and an obstructive bureaucracy and that real impetus would be given to the home ownership scheme for Africans if freehold replaced the 99-year leasehold 30-year scheme.
It was revealed that African women were effectively barred from buying houses because of their contractual limitations under customary union marriages. The Association of Building Societies handbook on home ownership pointed out that because of this some societies proposed lending only to men. Those granting loans demanded 100% security.
30-year leases
The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following details relating to the 30-year leasehold system for the year ending December 31, 1979:22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Granted</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>2 697</td>
<td>2 697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>1 662</td>
<td>1 662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaal Triangle</td>
<td>3 200</td>
<td>3 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Central Transvaal 9 752 9 752
Western Transvaal 30 30
Highveld 3 147 3 147
Northern Transvaal 1 449 1 449
Eastern Transvaal 520 520
Drakensberg 533 533
Port Natal - -
Eastern Cape 1 201 745
Northern Cape - -
Southern Orange Free State 1 565 1 547 17
Western Cape - -

Freehold

The Browne Commission on local authority finance which reported this year urged the government to commit itself to freehold property rights for Africans to provide a stable yet flexible tax base for autonomous local authorities. The commission stated that unless a system could be devised whereby property taxes could provide at least half the total projected revenue of African local authorities (R250m out of R504m in the 1989-90 financial year) severe strains would develop in their finances. The commission calculated that local authorities would be hard pressed to raise more than R37.2m from the existing system of site rentals in 1978-90. This was equal to about 7% of the projected current revenue for that year. A freehold property system which could act as a tax base would reduce the excessive reliance on employer levy contributions and liquor as sources of finance. Liquor profits were estimated to be about R32m in 1990 on a 12% retail mark up.

310 Housing shortages

Various estimates of the housing shortage for Africans were given during the year.

Housing The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that about 186 000 more housing units were required to fulfil the needs of urban Africans throughout SA. He called on employers to help improve the housing conditions of their employees. They could help employees obtain ownership by giving cash, granting a loan, erecting a house and giving it to an employee, making building materials available to the employee, or arranging and guaranteeing a loan with a financial institution. Employers could also make arrangements with administration boards for sites on which they could erect houses for their employees. The executive director of the Urban Foundation, Mr Justice Steyn, estimated that R200m would be needed to wipe out the backlog of 400 000 houses in urban and rural SA (including homelands).

Housing provided

The following dwelling units were constructed by (i) the Department of Community Development and (ii) local authorities in major centres in 1978-79:23
In 1977/78 and 1978/79 0.8% of the gross national product was allocated to the provision of housing and the amounts allocated to the various population groups were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Other race groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rm</td>
<td>Rm</td>
<td>Rm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of houses constructed by the private sector in 1978-79 for each population group for the major urban centres was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>311</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 289</td>
<td>1 989</td>
<td>1 199</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>575</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 619</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>2 169</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>449</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>1 973</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of a scheme announced by Senator Horwood 50% of the amount spent by companies on erecting houses for employees or on giving funds towards erection costs, would be tax deductible in the year the money was spent. This applied up to a maximum of R4 000 per house for ordinary employers and R5 000 for farmers who could deduct the full amount. This concession represented an increase of a third over the provision for 1979.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that R100 481 200 was spent from state funds for housing for Africans in the 1979/80 financial year. In his budget speech the Minister of Finance stated that R12m had been set aside in the form of low interest rate loans for the development of African housing. The Department of Community Development stated it had set itself the target of financing 17 000 dwelling units for Africans from the National Housing Fund every year and had made urgent appeals to the administration boards to submit details of housing schemes to enable the department to programme its funding requirements efficiently.
The chairman of the Natal Building Society called on the government to allow building societies to buy land in African townships for development. This would cut down on the housing backlog. He stated that building societies were also prepared to finance housing development in the homelands but only if they could get a guarantee from the government on the repayment of loans. They were not prepared to give loans for development in places such as KwaMashu, an urban township falling within homeland jurisdiction, without such a guarantee.28

There was a change in housing scheme subsidisation. (See Group Areas and Housing.) The Urban Foundation announced that it would spend R7.5m on housing in 1980. Its plans included a home improvement scheme which would enable occupants to enlarge their existing houses. It also announced its intention of opening advice offices on housing in Bethalsdorp, Port Elizabeth, and KwaNobuhle in Uitenhage. The offices would enable home owners to obtain building plan alternatives and expert advice on implementation of plans.

In an apparent change of policy, the newly appointed Minister of Community Development stated that the cabinet had approved the appointment of a committee of enquiry into unconventional housing for squatters. The committee would investigate alternatives such as core housing, site-and-service housing and other self-build projects.29

Community Councils

Community councils

The Department of Co-operation and Development stated that as at the end of March 224 community councils had been established and elections held for 193 councils, the average poll being 41,9%.31

Opening a conference on 'The Black Urban Community' in January in Port Elizabeth the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that community councils were to be renamed municipalities, and would have far greater powers than their white counterparts. These would include participation in educational matters, control over community guards and liaison with the representatives of homelands in SA. He stated that local government was a new field for Africans and a vast amount of training and education was needed to develop municipalities.1 Later in the year he stated that full autonomy would only be reached through a process of evolution.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who had previously opposed community councils, announced his qualified backing of the system this year. He stated that "community councils must be turned into chariots that will rush us into battle". He also said that there was nothing preventing community councils from individually becoming members of the Black Alliance.32 (See Inkatha in chapter on African Politics.)

Electricity Amendment Act

The act amended certain principal acts to allow for the establishment of electrical services in African townships. Control over the supply of electricity in SA is arranged by the Electricity Control Board in terms of the provisions of the Electricity Act of 1958. However as community councils were not regarded as
urban local authorities in terms of the act they could not supply electricity in their areas except under a licence or permit issued by the Electricity Control Board. The same conditions applied to the South African Development Trust (SADT). The amendment act amended the definition of an urban local authority to include a community council for the purposes of the principal act and introduced a section exempting the SADT from having to obtain licences and permits to change their own tariffs. The implications are that the Electricity Board will now only fix the tariffs at which the community councils and the SADT buy their electricity requirements from the large suppliers. These bodies will be able to resupply electrical power within their own areas at tariffs fixed by themselves.

Urban Courts
An amendment to chapter four of the Black Administration Act by the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act No 30 provided for the establishment of peoples' courts in urban areas with similar rights to tribal courts. It also allowed for the adaptation of procedures and regulations pertaining to tribal courts to fit in with the conditions in an urban area, e.g. to allow for the establishment of the venue and composition of the court ('kgotla') and for arrangements in respect of fines and court fees. Section 7 of the Community Councils Act which had contained similar provisions was subsequently abolished.

Transport
Bus Transport
Bus fare increases in various areas this year led to concerted protests from the communities concerned, leading in some cases to bus boycotts. Cape
Mitchells Plain residents lodged an application with the Supreme Court for an interdict against the local transportation board and the Mitchells Plain Bus Service (Pty) Ltd to halt proposed increases, but had increased from R15,98m in 1975 to R29,2m in 1979.33 On January 14 the Supreme Court in Cape Town dismissed with costs an application by a community worker, Mr Rommel Roberts, for an order declaring that the National Transport Commission (NTC) had no jurisdiction to deal with a fresh application by City Tramways Ltd for bus fare increases in the Cape Peninsula. The NTC had decided to hear an application referred to the local road transportation board itself after objections had been raised about the board's constitution.14 Mr Roberts had to pay about R30 000 in costs. In May, following the commission's decision to agree to a fares increase, City Tramways announced increases of between 30% and 100%. As a result about 40 civic and residents' associations met and decided to boycott City Tramways buses from June 2. The main reason for the boycott was that wages had not kept pace with the increase in the cost of living. Most boycotters travelled to work by train, walked or hitch hiked. On June 3, 15 buses were stoned after a night of violence during which 80 buses had been stoned. Services were withdrawn from the Cape Flats townships.
further 50 buses were stoned on the night of June 3 and two drivers taken to
hospital after they were injured. City Tramways decided to run buses on demand
only from Mowbray to Claremont, while the Tramways and Omnibus Workers'
Union asked City Tramways to place protective screens on the buses to protect
drivers. On June 11 petrol bombs were thrown at City Tramways buses.
On June 12 there were incidents involving school children with 20 people arrested
when a bus was stoned and people allegedly attempted to remove passengers from
the bus.
On the same day the Bus Action Committee (BAC) released a statement giving
demands which had to be met before the boycott could be called off. It stated that:
* fares had to be dropped to their previous level;
* commuters should pay less for coupons than for cash fares;

314
City Tramways Boland Passenger Transport Ltd Simonstown Passenger Transport
Ltd Bay Passenger Transport Ltd PE Passenger Transport Ltd PE Tramways
Uitenhage Passenger Transport Ltd
8 122
20 39 1 428 1 291 340
76
046,84 630,90 434,70 272,67 185,14 462,05 857,06
The Dias Divisional Council refused to accede to an East Cape Administration
Board request that it suspend African bus services to the western part of the city
early in the morning and at night in an effort to combat the squatter problem. The
secretary of the council argued that such a step would create hardship for
legitimate residents and that the presence of squatters in the area was attributable
to land-owners making their properties available to squatters.
Transport
* buses without seating had to be withdrawn; and * more buses had to be
provided in peak hours.”
Residents in Mannenberg claimed that police used batons to force them to take
buses during June.7
In an attempt to break the bus boycott police took action against pirate taxi
operators who had been providing transport for workers since the bus boycott
began. On August 27 a delegation comprising the chairman of the Nyanga, Langa
and Guguletu Civic Co-ordinating Council, Mr S Tindleni, Mr J Rees, Director of
the South African Institute of Race Relations and Ms Wilson, chairlady of the
Institute's Cape region, met the Ministers of Transport and Police in Pretoria for
talks on the boycott and the arrest of pirate taxi drivers.
At the end of August City Tramways stated that they would con-, sider the
demand of Tramways workers for a 25% wage increase and a complete re-
evaluation of job categories if the boycott was called off.
The BAC responded by saying that the Tramways was obviously attempting to
play one section of the community off against another, and that the boycott would
continue.
In September the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Louis Kreiner, made an appeal to the Minister of Transport to solve the bus boycott problem. The Sunday Tribune revealed that a secret government committee created by the cabinet was used to combat the bus and school boycotts in the Western Cape. The committee consisted of representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Security Police, Army, the Departments of Co-operation and Development, of Indian Affairs and Coloured Affairs. It undertook the anonymous distribution of pamphlets in an attempt to stop taxi owners from assisting commuters.38

It was revealed that after an increase in fares in 1977 the company's profits had increased from R2,07m to R4,10m while turnover had increased from R15,98m in 1975 to R29,2m in 1979.39

The following subsidies were awarded by the government to the subsidiaries of Tollgate Holdings in 1979-80:40

Transvaal

In January Greyhound Bus Lines announced that it would increase bus fares on routes to African townships on the West Rand. Fares would increase from 25 to 30 cents and 17 to 20 cents on various routes.

Commuters met at Mangwang township, Lebowa, in February to discuss a boycott of Bahwaduba buses owned by the ZCC Bishop, Barnabas Lekganyane. A steering committee was formed to negotiate with management about complaints which included the fact that buses had no fixed timetables, were dilapidated and broke down frequently, that bus drivers were rude, and that there was no bus for workers at Turfloop university.

At a meeting in Atteridgeville organised by the Black Unity Express Bus Service a call was made for non-black companies to withdraw their services from the townships. They stated that by operating in African townships, PUTCO was contravening section 37 of the Urban Areas Act and section 15 of the Transportation Act 74 of 1977.

The Bothaba Tswana Transport Company (BTT), a subsidiary of Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings operating in the Babelegi area, announced that it would increase its fares as from March 31. The Moretele Regional Authority consisting mainly of Moretele tribal chiefs met a delegation from the BTT to make known their reservations about the proposed fare increases. Increases varied from 20 to 30 cents on various routes.

In January PUTCO applied to the Johannesburg Transportation Board for fare increases on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria. The company held that it was losing over R3m a month. In November 1979 the Rand Supreme Court had ruled that PUTCO's application for increased fares was technically illegal.

The proposed increase was opposed by 20 black organisations on the Witwatersrand and in January a petition signed by 1 478 commuters was handed to the depot superintendent at Putcoton by representatives of the Diepkloof Civic Association.

The case was taken to the National Transportation Commission by the Legal Resources Centre, which acted on behalf of various objectors to the proposed increase. In giving reasons for its opposition to the increases it stated, inter alia,
that the extent of the increases was unreasonable; the financial circumstances of PUTCO required full judicial investigation in order to assess the profitability of the bus service; and if the fare increases were granted PUTCO was likely to make profits which were excessive in relation to the capital actually invested by the shareholders. It also stated that insufficient information had been provided on the methods of financing the operations of PUTCO and alternatives to such methods. In putting his client's case against fare increases to the National Transportation Commission, Mr A Chaskalson of the Legal Resources Centre stated in August that PUTCO's reserves had increased from R12 700 000 to R1 8 200 000 between 1978 and 1979 and unutilised loan facilities had increased from R8m to R19.8m. He asked the commission to recommend to the government that it -

Transport

* consider the establishment of a state-sponsored public utility to take over urban transport for the African community; 0 increase subsidies to reduce the need for tariff increases; Transport 0 consider a change in fiscal policy through taxation and grants on capital replacement to make the accumulation of massive capital reserves unnecessary and to release profits. He also asked that any increase granted should be on condition that PUTCO provided certain facilities, clean buses and allowed tickets to be used at any time.41 The outcome of the hearing had not appeared at the time of writing.

The Minister of Transport announced that PUTCO's financial structure was being investigated as it was felt that the state should not subsidise the company's profits.

The Minister of Transport stated in parliament that a R15 260 344.37 subsidy had been paid to PUTCO in 1979-80.

Mr Nigel Mandy, chairman of the Johannesburg Central Business District Association, stated that any planning for the future of the Johannesburg Metropolitan area (Jomet) would be incomplete until there was adequate representation of all races on Jomet. The Riekert Commission had shown that the African population in the Jomet planning area would increase faster than the white population.42

An increase of 10 cents in PUTCO's fares on the Pretoria-Mamelodi route was approved by the local transportation board despite threats by residents in September that they would stage a bus boycott if this occurred.

Bus fare increases of 5 to 10 cents due on August 4 in Duduza, Nigel, were deferred for a month by the local community council which claimed that the Nigel Town Council which introduced the fares had not consulted them. The council again rejected the fare increases in September.

Residents of Seshego near Pietersburg decided in July to boycott the Lebowa Transport Company buses because of an increase in fares. The buses belonged to a government subsidiary, the Lebowa Development Corporation. Residents stated that the removal of Africans by the government to areas located far from town
was a windfall for the bus company. Moreover wages had not been raised to meet the new fares. They further stated that the bus company gave free transport to its white employees.

During the boycott children stoned buses and 16 appeared in the Sheshego Magistrates' Court on August 27 on charges of public violence.

The boycott continued in September although increases had been suspended for two weeks pending discussions on further government subsidies. Commuters called for a reduction of the fares from the present 25 cents to 15 cents and a stop to the different fares for different areas in the townships amongst other conditions. Closed meetings on the issue between MP's of Sheshego, the Sheshego Township Council and the bus company ended in deadlock.

A unanimous resolution of nearly 5000 commuters on September 7 stated that the Lebowa Development Corporation should remove its buses from the township as they were no longer needed.

The meeting also resolved that an African owned Hamba Buya Bus Company which was barred from operating in the township should be allowed to operate there. The commuters also resolved that buses from outlying areas that usually passed through Sheshego should use other routes as "their sight is nauseating". Members of the legislative assembly representing Sheshego decided to suspend all negotiations with the government on the boycott until the government started negotiating on Hamba Buya operating in Sheshego.4

In October the boycott spread to the Mahwelereng township near Potgietersrus where buses were stoned, and to Tzaneen. Workers from the Bolobedu area near Duiwelskloof also joined the boycott.

KwaZulu Transport announced that it would increase fares this year. In 1979 fare increases had been suspended after commuters staged a successful bus boycott. The manager stated that negotiations were under way with a committee of representatives from the Ezakheni, Steadville and Watersmeet areas. As a result it was decided to delay fare increases until a consultative committee representing commuters was able to negotiate pay rises."

KwaZulu residents boycotted the Khanyani Bus Company for more than two months over a 32 cent fare increase.

The Lot 14 boycott of the Border Passenger Services which started in December 1979 when the company increased fares by 100% continued this year. Support for the boycotters was given by the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the Natal Indian Congress, AZAPO and the Solidarity Front.45

Six men were convicted and sentenced under the Riotous Assemblies Act on January 31 in the Pietermaritzburg Magistrates' Court. They were charged with having, on October 21, 1979 unlawfully attended a public gathering, failed to disperse when ordered to do so by police, and prevented members of the African community from boarding buses with threats and suggestions of violence. They were sentenced to R1 60 or 150 days each.46
In May an enquiry was conducted by the National Transport Commission into the transport services in the Durban region, with a view to reducing the number of public bus permits in order to improve services. Mr T H Hansmeyer of the Department of Co-operation and Development said the department would welcome consolidation of services because fewer operators would improve administration. Larger companies would provide better services. Smaller companies owned by Indians and Africans opposed this view. An official of the Chatsworth Bus Owners' Association stated that the withdrawal of bus permits from operators in Chatsworth could lead to serious unrest in the community."

General

In February Assocom made a plea for African bus fares to be subsidised by all taxpayers. A policy statement expressed concern about boycotts and social unrest resulting from bus fare increases. The statement had been submitted to Mr Heunis, the Minister of

Transport, on December 10, 1979. It also stated that commuter transport subsidies should be increased and that existing transport levies should be phased out over a brief adjustment period. The statement Administration suggested a possible 'code of practice' for the implementation of Afboards rican bus fare increases and proposed consultation with African civic and political leaders and the use of collective bargaining channels such as workers' committees and trade unions.48

ADMINISTRATION BOARDS

The Minister of Co-operation and Development said the following amounts were spent by the 14 administration boards on housing and liquor facilities during the 1979/80 financial year:49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western Cape</th>
<th>Eastern Cape</th>
<th>Northern Cape</th>
<th>Southern OFS</th>
<th>Vaal Triangle</th>
<th>Port Natal</th>
<th>Drakensberg</th>
<th>West Rand</th>
<th>East Rand</th>
<th>Highveld</th>
<th>Eastern Transvaal</th>
<th>Northern Transvaal</th>
<th>Western Transvaal</th>
<th>Central Transvaal</th>
<th>Transvaal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>860 924</td>
<td>8 497 200 000</td>
<td>100 000 1 280 444</td>
<td>38 926</td>
<td>986 635</td>
<td>39 025 3026492</td>
<td>141 718 661 310</td>
<td>13 180</td>
<td>1 043 446 675</td>
<td>153 796</td>
<td>5849 184</td>
<td>2 130 462 995</td>
<td>121 440 667 569</td>
<td>124 500</td>
<td>50 500 835 009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development gave following figures regarding turnover and profits made on liquor the administration boards for the last five years:0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sorghum Beer</th>
<th>Turnover</th>
<th>Profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83 224 222</td>
<td>19 167 306 93 999 195</td>
<td>17 764 077 98639 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>952 847</td>
<td>17 132 287 722 727 605</td>
<td>21 688 339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other liquor Turnover

R

67 522 032 | 3 75 554 022 | 5 66 947 965 | 3 67 871 974 | 3 101 730 587 | 3
Widespread criticism was directed at the administration of the boards after reports by the auditor-general revealed that various boards had lost large sums of capital investments and interest by investing in the Rand Bank which was placed under curatorship on January 31, 1977 and through investments in other financial institutions. Apart from these capital losses, various other shortcomings in the 1974/75 1975/76 1976/77 1977/78 1978/79
Profit
R
304 416 533 889 726 756 367 299 510 833
boards' financial affairs were indicated in the reports of the auditor-general. As a result of these and other irregularities board officials were called to appear before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Public Accounts which was instructed to look into the matter. This committee revealed in June that among the boards which lost money due to the bank being placed under curatorship were Port Natal, East Rand, Vaal Triangle, Western Transvaal, Midlands, South Western Cape, Drakensberg, Peninsula and Southern OFS. The committee stated that it was perturbed by the unsatisfactory internal control measures, the general financial administration and the investment policy of the boards.1
Mrs Suzman queried in parliament why the money invested in the Rand Bank had not been used to develop houses and services instead.52
Speaking during the second reading debate of the finance bill, Mr Schwarz (PFP) stated that the administration board system was unsatisfactory in general and the government should replace it with something better.
In addition it was revealed that the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), headed by the Broederbond chief Professor Carel Boshoff, received 25% of its R200 000 per annum income from the administration boards throughout the country. It seemed that ministerial approval had been granted for this as the Urban Areas Act empowers administration boards to use the Black Revenue Account for donations subject to the minister's approval. There was an outcry from the African community and white opposition. Although a statement clarifying the issue had been promised by Dr Koornhof, this had not been issued at the time of writing.53
Legislation
Three bills pertaining to Urban African Affairs were published in October for public comment. They were the Black Community Development Bill, Local Government Bill and Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill. The first allows for the replacement of administration boards by development boards "to plan, co-ordinate and carry out the development of the Black community in its administration area with a view to such community's ultimate self-determination on local government level". The boards will be responsible for community development projects. The Local Government Bill provides for the establishment of town or village councils for urban areas. The minister has the power to confer on such councils the functions of a board or local authorities. The councils would promote family and social life, community development, manage a community guard, make recommendations to the minister regarding the making
by-laws, transport services, educational matters and the establishment of homelands, among other functions.

The Laws on Co-operation and Development Bill abolishes Section 10 in terms of which certain limited rights are granted to Africans to remain in urban areas. All people are disqualified unless they fall into certain exempted classes, viz:

Administration boards

1. people who are not foreigners and are in lawful employment and approved accommodation;
2. people who qualify in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) at the time the act comes into force; boards
3. people who are 10(1)(a) or (b) in one area when the new act comes into force and are taking up employment and have accommodation in another area;
4. people who own a lease or house in the townships;
5. foreigners who have permission to take up employment.

Visitors without permits may be in an urban area for up to 30 days. A permit is required for a stay longer than 30 days.

Any African found in the area without exemption may be fined up to R250 or sentenced to three months' jail for a first offence. The onus of proving himself innocent is on the accused.

Development of Soweto

Mr Louis Rive, chairman of Greater Soweto's Planning Council, stated that his aim was to enhance the quality of life in Soweto. Priorities were housing, improving the sewerage system, electrification, hospitalisation, transport, conditions of the streets, storm-water drainage and water supplies, in that order.

He stated that the government should take primary responsibility for providing infrastructural services, followed by individuals and the private sector. He voiced his opposition to sub-economic housing as part of his plan to make Soweto self-sufficient, and also supported freehold tenure.

He suggested that to enable the Soweto community to conduct its affairs in a viable way, community councils should be given wider scope to raise revenue. Administration boards would be gradually phased out as the community councils reached autonomy. He was of the opinion that African and white board employees should be seconded to the community councils and that at the outset they should remain on the payroll of the central government. This would relieve councils of a considerable financial burden as WRAB in 1977-78 had employed about 2 000 whites and Africans at a cost of R21 m.

In June Mr John Knoetze, chairman of WRAB, announced that a comprehensive development plan for Soweto would be prepared with the assistance of the Prime Minister's office through Mr P Rousseau, chief planner in the government's physical planning branch.

The plan was aimed at ensuring that Soweto "would take its rightful place within the regional framework of the larger metropolitan area", according to the Greater
Soweto Planning Council. Represented on the panel apart from board officials would be the SA Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors, the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Johannesburg City Council, the Department of Community Development and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. Mr Knoetze stated that Ecoplan - the consortium which drew up a development plan for the Soweto Community Council in 1979 - would be welcome to submit evidence and information.

The Soweto Council's director of finance, Mr I M Florence, stated that it would cost R1 billion to upgrade Soweto. This sum would be needed for the improvement of roads, sewerage, stormwater drains, housing and the creation of a central business district among other things.

Mr Rive announced in July that three 'industrial parks' housing Soweto 120 small factories - 40 per park of 100 sq m each - to be run by township businessmen would be established in Soweto by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) at a cost of more than R2m. The amount had already been made available. About 600 jobs would be created. The IDC would build the project, initially exercise control over the buildings and provide training, counselling and management services for the tenants. Each of the units would be solely managed by the inhabitants of Soweto.

Finances
Dr Koornhof announced during the debate on the Cillie Commission report that he had appointed three experts to advise him on the financial structure necessary for the orderly transition and expansion of powers of the administration boards to the community councils. They were Mr Gerald Barrie, former auditor general, Mr H C Miller, a retired accountant, and Dr C F Boyce, retired postmaster general.

This followed reports that the consortium established in 1978 by the Soweto Community Council to draw up development plans for the city was blocking other housing developments. Dr Lukas Botha, who had established the consortium, resigned after an interview with Dr Koornhof.

Housing
In a comprehensive study of Soweto the Urban Foundation stated that estimates of future space requirements showed that an area double the present size of Soweto would be required by the year 2000.

It found that the flow of government and private sector funding into housing in Soweto was "no more than a trickle" and that unless there was a substantial increase in this flow the housing situation would continue to deteriorate.

It found that although machinery existed for more government money to be spent on housing in Soweto, it appeared that the administration board was reluctant to undertake large housing schemes using National Housing Fund loans, due to the resulting increase in existing infrastructure and administration costs. Furthermore the boards were not permitted to retain any profits from the sale of any of their houses, since these had to be passed on to the National Housing Fund. The board already owed R60m to the NHF.

The number and size of houses in Soweto in 1978 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of rooms</th>
<th>No of houses</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
2 7 154 7,1
3 19 304 18,9
4 72 069 70,7
5 and over 3 407 3,3
Total 101 934 100,0

The Urban Foundation quoted the following estimates of housing occupancy rates:
Soweto 7,1 persons per dwelling (1977-78 WRAB)
7,0 persons per dwelling (1975 - sample survey, Diepkloof SAMJ 1977)
7,14 persons per dwelling (1979 - Institute for Urban Studies RAU)
14,0 persons per dwelling (1976-Johannesburg Chambers of Commerce)

It calculated that R192m would be required to eliminate the estimated housing backlog of 32 000 houses. To allow for normal growth up to 1980 and to eliminate the backlog (41 260 units) R247,6m would be required, and to cater for growth up to the year 2000 (excluding backlog) R688,9m would be required.

It gave the following estimates of houses and land required to accommodate future population growth in Soweto:
Additional number of persons 50 000 260 000 310 000 620 000
Additional number of families or houses 9 260 48 150 57410 114 820
(5,4 per family)
At a residential density of 40 units 230 ha 1 200 ha 1 430 ha 2 860 ha per ha
Estimated total 460 ha 2 400 ha 2 860 ha 5 720 ha

A survey of housing needs of Soweto residents undertaken by the Institute of Urban Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University revealed that 86,3% of all respondents would like additional rooms, and added space was given a higher priority than electricity. The survey showed that 75% of houses had only two bedrooms, and 20% one, while the average household size was 7,14 people. Only 5,8% of the houses had bathrooms and 12,8% inside toilets. Over 90% wanted single detached houses and the majority gave low priority to blocks of flats higher than four stories.

More than half indicated a willingness to buy their houses. Eighty percent stated that if houses belonged to them they would upgrade them. Twelve percent maintained they paid too much rent while more than 50% of respondents were not prepared to pay more than R1 0 a month extra.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that it was planned to build 700 better quality houses in Pimville 7 to be sold under the 99-year leasehold scheme, and 230 better quality houses in Pimville 5. A housing scheme had commenced in Diepmeadow for 1 700 better quality houses, and 400 apartment
buildings. A start was also made on the provision of services for a scheme comprising 1 700 houses in Dobsonville which would be sold or leased on an economic basis. Planning was under way for the construction of 162 houses in Bethesda, 242 in Randfontein, 300 in Kruengersdorp and 450 in Soweto. The authorities also planned to build 323 between 15 000 and 20 000 houses in Protea North and South. A scheme of approximately 400 flats to be built in Jabulani was at the planning stage. Furthermore 2 500 residences were planned for Soweto Kagiso, as well as a modern hostel for 6 125 men with provision for a library, study, sports facilities, restaurants and shops. Additional land was being purchased near Randfontein for a new residential area and a modern hostel for 500 residents was currently being built in the area. 62
The minister also announced that a separate office had been established at New Canada at an estimated cost of R50 000 for the purpose of facilitating the 99-year leasehold system in Soweto.63

Hostels
The West Rand Administration Board gave permission to various companies including Murray and Roberts to construct a R2,5m hostel on the George Goch site in Johannesburg in October. The hostel would house 3 500 migrants. The plans had not met with ministerial approval and were condemned by Bishop Tutu and Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP MP) among others.64
The following hostels exist in Soweto:65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Construction</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diepkloof</td>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>5 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Hostel (Dobsonville)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3 661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilford Hostel (Dobsonville)</td>
<td></td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dube</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>6 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabulani</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>4 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifateng</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapetla</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4 746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadowlands</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>4 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancefield</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>4 913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando West Female Hostel</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Electrification
It was announced that the Soweto Council was to pay R105m of the R153m (i.e. 68,6%) for the electrification of greater Soweto. The Diepmeadow Council would pay R41m and the Dobsonville Council R7m. The three councils were also granted authority jointly to raise a R20m loan by the issue of stock at 10% a year redeemable on October 1, 1999. Of the loan Soweto was to raise R13 720 000, while Diepmeadow and Dobsonville were to raise R5 360 000 and R920 000 respectively. Provision was also made for the raising of a second loan by the issue of 15-year loan stock of R40m in instalments of R2m on or before June 30, 1983. Of this Soweto would bear R27 440 000, and Diepmeadow and Dobsonville R10
720 000 and RI 840 000 respectively. Barclays and Volkskas banks were appointed as fund administrators.66

324 The first tenders for R2,5m to upgrade the existing system were awarded on September 6, 1979. A call for tenders for a substantial reticulation network for a further phase of the scheme closed on January 31, 1980.67 It was later announced that GEC (SA) and Siemens were appointed to undertake the electrification project. The contract would be handled by Tesacon, a consortium formed on a 50-50 basis by GEC Power Distribution, a GEC (SA) company, and Siemens. Mr David Thebehali stated that the electrification project would provide jobs for 8 000 Soweto residents. Only houses owned by WRAB would have electricity installed during the present plan. Leaseholders and private home owners were required to make their own arrangements to lay on electricity, which would have to meet the standards laid down by WRAB who would then inspect the premises. Householders in a WRAB-owned house would not have to pay lump sum or a separate deposit as all costs of the scheme would be contained within the monthly bill sent out by the new electricity undertaking. It was anticipated that the cost of electricity would be between R6 and R20 a month depending on the size of the houses. African workers on the electrification scheme would be paid weekly as follows: those in administration (300 workers required) from R50; security (100 workers) - from R40; technical supervisors (500 workers) - from R60; potential artisans and other skilled workers (800 workers) - from R45; and semi-skilled workers (1 500 vacancies) - from R40. There was an initial rush for these vacancies. Mr Thebehali claimed that the flood of applicants indicated that he had a large following amongst residents in Soweto.68

Rents

In July Mr Thebahali announced that Soweto's rents would increase by R13 per month in three stages of R4,35 each from August 1 and October 1, 1980 and February 1, 1981. By February 1981 the minimum tariff, previously R1 7,25 for a three roomed house, would be R30,30. In Jabavu the rent increase would be pegged at R10 but assistance would be available for those who could not afford this. The increase would yield R5m for the Soweto Council which would still be left with a R1 3m deficit. Mr Thebehali had already announced in May that Soweto's pensioners would no longer have to pay rent from July onwards. It was indicated that sub-tenants could pay the rentals. However there were reports that many pensioners suspected that such an arrangement could result in their eventual eviction. It was also announced that Soweto residents owed the Soweto Council R70 000 in rents.69 The Dobsonville Community Council announced in March that it would increase rents by R15 in three stages from May 1. The first increase of R6,63 was later
postponed to August 1. The second increase of R3.40 was to be introduced on October 1 and the third from February 1, 1981.

Diepmeadow rents were increased by R6 on November 1. These rent increases were opposed by Soweto residents. Residents supporting the Sofasonke Party, the Makgotla (Manthatha group), the Soweto Federal Party and the Soweto Ratepayers' Association met in July to elect a committee to take legal action against the Soweto Council or WRAB on the issue of the rent increases. Mr Mhlungu, chairman of the Soweto Residents' Committee, stated that the Soweto rents due on August 1 had never been ga-Moweto zetted. Later a member of the Soweto Committee of 10, Mr Legau Mathabathe, stated he would challenge the increases.

A pamphlet was distributed by the Soweto Civic Association calling on people not to pay the increases, but only their existing rents. At two mass meetings held on July 27 Dobsonville residents voted unanimously to go to court rather than pay their increased rents. They instructed an attorney to begin court action to restrain the Dobsonville Council from increasing rents.

On August 7 more than 4,000 pupils from several Diepkloof schools staged a protest march against rent increases and about 300 residents resolved at a meeting on October 12 not to pay the increased rents. These protests culminated in a massive anti-rent increase demonstration in early October when large crowds picketed the Soweto Council's offices and workers were called on to stay away from work and join the protest. It was reported in October that police were turning back those residents arriving at the council's offices who were refusing to pay the new amounts.

Complaints were lodged by Kagiso residents over the rental of R54.26 for new houses. Residents complained that talks with the community council on the issue had been delayed or suspended on several occasions by WRAB. The board and council announced in June that rents had been reduced to R48 although residents complained that clerks were still asking for R54.26. Rents of 242 houses in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, were reduced from R48 to R9 from October 31 after four meetings between the community council and WRAB.

Evictions

The chief township superintendent, Mr W A Cronk, stated that it was procedure to lock the homes of families who were in arrears with their rents but that they were considering civil action in the future. This statement was later contradicted by Mr David Thebahali who said that Mr Cronk did not have the authority to make it and that it had not been discussed by the council's executive. Setting aside the eviction of a Soweto resident, Mrs Mngadi, the Pretoria Supreme Court, giving judgement on appeal, ruled that WRAB had acted wrongfully. They should have taken the matter to court.

Political and community affairs

The Orlando Civic Association was formed in February. Its aims were to fight for freehold land tenure, better education and an efficient transport system for the
people of Soweto while representing mainly the residents of Orlando. Other civic associations in existence and falling under the Soweto Civic Association were those of Meadowlands, Moroka, Diepkloof and Chiawelo.73 (See chapter on African politics.)

326 Elections for members of the Krugersdorp Community Council were held in February. Community council elections in Soweto due to be held on September 27 were postponed to 1982. Dr Koornhof stated that the reason for the postponement was that the government intended introducing new legislation to give the councils full municipal status. Current community councils had also requested that they be allowed to finish projects already embarked upon. Reports claimed that the underlying reason was an attempt to forestall persons being elected who would oppose the proposed rent increase.74

Makgotla
Criticisms of the Soweto Makgotla continued this year. In March police had to intervene when conflict occurred between the Makgotla and two Soweto families. Soweto residents at a meeting called for the removal of the Makgotla from the township. The head of Soweto's CID, Col Steve Lerin, stated that Mr Thebehali's All Nation Guards were not registered police reservists and that police investigations into their activities were continuing. This year members of the Guards faced 13 criminal charges four of theft, seven of assault and two of malicious damage to property. Five members had been found guilty of being in possession of dangerous weapons.75 (See also Justice, Police and Prisons.)

Alexandra
The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that the following progress had been made regarding the replanning and development of Alexandra: a replanning committee had been formed comprising representatives of the West Rand Administration Board, the Departments of Community Development and Co-operation and Development and the Alexandra Liaison Committee. From these groups a technical committee had been formed to plan for Alexandra. This committee had completed the collection of socio-economic data and was gathering geological data; a survey to determine current land uses and the condition of buildings and services had already been completed, an ortho-photo survey was under way, and a master plan depicting the main land uses and arterial traffic routes was due to be completed during the year.76

Later the Reverend Sam Buti, chairman of the township's liaison committee, stated that Alexandra would be divided into seven suburbs with a central business district. This area would contain supermarkets, shops, offices and an administration building. Those wishing to buy homes under the 99-year leasehold system could do so, as the entire area had been approved for this purpose. The three hostels for single men and women workers would remain. A series of bus
stops would be placed near people's homes. Primary schools would be provided for each area, and three high schools as well as technical schools were planned. Provision had been made for the establishment of a complex of light industries and community factories as well as another for sports, parks and a dam in the valley of the Jukskei river. A sports complex comprising a stadium and tennis courts would be built on the other side of the river. Dr Buti stated that Alexandra, with a population of 50,000 which was growing, was too small and in need of more land for housing and recreation facilities. The committee had submitted a memorandum to the Johannesburg City Council and the West Rand Administration Board requesting that a portion of the land along the river be added to Alexandra. Dr G de V Morrison announced that Alexandra would be declared an African residential area and would fall under WRAB. About 300 Alexandra freehold property owners decided in July that they would resist WRAB's plans to buy their stands. They felt that the Bantu Resettlement Act, which empowers WRAB to expropriate their properties, should be challenged in court. The Reverend Buti opposed this decision, stating it was imperative that stand owners sell their properties to WRAB if the restructuring of Alexandra was to continue. If remaining owners were allowed to retain their properties, landowners previously expropriated (there had originally been 2,544 plots) would be justified in demanding the reinstatement of their rights. He suggested that standowners opposed to accepting WRAB's valuations should get their own valuations. The new mayor of Sandton, Mr P Oertel, called for the merging of Alexandra with Sandton, which would have the effect of extending Sandton's municipal services into the township. However, it would be the government's responsibility to finance the upgrading of roads, stormwater drainage, sewerage and water supply in the 70-year-old township. Mr Buti welcomed Mr Oertel's suggestion and said he would have no objections to his committee's disappearance to facilitate the formation of SA's first multiracial municipality. On November 10, the Minister of Co-operation and Development announced new major proposals for the expansion of Alexandra. He announced that negotiations could progress to acquire an extra 102 ha of land for Alexandra; he would undertake to submit to the planning branch of the Prime Minister's office the question of the future planning and development of undeveloped areas surrounding Alexandra and coloured people living in Alexandra could remain there for another five years while their 'ultimate position' was studied. This clarified the future of coloured residents over which there had been confusion and uncertainty. A campaign-'Uplift in Alex'-organised by The Star gained significant support from companies, organisations and individuals who donated funds and equipment. Rent Women from Alexandra hostel threatened to march to the Alexandra liaison committee offices in August to protest against proposed rent increases. After
discussions 353 women signed a petition rejecting the increases. The rent of
rooms for four women rose from R5.70 to R13.00 each. Those living two to a
room and paying R6 per month would pay R16, while the rent of single rooms
increased from R7 to R20. In the petition the women complained that the hostel
was a health hazard as the walls were wet and the rooms cold; they had
Alexandra

327 no dining rooms and were not allowed visitors, including their children
who were living with relatives; there was a constant shortage of water, and they
had to spend most evenings in dark rooms because East Rand of the poor
electricity supply.78

East Rand
Housing
In a report to the Daveyton Community Council the East Rand Administration
Board (ERAB) stated that there was a shortage of land in Daveyton, the African
township of Benoni, resulting in a backlog of 3 000 homes and causing the
mushrooming of shacks. It had acquired part of a buffer strip between the
township and Putfontein, a white area, but only 871 houses could be built on the
strip. Of these 372 were due to be built this year. (Daveyton was established when
8 188 housing units were erected in the area between 1955 and 1956.
An additional 2 387 houses were built in 1966 to accommodate families from the
old Benoni location which was demolished. From then until 1979, when ERAB
built 270 houses in the township, no housing
projects had been carried out.)
In February more than 50 women, all members of the Sinaba Party, demonstated
against the demolishing of their backyard shacks first outside the administration
board offices in the township and then at the Daveyton Community Council's
monthly meeting.
Seven women had received demolition notices from the board.
The chairman of the Daveyton Community Council criticised a councillor, Mr
Shadrack Sinaba, for calling on residents to build shacks in their backyards to
accommodate homeless families. Mr Sinaba had campaigned against the
demolition of shacks. In March a further demonstration by about 100 people was
held in protest against the housing shortage. In May charges against four
Daveyton
people for building illegal structures were withdrawn.
It was reported that some of the homeless families allotted sites in Daveyton were
expected to pay R450 for the erection of a toilet.
Families who were to build their own shacks were to pay a monthly
site rental of R13.70.
The Urban Foundation established a new working committee in Benoni in March.
The committee, known as the Benoni Working Committee, would deal with
projects aimed at improving the quality
of life in Daveyton and Wattville townships.
The East Rand Administration Board announced that it would build 200 new 4-roomed houses in KwaThema, Springs at a cost of R800 000.

It was reported that Tembisa, near Kempton Park, would be provided with tarred roads, a sewerage system and a new telephone exchange. At a meeting of ERAB and East Rand community councils, the chairman of ERAB gave the following information concerning the electrification of houses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Wired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katlehong</td>
<td>15 839</td>
<td>1 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tembisa</td>
<td>17 557</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thokaza</td>
<td>3 939</td>
<td>2 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vosloorus</td>
<td>4 652</td>
<td>4 530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaThema</td>
<td>9 114</td>
<td>2 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsakane</td>
<td>4 661</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daveyton</td>
<td>10 987</td>
<td>10 692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wattville</td>
<td>2 500</td>
<td>2 453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devon</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duduza</td>
<td>3 529</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanda</td>
<td>2 038</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cullinan</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronkhorstpruit</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botleng</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residents of the Thokoza hostel, Alberton, complained that they had only a single basin for washing themselves, their clothes and dishes, that the hostel had not been renovated since it was built 22 years ago and that there was no hot water supply. Other complaints were that there were leaking roofs, unrepai red lights, stoves not in working condition, untiled floors and no wardrobes. They stated that they were not provided with beds and that they had to use big trunks as beds during the night and wardrobes during the day.

As a result board officials investigated conditions at the hostel. The board's chairman, Mr Schalk van der Merwe, blamed 'illegal' residents for the poor living conditions. He said they had destroyed facilities such as basins, lights, stoves and lockers. He stated that the board had spent R20 000 on better stoves, R18 000 on improving toilet facilities, R42 000 on renovation, R60 000 on recreation facilities, R3 500 on television sets, and R36 000 on buying new beds as part of a five year renovation programme which would amount to R560 000 on completion."

Rents/Tariffs
Rent increases for the whole of the East Rand were gazetted. Site rents varied between R13,20 and R20,00. A R5 rent for lodgers was also introduced.8°
Women in Daveyton picketed the Daveyton Council's monthly meeting in March to protest against the imposition of the lodger's permit fee which applied to all subtenants, including older children of registered tenants.

Water tariff increases of 11% as from April 1 were introduced in all townships. It was announced that backyard shack dwellers in Katlehong, Germiston, would pay R10 per month as from August. The chairman of the Katlehong Community Council said the decision had been taken after receiving many complaints from homeland families that

they were overcharged by landlords for staying in their backyard shacks.

Community Councils
A co-ordinating group for the community councils on the East Rand, called the East Rand Community Council's Liaison Committee, was formed to enable councillors to be more effective in serving their communities.

A new party in Thokoza, Alberton, the Thokoza Progressive Association, was established to fight community council elections. It opposed ethnic elections. The chairman of the Katlehong Community Council announced that his council supported the Free Mandela campaign launched in March.

The Sizwe Sechaba Party, a civic political party, elected a ten-member delegation to approach the commissioner to postpone the election in Tsakane, Brakpan, as residents had not been given enough time to campaign. A planned rally by the party was stopped by the administration board which was afraid residents would be called on to boycott the elections.

Elections were held on November 29 for the establishment of a community council for Wattville.

Evaton property owners opposed government attempts to strip them of freehold title and to establish a community council for the area, on the grounds that Evaton fell outside the ambit of the Urban Areas Act. They protested that the Department of Co-operation and Development was using 'unconstitutional means' to strip them of ownership of their properties.

The government had in 1979 transformed Evaton by proclamation into a prescribed urban area administered by a newly established local community council in conjunction with the Oranje-Vaal Administration Board. It held that the proclamation had the force of law in view of the State President's rights as paramount chief of Africans in SA. This gave the authorities the power to change the form of land tenure existing in Evaton. Residents sent a petition to the minister on the issue, who replied that there was no objection to freehold title for as long as the property remained in the possession of the owner. If the property was subdivided or sold the buyer would have to obtain it under leasehold.
The Oranje-Vaal Administration Board announced that it planned to start a housing scheme costing R1 750 000 at Constantia Park, Kroonstad, to resettle tenants from Marabastad which had become a slum. The board would construct 395 two-roomed houses, 294 four-roomed houses and 24 high density two-roomed houses for the aged and widows.

Rents
Rents in Vaal Triangle townships increased by R2,40 from August 1. The increases would be used for the provision of waterborne sewerage and an improved water supply in Sharpeville. The electrification of Sharpeville was also being planned. Rents were also increased by R2 in March.

Two Africans were appointed assistant township managers in the Vaal Triangle.

Central Transvaal
The budget for 1980/81 for townships were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Hostels</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
<th>Roads</th>
<th>Health and Welfare</th>
<th>Electricity supply</th>
<th>Sport and Recreation</th>
<th>Creches</th>
<th>Water supply</th>
<th>Sewerage and Sanitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 500</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>25 000</td>
<td>200 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 750</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>145 250</td>
<td>21 600</td>
<td>15 000</td>
<td>10 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 012 870</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amount financed from:

| Income | 23 030 |
| Loans  | 684 590 |
| Appropriation | 305 250 |
| Total   | 1 012 870 |

Mamelodi Community Council
Administration Hostels Housing Health and Welfare Electricity supply Sport and Recreation Creches Water supply Roads Sewerage and Sanitation Total R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2040 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

East Rand
Amount financed from:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>27,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>899,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Appropriation</td>
<td>197,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>Loans from Community Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,050,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Housing**

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following information on housing units for Africans currently being constructed and planned in Pretoria:

- **Houses for families**
  - Under construction: 324 beds for single persons: 920
  - Planned 1980-81: 654 beds for single persons: 4,032
  - Planned within 5 years: 9,000 beds for single persons: 29,000

He stated that depending on available funds the housing backlog in Pretoria should be eliminated in five to ten years. The actual shortage of houses for families was 4,000 and for single males and females 30,000 and 5,000 respectively. The figures for estimated shortages were 8,000 families and 53,000 for single males and 7,000 for single females. The estimated annual increase in African families for whom housing had to be provided was 1,000 and single persons 6,000.

The replanning of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville/Saulsville was underway. The board announced that it had completed plans for a model township, Nietgedacht, to replace the African township next to Brits which had deteriorated into a slum. The new residential area would be developed as soon as funds became available. Residents complained about unhygienic conditions in the township. Because of inadequate sanitation excreta flowed in the streets and rubbish bins were sometimes left unemptied for up to three weeks.

**Rents**

The community council chairman announced in March that the rents for Atteridgeville and Saulsville were to increase by R6 from April despite a council decision in December 1979 that rents would not be increased until the council had been given full executive powers.

Rents in the Brits, Thabazimbi and Warmbaths African townships increased from August 1 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Site rents</th>
<th>House rents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brits</td>
<td>R6,50</td>
<td>RO,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thabazimbi</td>
<td>R2,80</td>
<td>R2,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warmbaths</td>
<td>R4,44</td>
<td>R3,36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Finances**

Diamond Fields
According to the Kimberley Community Council's present budget it was providing water, electricity, sanitation and health services Diamond at losses of R79 000, R48 000, R30 000 and R1 200 respectively.88 Fields

Housing
In July the Kimberley Community Council ordered residents to demolish 54 shanty homes in Galeshwe and to remove derelict vehicles from their premises within ten days. As an interim measure the council was prepared to allow residents affected to lodge with other tenants.

Rents
Rents in Galeshwe township were increased by R2 as from August 1.

Community Councils
In April, the Kimberley Community Council was given further powers and functions.

Orange Free State
Housing
Plans were announced for the redevelopment of Mangaung Township outside Bloemfontein as well as schemes at Vaalkrans and Onverwacht. It was anticipated that some of Mangaung's present 6 000 lodger families would be housed in the townships. About R5m was available for Mangaung's development.89

Eastern Cape
Finances
The 1980/81 budget for Makanas Kop, Grahamstown, totalled R988 978. This was broken down mainly as follows: R500 000 for infrastructure, R150 000 for the construction of 40 houses; R150 000 for streets, R35 000 for stormwater drainage, R30 000 escalation costs, R150 000 indirect costs, R3 500 capital costs. A loan of R1.5m at an interest rate of 1% was granted by the Department of Community Development for capital development at Graaff Reinet. About R500 000 would be spent on building 100 sub-economic homes in a new extension. One million rand would be spent on upgrading the old township.90

In June the Department of Community Development announced that it had made about R3m available for new projects in the Eastern Cape Administration Board's African townships. The amount was divided as follows: Somerset East - R529 606 and Cradock - R522 567 both for housing; Port Alfred - R290 500; Grahamstown - R250 000; Adelaide - R100 000; Cookhouse R247 487 for housing; Komga - R100 000 for housing; Port Elizabeth - R1 23 300 for the electrification of Zwide 4; Bedford - R1 43 140

Eastern Cape Second Finance Act No 100 Section 5 of the act allows for the writing off of an amount of R110 041.17, the balance owed by the Eastern Cape Administration Board to the National Housing Fund from a loan acquired for the construction of houses in its area. During floods in Port Elizabeth in 1979, 350 of these dwellings in KwaZakhele were irreparably damaged. As a result the board
had received no income from the dwellings and had been unable to meet its commitments to the Department of Community Development.

Housing

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 1,875 new family units for Africans were built in Port Elizabeth in 1979. The official waiting list was 11,942 persons. It was announced in April that the SA Permanent Building Society would develop four of 52 houses planned to cost more than R20,000 each in Fordville, New Brighton. Ministerial approval was received for 370 household sites surveyed in the Port Elizabeth area to be made available under the 99-year leasehold scheme for African home ownership."

Residents of Walmer, with the support of the African civic/political organisation PEBCO, fought against the removal of residents from Walmer township to Zwide. A visit by the Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development to the area together with representatives of the Urban Foundation and Save Walmer Committee was cancelled after an escalation of unrest due to the arrest of prominent members of PEBCO in the township. A demonstration had also been planned to coincide with the visit.

One reason why the move was opposed was that many residents worked in the area. In a survey it was found that of the 714 male workers 470 worked away from the Walmer area and 244 in the vicinity. Of the 456 female workers 139 worked away from the area and 317 in the vicinity of Walmer township. For those working in the vicinity a move away would increase transport costs by R22 per month.

Furthermore while Walmer residents were presently paying between R12.29 and R16.09, rents and service charges in Zwide would amount to R24.08. Families who had already been moved from Walmer to Zwide had moved back or moved to shacks because of the high rents.

In July a report by the Technical Advisory Group of the Greater Algoa Bay Planning Authority commissioned by the Eastern Cape Administration Board to investigate the future of Walmer Township found no reason why it should not be allowed to remain. It found that there was undeveloped land to the south-west of the township which could be used for extensions and stated that the proclaimed boundary should not be regarded as inflexible. It also found that there was no indication that residents in the adjacent white suburb were vacating their properties or suffering land devaluation because of the proximity of the township. It stated that 34% of the local work-force was employed in the immediate vicinity which was a sound town-planning reason for maintaining the township." No decision on the issue had been reached at the time of writing.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development announced in February that Fingo Village, Grahamstown - due to be declared a coloured and Indian group area - would remain African." However, the present freehold system of tenure would be replaced by the 99-year leasehold system.
The Deputy Minister mentioned in parliament that the municipality of Kei Mouth had been requested to identify a site for the housing of African workers there. He also stated that no replanning of the African residential area at Komga was envisaged.

Rents
Rent increases in Zwide became a prominent issue. In 1979 residents asked the board for a rent reduction. In February the board's director, Mr Koch, announced that as a result of representations to the government by the council and the board rents would be reduced in the following way: tenants in scheme A earning less than R150 per month would pay R9.66 instead of R25.27; and in scheme B R9.99 instead of R26.57; tenants earning from R151-R250 a month in both schemes would pay R17.60 and R17.37 instead of R29.49 and R28.71 respectively. Rents of all other tenants would remain the same. Service charges of approximately R1 would remain unchanged. Residents criticised the reductions for not being uniform, seeing this as divisive. At a PEBCO meeting it was decided that residents would not pay their rents until they were reduced to R15 a month for all residents.

Residents were advised at the meeting not to fill in the income survey forms being distributed by the board. The rent issue was one reason for the staging of a liquor boycott by PEBCO. In May an action committee consisting of four PEBCO and four Zwide executive members was elected to handle the Zwide rents issue. The committee would investigate the possibility of taking the board to court over the rents issue on the basis that residents could not afford them.

In June Mr Duze, chairman of the Zwide Residents’ Association, made an application in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court for an order concerning house rentals in Zwide 4. He asked that the court find that the house rentals of R36.38 a month and more, plus extra charges for metered water, were ultra vires and that rentals of not more than R14.11 in terms of promulgated rentals be levied. Mr L Mielunsky appearing for Mr Duze argued that under Section 22 of the Black Administration Act neither the board nor the council had the power to make regulations under the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. It was also required that such regulations be published in the gazette. He stated that nowhere had regulations covering the R36.38 house rental been published.

The court upheld the board's case and stated that as Zwide 4 had not been declared a Black residential area it did not fall under the Urban Areas Act. Thus rents approved by the Housing Commission were valid. The application was dismissed with costs.

335
Eastern Cape

336
Eastern Cape

Electrification
The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that the government planned to lay on electricity in all new housing schemes in Port Elizabeth's African townships.
Plans included the electrification of approximately 18 000 existing houses, and an application had been made for a R1.5m loan to cover certain costs of a new central electricity supply load centre. The Port Elizabeth Municipality had been requested to undertake the design of the new supply load centre as well as the electricity reticulation network. It was estimated that the cost of electrification would amount to approximately R9m for the street reticulation alone and a further R9m for the wiring and connection of the houses. 99

The Ciskei government took over the supervision of the electricity supply to Mdantsane from the Mdantsane Special Organisation. The minister stated that the total cost of electrification schemes planned for the following five years would be approximately R12.15m excluding the cost of wiring and connection to the street reticulation of existing houses. 100

Community Councils
Community councils in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown accepted a proposal by the Department of Co-operation and Development to establish judicial 'peoples' courts' in their African townships. Reservations about the scheme were voiced by Professor A J Kerr of Rhodes University, who felt the scheme would be problematic. Dr G de V Morrison stated that such courts would try common law offences and contraventions of African tribal law and custom but not major crimes such as murder, treason and rape. They would impose fines but would not be able to sentence convicted persons to corporal punishment except in the case of unmarried men under 30. "1

The year saw the rapid rise to prominence of PEBCO, formed in 1979. (See chapter on African Politics.) During the year it took up a number of community issues such as the Walmer removals and Zwide rents. In January after the holding of a number of major public rallies attended by up to 9 000 people its president, Mr Thozamile Botha, and various other members of its executive were detained and then banned. As a result a new executive was elected. However, by the end of the year PEBCO had lost much of its popularity. (See also forthcoming SAIRR publication on PEBCO.)

Western Cape
The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave the following figures regarding the population of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males over 16</th>
<th>Females over 16</th>
<th>Children under 16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>13 469</td>
<td>3 322</td>
<td>3 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanga</td>
<td>8 834</td>
<td>3 976</td>
<td>4 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guguletu</td>
<td>11 052</td>
<td>5 410</td>
<td>4 651</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Housing
The Urban Foundation announced the establishment of a nonprofit housing utility company to develop housing for Africans in the Western Cape by giving
prospective homebuilders access to finance. The company would have initial financial resources of R7.5m. The local community council and the Western Cape Administration Board were empowered by the government to enter into 30-year leasehold agreements with the new utility company renewable for a further 30 years. This represented a major breakthrough in the government's attitude toward African housing in the Western Cape - a coloured labour preference area - which is excluded from the 99-year leasehold scheme. The authorities also approved a self-help component in the building operation which would reduce costs.13

Crossroads
In April Crossroads, which had been administered as an emergency camp by the Divisional Council, was taken over by the Western Cape Administration Board to be administered as an urban residential township. Residents protested that they had not been consulted about when the take-over was to take place and demanded a meeting with Dr Koornhof.

During the year six members of the Crossroads committee faced 274 charges of theft involving Transkei travel and employment documents and the issuing of false permits for residence at Crossroads. Originally it was estimated that 10 000 people would be accommodated at the new Crossroads but this had increased to 40 000 as a result of additional people being issued with permits. Charges of corruption were also being investigated against officials who allegedly provided official stamps for the false permits.

More than 800 Crossroads residents decided at a meeting in March to ignore notices sent to them by the Western Cape Administration Board advising them to obtain further permission to stay in the camp. Residents stated that the board's actions were contrary to assurances given by Dr Koornhof that they would be given six-month extensions. They complained that they were given one month or three months instead or refused extensions altogether. The Western Cape Chief Commissioner after having had been made aware of the complaints said he had instructed officials that everyone whose name appeared in the survey conducted in 1979 and who had a permit should be given a one-year extension.104

Residents also complained that the proposed rents for the new township were too high. The rents were to be R24.61 for a one-bedroomed house, R33 for a two-bedroomed house, and R34.71 for a three-bedroomed house.

More than 1 000 people attended a meeting in April at which it was decided that Dr Koornhof would be asked for an assurance that the inhabitants of the new Crossroads would be granted permanent residence in the Western Cape.09

In reply to questions put to him Dr Koornhof announced in May that the 1 731 houses being built for residents in the new township formed the first phase of a projected plan for 2 575 houses. A survey

Eastern Cape

had revealed that there were 1 731 families in the camp who could afford rents of between R24 and R54 per month. A firm Besterecta had been awarded the R14m
contract for the construction of the houses and the laying of 15 km of stormwater drains. The township would have tarred roads, kerbing and concrete pavements, lighting, water borne sewerage, and water reticulation. The brick houses would have asbestos or tiled roofs and verandahs with screen walls. Shops, sports facilities and a community hall would be provided with sites being made available for the later construction of nursery schools and churches.

He stated that phase two would include a controlled self-help scheme which would cater for the needs of those who could not afford the conventional housing provided in phase one. He also agreed to establish an appeal committee as the highest body to evaluate the cases of those people who were being sent away from the area, and gave an assurance that any employer would be able to register any Crossroads resident for work. Dr Koornhof also stated that the Crossroads committee, a body which had successfully run the affairs of the community over the past five years, could still function, but in conjunction with approved officials.

In June an administrative committee was established to regularise the position of people who had been given only one month or three month extensions to their permits instead of 12 month extensions, and to consider the claims of people without permits for inclusion on the administration board's survey list as having been resident in Crossroads before December 31, 1978.

Hostels
The City Health Department conducted an inspection of employer-run hostels in Langa after reports that conditions there were squalid. An investigation had shown that up to 2 000 migrant workers were housed in 38 large warehouses or dormitories accommodating between 30 and 60 men each. The report mentioned the following companies as housing their men in the most squalid units: Steeldale Reinforcing, Hugh Tyler, Joseph Rubbi, Railway Construction, Slingsby De Jager, Roy Beamish and Dura Construction. The coloured labour preference operative in the Western Cape meant that employers had to house African migrant workers themselves. Employers could erect buildings on the board's land, but the buildings once completed were the property of the board. Employees paid R6 a month rental to the board, but the employer was required to bear maintenance costs. The City Health Department gave employers three weeks in which to correct defects found when officials conducted an inspection of the hostels. As a result of the report the Building Industries Federation of SA (BIFSA) decided to take up the matter with the Department of Co-operation and Development as some of the firms concerned were construction companies. After a reinspection of the dormitories the Medical Officer of Health, Dr R J Coogan, reported that there had been a satisfactory response to his request to employers. A meeting had also been held between officials of the Western Cape Administration Board, the contractors concerned and himself. The board and contractors had decided to set up a sub-committee to finalise details of responsibility for various expenditures.

Eastern Cape
Squatters/Removals
The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that there were 23,776 African squatters in the Cape Peninsula at the end of 1979, of whom 1,207 heads of households had permission to remain in the area. Divisional Council officials demolished 25 shanties in Hout Bay in May. Most of the inhabitants were fishermen from the Transkei who had moved to Cape Town to find work. Most had brought their families with them. The chief commissioner stated that the 83 women and 135 children among the 304 squatters would be sent to the homelands. The men were moved to single barracks in Langa but most complained that they had not been registered as promised by the Peninsula Administration Board. This meant it was difficult for them to obtain work or obtain employer accommodation at Hout Bay.
In July Dr Coogan, Cape Town's Medical Officer of Health, gave the WCAB an urgent instruction to clean up the barracks which he described as "unfit for human habitation" and an immediate health hazard. An investigation had revealed gross overcrowding, a shortage of toilet facilities, an inadequate water supply and inadequate ventilation and lighting. Dr Coogan stated that the barracks should be demolished. Officials said they were being used as a temporary transit camp while it was decided which families would be moved to Crossroads or Nyanga and which sent to the homelands. In the same month the squatters were told that they had to leave the barracks as they were being demolished. No alternative accommodation was offered.
Community councils
The elections held in 1979 for a community council for the Paarl area were declared invalid in the Cape Town Supreme Court in June. The application to set aside the election, in which one ward was contested and six candidates returned unopposed, had been brought by 12 residents of Mkekweni in November 1979. The reasons were that the Paarl Post newspaper, in which the call for nominations was published, was not a newspaper which generally circulated in Mkekweni, and the period allowed for making nominations, from April 10 to noon on April 23, was less than the minimum stipulated time of 14 days.

Natal
The Port Natal Board's 1980/81 budget was as parentheses denote deficits):
Administration Board
Management administration
Employment services Population settlement
Provision of cultural services
Development of human potential
Trading projects
Agency works
Sub total
Less grant to community councils
340
Natal
Total (267 201)
Community Council Activities

Management administration (1 185 475)
Population settlement (2 984 605)
Provision of social services (629 736)
Development of human potential 3 710
Sub total (4 796 106)
Grant from Administration Board 4 796 106
Total
Grand Total (267 201)

Estimated Expenditure

The estimates of expenditure and revenue for the community councils in the area of the Drakensberg Administration Board for 1980/81 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management administration</td>
<td>1 185 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population settlement</td>
<td>2 984 605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of social services</td>
<td>629 736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of human potential</td>
<td>3 710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub total</td>
<td>4 796 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant from Administration Board</td>
<td>4 796 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>267 201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management administration</td>
<td>1 103 922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population settlement</td>
<td>1 614 750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of social services</td>
<td>(34 607)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of human potential</td>
<td>(130 749)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub total</td>
<td>(1 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant from Administration Board</td>
<td>4 149 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4 493 905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>4 761 106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A joint scheme was set up by the Department of Co-operation and Development, the Port Natal Administration Board and the UrNatal ban Foundation for the development of site and service units at Inanda.
The plan provided for the ultimate resettlement of 30 000 families although only 4 500 sites had been demarcated for the first phase. The plan was to resettle people from the existing informal settlement of Inanda where there were only two taps for 100 000 people. Families moving in were required to pay a R12.60 entrance fee for a rubbish-bin, a month's rental, water and refuse removal, free transport from their present accommodation and three days' rations. Materials for the building of permanent homes would be sold to residents by the Port Natal Administration Board who would make low interest loans available.

It was reported that only a quarter of the 165 000 Africans living in greater Pietermaritzburg lived in conventional housing. The remainder were living in self-built wattle and daub homes. Mr Ron Pistorius, Natal's chief town and regional planner, stated that there would be 400 000 Africans living in greater Pietermaritzburg by the year 2000. He stated that at present only a quarter of Natal and KwaZulu's Africans lived in the urban areas. Natal's urban African population rose from 750 000 in 1970 to an estimated 1,18m in 1980 and would double to 2,25m by 1995. To cope with this influx 155 000 houses would have to be built by 1995 assuming an average of 6,5 people per house. This was over 10 000 houses a year. At R7 500 a house this would require R75m a year. It would also require an annual investment in Natal's industrial sector of R100m-R150m to provide sufficient jobs.111

The Port Natal Administration Board announced it would spend R140 000 during the coming financial year on improvements to the S J Smith and Dalton Road Hostels for African males in Durban. This followed a Natal Mercury report on the appalling conditions in the hostels. Community councils

A community council was established in January in Sobantu, Pietermaritzburg. The council was the eighth operating in the Drakensberg Administration Board area. The others are in Dundee, Matatiele, Kokstad, Glencoe, Vryheid, Ladysmith and Paulpietersburg.112

References
' Rand Daily Mail January 22
2 Rand Daily Mail April 4
1 Evening Post March 4
4 Weekend Post February 23
Post June 5
6 Daily Dispatch April 4
Rand Daily Mail February 1
Hansard 5 Q col 273

" Hansard 17 Q col 855 Hansard 5 Q col 328 Hansard 7 Q col 396 12 Hansard 1 Q col 126
1 PostMarch 21 H4 Hansard 7 Q col 394 Hansard 2 Q col 7
1 Sunday Times March 30 17 Hansard 2 Q col 7 "8 Hansard 5 Q col 312 19 Ibid
20 Hansard 12 Q col 748
GROUP AREAS

AND HOUSING

Legislation

Housing Amendment Act No 11

The act amends the original act in respect of the service of certain notices upon residents of houses. The amendment provides that such notices may now be affixed to the principal or outer door of the dwelling in addition to the previously existing means.

Community Development Amendment Act No 12

The act provides for the service of certain notices on tenants of properties owned by the Community Development Board in the same way as is provided for by the Housing Amendment Act No 11. The act further provides that if rentals are not paid timeously and the board has served notice on the tenant that that is the case, the secretary may take action or order action to be taken to take possession of the property or secure the property until the arrear rentals have been paid. The act further empowers inspectors to enter and inspect premises or buildings let by the board, acquired or erected through a loan from the board or sold by the board provided a portion of the purchase price was still outstanding.

Both acts permit an eviction order to be served on the occupier of premises without the presence of the occupier or his accredited agent.

In August the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, announced that he had instructed officials in his department to investigate the Group Areas Act with a view to re-drafting it. Mr Steyn said that the recommendations of the Rieckert Commission which were accepted by the government (see last year's Survey, pp 466-7) necessitated this in-depth look at the act and its application throughout SA.

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 December 31, 1972:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cape</th>
<th>F S</th>
<th>Natal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Housing

Port Elizabeth
Indian
(Peninsula (Durban (Witwatersrand) 2 260) rand 3 800)

3 600)

The official shortage figures are in some cases lower than those recorded on local authority housing lists and estimates made by the representatives of the communities concerned. For these estimates see Group Areas and Housing - Regional Developments.

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 1979:

White Coloured Indian
Cape 1 646 11 819 168
O F S 751 296
Natal 611 66 5 557
Transvaal 2 260 2 387 412
Total 5 268 14 568 6 137

Provision 1978 2 644 23 406 3 637

% increase/decrease over 1978 + 99,24 -37,38 +68,74

According to the department's report for October 1978-September 1979, an estimated 12 500 dwelling units for coloured people have to be built annually to meet the need resulting from natural population growth. In view of the erection of 39 500 units during the past two years, the report expressed optimism that the housing backlog would be eradicated by 1985. (The reason for the discrepancies in totals is because of the different period covered by the report.) The provision of Indian housing failed to meet its target of 6 500 units annually provided by the department and local authorities. The previous year's report had stated that 8 000 houses a year, provided by public and private sectors, would be needed to eliminate the backlog over five years. The report expressed the hope that a further 1 500 units for Indian occupation would be erected by private enterprise.

Replying to a question in the senate, the Minister of Statistics gave information relating to the number of dwelling units which were constructed by the private sector during 1978-79 for white, coloured and Asian occupation:

White Coloured Asian
Durban 900 26 575
Witwatersrand 4 619 93 144
Cape Peninsula 2 169 902 15
Port Elizabeth 449 59 13
Pretoria 1 973 13 61
Remainder of SA 6 179 896 391
Total 16 289 1 989 1 199

Speaking in the assembly, the Minister of Community Development stressed the need for more housing in both the upper and the lower income brackets. He said that it was an undeniable fact that individual incomes among the lower income group had not kept pace with the increased cost of housing. This made it necessary for housing authorities to devise plans in order to lower the cost of even the cheapest dwelling unit still further. The minister stated that the standard of the housing provided could not be sacrificed and that site-and-service and other self-building schemes would not provide an answer to SA’s housing shortage, as they would develop into slums.

The Department of Community Development vote for 1980/81 was R403 295 350, an increase of R31 423 250 over the previous year. The total amount allocated to the provision of housing was R261 245m (R35 050m increase).

Community Facilities
From October 1978 to September 1979 advances for community facilities to the value of R11m were approved, bringing the total amount advanced since 1974 to R44.5m. Approximately R8m was spent on the provision of facilities during this period.

Properties Owned by the Department of Community Development
The total value of properties held by the department was R329 412 800.

Squatters
In his report the Secretary for Community Development gave the following information concerning registered squatters in the areas of jurisdiction of the eight regional offices of the department, (African squatters are excluded).)

Number of Squatter Huts
Demolished
1/10/78- 2/10/75- Not yet
Regional Office Registered 30/9/79 30/9/79 Demolished
Cape Town 26 257 4 430 13 180 13 077
Port Elizabeth 4 522 29 410 11 112
Durban 7 080 295 1 817 5 263
Kimberley 667 138 1.38 529
Pretoria 488 . 488

Some General Comments on the Housing Situation
Available data indicated that the oversupply of white housing was largely disappearing. The upswing in the country's economy experienced during 1979 and 1980 increased the demand for housing for whites and led the Minister of Community Development to appeal to the private sector to expand its output of houses for the upper income bracket.

However while the oversupply of white housing ceased to be a problem, the shortage of housing for coloured people and Indians remained serious. Official figures indicated a backlog of at least 56 600 units in respect of these groups. The backlog was viewed as a short-term problem by the department which repeated its belief that, subject to the continued availability of funds, the housing shortage would be eliminated by 1985.11 Opposition spokesmen again expressed the view that if the shortage was a temporary problem, as the department claimed, temporary measures such as permits to remain in white areas and self-help housing were needed.2

Debate on the necessity and desirability of self-help housing continued. The department's report once again warned against it and in the assembly, the minister said that while it might be a viable way of providing housing for a few people, in the vast majority of cases it would lead to the creation of slum conditions similar to those into which similar schemes in Orlando, Sophiatown and Elsies River had degenerated.1

Expenditure over the past five years has shown a gradual trend towards providing housing for blacks at the expense of the provision of white housing. The department's report stated that this has occurred because of the greater need for the state to provide housing for blacks. Nevertheless the state spent a small percentage of the GNP on housing. Replying to a question in the assembly,4 the Minister of Statistics said that 0,85% of the GNP for the calendar year 1978 (the latest year for which figures were available) was allocated to housing for whites, coloured people and Indians. This totalled R326,4m.

In September the newly-appointed Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotzé, announced that the income ceiling for people to qualify for assistance from the National Housing Fund had been raised to R650 per month for married couples and R360 per month for single persons. The maximum amount which could be borrowed was raised to R18 500.

In July interest rates payable by persons earning between R250 and R350 per month were reduced from 9% to 5% over a 30 year period.

A change in housing scheme subsidisation for all races came into operation on October 1. From that date, tenants whose income did not exceed R150 a month would pay a maximum of only 5% of their income as rent, with the minimum being R2,50. The rent of tenants who earned from R151-R250 a month would be estimated at an annual interest of 3% on the depreciated replacement cost of the house over 40 years: between R252-R350, 5% on depreciated replacement cost over 30 years; R351-R450, 7% on depreciated replacement cost over 30 years; and R451-R540, 9% on depreciated replacement cost over 30 years. This would
apply to houses built by the Department of Community Development and local authorities with funds from the National Housing Fund.

Group Areas
The Minister of Community Development said the following number of families were moved from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act (the number of persons moved was not known) in 1979 in each province: 5

Cape Transvaal OFS
K - I
White
1 884 233
349

Group Areas Removals
Indian
72 188

Total
9 2 317
819

The minister said that the following number of families had been disqualified and moved from the commencement of the Group Areas Act up to December 31, 1979: 16

White
Disqualified Moved
846 732
694 688

Coloured
Disqualified Moved
65 532 58 366 13 162 10930 2 364 2 300

Indian Disqualified
3 619 12 463

Moved
2 581 10 242
Natal
905 814 5 575 3 313 30 146 22 290
Total
2 457 2 234 86 633 74 909 46 228 35 113

The following families remained to be moved in terms of proclamations under the Group Areas Act as at December 31, 1979:

White
114

Cape Transvaal
OFS Natal
Coloured
7 166 2 232
64
2 262
Indian
1 038 2 221
7 856
The total family picture is as follows:

Moved since  
Commencement Moved 1979 Moved
White 2 234 9 223
Areas Coloured 74 909 2 317 11 724
Removals Indian 135 113 819 11 115

The Minister of Community Development gave information relating to the number of group areas and the total area proclaimed for each race group as at December 31, 1979:

Proclaimed as at 31/12/79 Area-ha
White 840 761 862
Coloured 559 92 294
Indian 248 45 007

During the period October 1, 1978 to September 30, 1979, 6 125 applications for permits for ownership and occupation by disqualified persons in terms of the Group Areas Act were received. Of these 5 202 were granted, 469 were refused, 92 were withdrawn and 405 were carried over. The latter figure includes a further 43 applications which had not been dealt with on September 30. Of 45 appeals received, 26 were refused, 12 were upheld and seven carried over.

Traders
According to the department's report it has been accepted as policy that more use will be made of 'section 19' areas, i.e. areas in the cities and bigger towns outside coloured and Indian group areas where coloured people and Indians may carry on business in terms of the act.

The Minister of the Department of Community Development gave the following information in respect of the number of people moved from business premises in terms of the Group Areas Act:

Resettled from Moved Still to be
Commencement of during moved at end Province Act to end 1979 1979 of 1979
White Cape 3 - 43
Transvaal 8 24
OFS - -Natal 10 - 12
Total 21 - 79

Province
Coloured Cape
Transvaal
OFS Natal
Resettled from Commencement of Act to end 1979
Moved during 1979
Still to be moved at end of 1979
16
3
351
id
-5 Group
33
- Areas
4 Removals
Total 129 200
Indian Cape 304 -Transvaal 1 182 351
OFS - -
Natal 484 5 70
Total 1 970 5 421

The towns from which Indian traders were to be moved, the date on which the removal was expected to take place and the numbers and cost involved were given by the Minister of Community Development:

Town
Potchefstroom
Klerksdorp
Ladysmith
Bethal
Louis Trichardt
Piet Retief
Pietersburg
Potgietersrus
Schweizer-Reneke
Zeerust
Vereeniging
Lichtenburg

Date
31-3-80
Not Available
30-6-80 31-5-80
30-6-80
31-8-80
-31-8-80
31-3-80
31-1-81
31-7-80 31-7-80 30-6-80

Number
2 1
70 32 50 19 87 34 16
17 70 23

Cost - Rm
451

Not expected that it will be necessary to incur any expenditure because the trader intends erecting own premises
3 220 3 206 2 810 1 297 3 175 3 000
The Secretary for Community Development said in his report that 1,227 business premises had been erected for Indians by his department. A further 30 were under construction and 91 were at various stages of planning. Compared with figures given in 1979, there was a considerable reduction in the numbers of Indian traders still to be moved and business premises to be erected for them. This reflected a policy decision last year to halt many planned removals of 'disqualified' traders. The removal of Indian traders in terms of the Group Areas Act was continued only in the rural areas of the Transvaal and at Ladysmith, Natal. The report stated that this was because planning in these areas was far advanced. However if relocation because of urban renewal or road works was required, traders were also relocated.

Some General Comments on the Group Areas Act

Criticism of the act continued to be widespread. Senator Eric Winchester, PFP, described it as the worst enacted by any SA government since Union and possibly the worst enacted by any government anywhere in the world. He said that "not only had it been a total economic failure but it was also immoral and discriminatory". He said that the act had increased the burden on local authorities. He estimated that it was not unreasonable to value the land owned by the Department of Community Development at R1 000m in terms of current prices. Local authorities received no rates and taxes on this land because no taxes were payable on government-owned properties.

Delegates to the annual congress of the Association of Management Committees said that the act had broken up families, ruined community life and led to untold suffering.23

In April the Minister of Community Development, announced that parts of white central business districts would be opened to other races before the end of the year. He said that in some areas this could be for occupation only while others might be opened for ownership, depending on the circumstances.24

Following a meeting with Mr Steyn, Indian community leaders expressed the cautious hope that the government was prepared to reconsider the 'necessity' of the act. It was reported that Mr Steyn had agreed to present a proposal to the cabinet that traditional Indian suburbs near the centre of Johannesburg should be restored to the community. (See Regional Developments - Johannesburg - Indian housing.)

In June Mr Steyn raised the possibility of so-called grey areas where people of all races could live. He said that, with progress towards the creation of the constellation of states, new township areas where nobody would have established property rights would be required, and everyone would be able to live in these
areas. Explaining his idea Mr Steyn said that it was not policy but he believed that it would happen.2” Commenting on Mr Steyn's announcement, To the Point's columnist, Onlooker, linked the growth of 'grey areas' to the Prime Minister's total strategy. The article stated that the idea had grown out of the realisation on the part of the government that segregationist measures had become not only impractical but also detrimental to socio-economic stability.2” It was reported in August that the Department of Community Development had rejected an application by a black business institution to lease offices in central Johannesburg.27 No reasons were reported.

Comments by the Cillie Commission on the Group Areas Act
Discussing the role of the Group Areas Act as a possible cause of the uprisings in the country during the period which it investigated, the commission found that the group areas policy caused a feeling of general dissatisfaction among many blacks and that this feeling had undoubtedly contributed to a state of mind that was receptive to provocation to riot.

It also found that dissatisfaction about a decision in terms of the act was a direct cause of an incident of rioting at Stellenbosch and Group Areas that dissatisfaction with the application of the act had contributed to and a certain extent to the rioting in Mossel Bay.

For further findings see chapters on The African Homelands, Police, School and University Boycotts, and Population. Johannesburg Group Areas and Housing - Regional Developments Johannesburg Metropolitan Area

Shortages
The backlog in the provision of both coloured and Indian housing reported in last year's Survey remained.2' During 1979 the number of homes built in the Witwatersrand complex was as follows: 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of Community Development Authority (1978-79)</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1 411</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Community Development gave information in the assembly concerning the amount spent by his department on the provision of economic and sub-economic housing in Johannesburg for the period April 1, 1979 to December 31, 1979:"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sub-economic Housing</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 068 414</td>
<td>9 994 677</td>
<td>123 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>4 495 417</td>
<td>4 115 167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Johannesburg City Council's Housing Department stated in September that there were 4,175 'coloured' families on the municipality's housing waiting list. It had budgeted R13,532,000, financed by loans from the National Housing Fund for housing for 'coloured' persons during the 1980-81 financial year. According to Mr Harold Williams, of the Johannesburg municipality's housing department, the municipality planned 1,470 units during 1980. He stated that he expected 1,205 of these to have been completed by mid-February 1981 and the remaining 265 by the end of 1981. Of the housing units planned, 77 were for a home ownership scheme, 396 were sub-economic units, and the remaining 1,097 were economic units.

Indian Housing

The shortage of accommodation in Lenasia was highlighted by a report in July which stated that the number of applicants on the official housing list had grown from 4,200 families in August 1979 to 4,952 families in June. According to the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association (JISWA), the official figures were far too low. A JISWA spokesman said that as many as 8,000 families could be in need of rehousing. The problem was exacerbated by the Pageview relocation. Of the 3,000 units planned by the department for completion in June 1981, 1,200 (40%) were to be allocated to former Pageview residents.

The department's report for the period October 1, 1978 to September 30, 1979 stated that 342 dwelling units were completed, 799 were under construction and 5,056 were still in the planning stage during the period it reviewed. During the same period 151 building sites had been sold and a further 1,710 dwelling units were being finalised. The report stated that the total of 5,855 dwelling units either under construction or planned would ensure that the Indian housing shortage in Johannesburg would soon be eliminated and within two years would be practically something of the past.

The preference given to residents of Pageview, who receive priority in the allocation of newly built houses in Lenasia, continued to cause dissatisfaction in the area. Replying to a question in the assembly the Minister of Community Development said that 3,472 Asian and 446 coloured families had been moved out of the area since it was proclaimed a white group area in 1963. A further 818 Asian families were still to be relocated. The Community Development Board had spent R4,006,156 on Pageview since 1963.

Criticism of the decision to rehouse Pageview residents continued to be voiced. The Reverend Rob Robertson of the ad hoc Committee for Pageview, said that if the demolition of the area was for the purpose of urban renewal the department should wait until houses in Lenasia were ready to accommodate the people. Mr I F H Mayet a member of the committee, questioned the decision to demolish the area as overseas planners advocated restoration, and not replacement when urban renewal was undertaken. Mr Mayet also questioned whether the people would be able to afford their new homes as rentals were expected to be approximately R190
per month and electricity R50 a month. In addition transport costs to and from work had to be taken into account.

Pageview residents claimed that the Department of Community Development had demolished at least 40 structurally sound houses in the area. Their statement was denied by the minister, Mr Marais Steyn, who said it was not government policy to do this. However, in August there were reports that the department's demolishers were still demolishing buildings of sound structure despite the minister's statement. It was expected that all Pageview residents would be moved to Lenasia by the end of the year. However, in July the minister undertook to submit a request for the return of the area to the Indian community to the cabinet for its consideration. The minister's undertaking raised hopes that Pageview could be saved. This hope was dashed after the cabinet decided in September that Pageview would not be rezoned for Indian occupation.

Coloured and Indian People in White Group Areas

The Secretary for Community Development reported that during 1978/79 "the number of complaints about intrusion by non-Whites into White group areas increased alarmingly in certain areas, especially Johannesburg".

It was estimated in July that more than 2,000 coloured and Indian persons were illegally resident in central Johannesburg. According to Mrs Marie Phitidis, secretary of Actstop, (The Action Committee to Stop Evictions) 90% of these people had moved into the city centre because they were unable to find accommodation in coloured and Indian group areas. Of the remaining 10%, some had no experience of coloured and Indian group areas, having been born and raised in areas such as Doornfontein and Ferreirasdorp. A third of the families recently came to Johannesburg in search of work and would thus be at the bottom of the housing list and others were not able to afford the bus fares to commute. As was reported in last year's Survey, there were a number of court cases in connection with the Group Areas Act. Judgement in these cases was held over pending the decision of the Appeal Court in two crucial cases -those of State vs Achmed Nazir Adam and State vs Ivan George Werner - scheduled for September.

While police action against 'illegal' tenants continued (according to the secretary of Actstop, 140 people appeared in one week alone in May in the Johannesburg Regional Court on charges under the Group Areas Act) all cases were remanded pending the outcome of the Adam and Werner appeals. In June it was estimated that approximately 700 coloured and Indian families faced eviction if the appeals failed.

Despite the shortage of available houses the Minister of Community Development warned in July that illegal coloured and Indian residents in white areas would have to face the full force of the law after the outcome of the appeals was known. Mr Steyn's threat was investigated by the police on the instructions of the Transvaal's Attorney-General, for possible contempt of court. The regional representative of the Department of Community Development, Mr D Rossoew, said that the department had made no plans to cope with the possible situation
because "the state was not going to provide houses for people who deliberately break the law".

On September 30 the Appeal Court dismissed both appeals in a composite judgement. The judgement stated that no-one was forced to live in a stipulated group area but that members of a particular group were declared by the act to be disqualified and forbidden to occupy the group area of another group. In respect of the Adams case, the judgement stated that there was no evidence of an absolute housing scarcity and the evidence had only indicated the presence of highly inconvenient and unhygenic accommodation. In these circumstances there could be no call on the defence of necessity. In the Werner case, the judgement found that the appellant had voluntarily gone to Johannesburg from the Cape. He had not been compelled to move to Johannesburg. The judgement stated that the legislature had foreseen that group areas would grow and extend and had made provision for this

Group Areas
and
Housing:
Johannesburg

Such growth was a process which would continue over an indefinite period. In the process a temporary housing shortage in any group area might exist. Because of this, the judgement ruled that Mr Werner's argument that the state had failed to keep pace with the provision of housing and, therefore, Proclamation No 830/962 was invalid, was incorrect. Mr Werner's appeal on the grounds of necessity failed because his position did not differ from that of Mr Adams.

According to Professor Johan van der Vyfer, of the University of the Witwatersrand's Faculty of Law, the judgement upheld a 1963 decision of the Appeal Court which had implicitly sanctioned the creation of unequal separate facilities.

Other Transvaal Areas
Investigations conducted during the year revealed that in some Transvaal towns white opposition to the planned removal of Indian traders was developing. This opposition to the removals was based on the experience of other towns, where the removals were followed by a decline in business activity in the central business districts where the presence of Indian traders had stimulated trade. Representations were made to the government not to move the Indian traders by the Lichtenburg Sakekamer and Chamber of Commerce, the Zeerust Town Council, the Louis Trichardt Sakekamer, the Vereeniging Chamber of Commerce, the Potgietersrus Town Council and similar bodies in other towns.

According to Mr Joe Carrim, President of the Pretoria Indian Traders' Association, the number of Indians trading in white areas through the use of white nominees was at least three times as many as that of ten years ago. Mr Carrim estimated that there were at least
1 000 nominee businesses operating throughout the Transvaal.
In April, white service station owners in Louis Trichardt in the Northern
Transvaal protested when an Indian businessman, Mr C Ayob, was given
permission to open a service station on a site adjoining the highway to Zimbabwe,
which by-passes the town.4" Mr Piet Rossouw, secretary of the Northern
Transvaal division of the Motor Industries Federation, said that the protest was
not racialistically inspired but was based on sound economics as six or seven of
the town's white-owned service stations could go out of business if Mr Ayob were
allowed to open his service station. (The Indian group area was sited outside the
town and away from the central business district eight years ago.) Despite this, Mr
Ayob's service station went
into operation.
In January the Pretoria City Council decided that the white suburb of Erasmia
should be rezoned for occupation by Indians if the decision to proclaim
Hoekplaats an Indian area should be taken.
Erasmia borders on two existing Indian areas, Laudium and Claudius,41 and is
near to Hoekplaats. White residents of Erasmia stated that they wanted to deal
directly with potential purchasers and not have their properties expropriated by
the department. In August it was decided to proclaim an area situated next to
Church Street West and a small area adjoining the eastern side of the Claudius
Indian group area. A border strip between Laudium and Erasmia was also
proclaimed. The Department of Community Development stated that

Erasmia and Christoburg were not considered for reproclamation as 357 Indian
areas.
Mr M Packery, the Indian businessman who moved into the
white suburb of Arcadia in Pretoria last year,42 remained in the house Group
Areas during the year. Mr Packery was charged under the Group Areas Act and
and the magistrate postponed the case until the Appeal Court had reached a
decision on the two appeals before it.4"

Housing:
Mr Packery was evicted from the house after the outcome of the Cape
Adam/Werner appeal.
Western Cape
The officially estimated shortage of coloured homes in the Cape Peninsula at the
end of 1979 was 22 500."4 In September the town clerk's department of the Cape
Town City Council stated that by the end of the previous month, 22 915 people
had applied for accommodation. A total of 13 615 dwelling units for coloured
persons were constructed in the Peninsula area during 1979." All of these were
built by the local authority as were 120 homes for Indians. The official housing
shortage for Indians in the Peninsula was given as 650 units. The total amount
allocated for coloured housing in 1980 was R81 624 780. This consisted of loans
from the National Housing Fund (R79 032 995), Community Development (R1
659 805), Council Funds (R300 000) and miscellaneous grants (R632 000).
The minister gave information on the amount spent by his department on the
provision of economic and sub-economic housing in the period April 1, 1979 to
December 31, 1979 in Cape Town:4"
The Minister of Community Development said that during 1979 6346 housing units were built for coloured persons in the Cape Peninsula. It was planned to build 10 000 units during 1980 and he estimated that subject to the availability of sufficient funds, by 1983 the housing shortage for coloured persons would be eliminated.47

Mitchells Plain

The Secretary for Community Development reported that 6 381 dwelling units were completed at Mitchells Plain during the year he reviewed.4' He stated that a further 6 416 units would be completed in 1980. Since the inception of the project 12 481 units had been completed. A further 12 000 units for occupation by the lower income group had been planned and tenders for their erection accepted. In June the train service linking Mitchells Plain to Cape Town began operating. Fare structures for train travel were substantially lower than for bus travel. A worker's weekly ticket cost R1,43 as opposed to R4,80 for bus fares; a weekly season ticket, allowing unlimited rides during a week, cost R5,65. Monthly season tickets cost R6,21 as opposed to Ri 5,20 by bus.49

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Group Areas and Housing: Cape

Despite initial dissatisfaction with the project due to the size of the housing units and their uniformity of style, interest in the township grew during the year. In May it was reported that 482 houses had been sold to individual property owners, and in July 1 101 houses were sold."o City Council officials said that there were two possible reasons for the boom, which they did not expect to end. These were the opening of the rail link to Cape Town and the lowered interest rates, announced by the Minister of Community Development in June, which came into force on July 1. The new rate reduced the interest payable by a person earning between R250 and R350 a month from 9% to 5% over a 30 year period. When completed, by the end of 1983, the township will house 250 000 people. It will contain 66 primary schools, 28 high schools, civic halls, health clinics, libraries, a community centre and a 28 hectare park."n Criticism of the project continued. Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, said that it was the result of ill-conceived town planning based on apartheid and had been built to satisfy the Group Areas Act.'2 The chairman of the Cape Town City Council's housing committee, Mrs Eulalie Stott, said that the council was building Mitchells Plain only because it had not been given a large block of land anywhere else and Mr Chris Stevens, chairman of the Combined Mitchells Plain Ratepayers' Association, said that Mitchells Plain had been devised to perpetuate the suffering and inequality of the so-called coloured people, thereby keeping them subservient.1
In May it was announced that the construction of the business centre, was well advanced. Five of the major chain stores were expected to open in time for Christmas.

Atlantis

Three schemes comprising 3,316 dwelling units had been completed at the end of September 1979. The Secretary for Community Development reported that tenders had been invited for a scheme comprising 506 low cost units and building was expected to start shortly. Lack of demand had caused a scheme comprising 523 dwellings to be held in abeyance but a further 3,900 units were being planned. The report stated that demand for housing in Atlantis was dependent on the creation of employment opportunities in the area. Community facilities comprising sports fields, a community hall, a library and a creche were provided by the Divisional Council of the Cape at a cost of R416,000.

In February the report of the Railways and Harbours Board on the construction of a new line between Chempet and Atlantis was presented to parliament. The report recommended the construction of the line at an estimated cost of R21m. The proposed line would link Atlantis to the Cape Town metropolitan rail system. An agreement extending over a period of 15 years entered into by the Department of Environmental Planning and Energy guaranteed the operation of the line against losses and provided for the capital investment in the line, including interest, to be recovered within the guarantee period. The belief was expressed that for significant development to take place in the neighbourhood of Atlantis rail facilities were necessary.

A number of buildings were vandalised at Atlantis. In 1979 the Divisional Council had to undertake repairs to over 1,000 dwellings at a cost of R34,000. Commenting on the destruction Mr Syd Louw, chairman of the Atlantis Management Committee, said that the vast majority of the vandalised buildings were vacant and that matters would improve once more people moved to the area.

District Six

Officially renamed Zonnebloem last year, this area continued to arouse controversy during the year. The Minister of Community Development gave information relating to the number of families who had been moved and those who still had to be moved as at December 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Families Moved at end 1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>8,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moved During 1979

|                | 149                              |
Since February 11, 1966 the Community Development Board has spent R27 211 091 on District Six. As at March 17, 11 properties in the area had been sold for a total of R5 386 312. Of these the state bought three for R191 000 and the Department of National Education one for R5m. The Minister of Community Development declined to disclose the names of the private purchasers on the grounds that it might prejudice their interests."

Earlier in the year the minister said that his department was going ahead with plans to build high quality dwelling units in District Six."0 He said that in addition to the 70 good quality units which were already under construction, the department planned to erect a further 90 units and work was scheduled to commence on these in June.

Plans to erect an Oriental Plaza-type business centre for Indians went ahead despite protests from the community. Replying to a question in parliament,61 the Deputy Minister of Community Development said that expenditure on the project to date amounted to R1 171 654. The centre opened early in the year and despite calls for a boycott approximately 20 Indian traders took up shop sites in the centre which will eventually contain 72 sites.2 The chairman of the Western Cape Traders' Association, Mr Dawood Khan, condemned the centre and threatened to expel any members of his association who took shops in the Plaza. Father Basil van Rensburg, of the District Six Ministers Fraternal, described the Plaza as a monument to white ideological greed and said that Mr Louis Fouché, Director-General of Community Development, had accepted ill-advised advice on the siting of the Plaza.

In May the Administrator of the Cape Province, Mr Gene Louw, appealed to the public to stop criticising the decision to site the new technikon in District Six. Organisations working for the preservation of the area reacted sharply to Mr Louw's appeal. The District Six Ratepayers' Association said that the technikon would be a monument to the death of a community and criticised Mr Louw's lack of sensitivity." The Ministers Fraternal of District Six said it would ignore Mr Louw's appeal because more than 3 000 people would have to be uprooted and three historic church buildings destroyed to make way for the technikon. The Friends of District Six organisation pointed out that the decision to site the technikon in District Six was opposed by thousands of Capetonians, the city council and the chamber of commerce and that the council had proposed many alternative sites.

In March Dr T C Shippey, director of the Cape technikon, denied that he had referred to coloured people as "a lot of drunks and layabouts who did not deserve any help"."4 Dr Shippey's alleged statement led to a demand by the District Six
Residents' and Ratepayers' Civic Association and the District Six Ministers Fraternal for his immediate resignation. In February it was announced that Total Oil would buy a site in District Six on which it planned to erect a filling station. The decision angered residents who threatened to ask the French president, Mr Giscard d'Estaing, to intervene with the company's French parent company to block the deal. Explaining the purchase of the land, a spokesman for the company's head office in Johannesburg said that the company was not aware that the site was in District Six until after it had bought the land because it did not know that Zonnebloem was the new official name of the area. The spokesman said that although the company's managing director, Mr Alphonse Hough, was prepared to meet the secretary of the Western Cape Traders' Association to sort out their mutual differences the company was committed to developing the site as the sale was irrevocable. It was later announced that the company would not develop the site for a year. Earlier two other companies, Shell Oil and Anker Data Systems, had been persuaded by the representations of community leaders not to develop sites in the area.

In July the Minister of Coloured Relations, Indian Affairs and Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, told a delegation from the Union of Teachers' Associations of SA that the two existing schools for coloured persons in District Six would not be closed. Mr Steyn made the promise because of the shortage of school accommodation for coloured pupils. The final decision still had to be reached on the future of the section of Woodstock on which a decision had been deferred last year.

Paternoster
The north-west coloured community of Paternoster was threatened with relocation during the year. According to officials of the Department of Community Development, the fishing community had asked to be re-housed elsewhere. It was planned to relocate the community an hour's walk from their present homes which are owned by the fishing company which employs the majority of the community. A meeting of the Group Areas Board decided in October to delay a final decision on the matter until February 1981.

Eastern Cape
The officially estimated shortage of houses in Port Elizabeth was 3 600 coloured housing units and 150 Indian units. The Director of the Port Elizabeth Housing Department, Mr D I Cleary, said in September that there were 8 500 coloured persons on the housing waiting list. Mr Cleary said he was hesitant to base forward planning on the doubtful information contained in waiting lists because they could merely be regarded as a barometer indicating a rise or fall in housing needs. He said that socio-economic surveys which had been carried out in the Port Elizabeth area had indicated a large proportion of overcrowding in
existing housing schemes and (ross-references of family details indicated a large body of overcrowded families whose plight had never been reflected within the official waiting lists of the Port Elizabeth City Council. A total of 550 dwelling units for coloured persons were constructed during 1979.” The Minister of Community Development gave information about the amount spent by his department on the provision of economic and sub-economic housing in the period April 1, 1979 to December 31, 1979.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>80 990 2 569 871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister said that during 1979 his department had built 363 dwelling units for coloured persons in Port Elizabeth and planned to provide 202 units for Indian occupation in 1980. The minister gave details in the assembly, 4 of the number of dwelling units planned, the estimated cost and the expected date of completion up to 1984 of the Port Elizabeth City Council's coloured housing programme, financed by advances from the National Housing Fund:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Units</th>
<th>Estimated Cost-R</th>
<th>Expected Completion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>162 557</td>
<td>1 122 838 3 568 479</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 397 2 000</td>
<td>10 743 339 20 000 000</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plans by building societies to purchase blocks of land for development in Bethalsdorp Extension 10 were thwarted by the Port Elizabeth Coloured Management Committee in February. The CMC decided that the land should not be sold by private auction nor on a first-come-first-served basis. It announced that it favoured sale of the land by private treaty, which meant that no single buyer would be able to buy large tracts of land. A dispute arose between the Port Elizabeth City Council's Administration Committee and the CMC over the committee's proposal to permit the redevelopment of an industrial site as luxury flats for coloured persons. The committee proposed that coloured people should be allowed to live in the
proposed flats after permits had been obtained. The CMC opposed the proposal on two grounds. These were that there was a greater need for housing for the lower income group and that there was total opposition to the permit system. In February the Uitenhage Town Council approved plans for the erection of a coloured civic centre in the Kabah residential area. It was estimated that the proposed centre would cost R700 000 and would take 18 months to complete. Building was scheduled to begin late in the year.

The official opening of the Breidbach housing scheme near Kingwilliamstown in March drew criticism from two ministers of religion. The Rev C A G Jooste of the Congregational Church and Ds E E Leeuw of the NG Sendingkerk said Breidbach was not financially viable and should not be promoted to town status. They criticised the siting of the prospective business sites which, they said, were so situated that they could not compete with enterprises in Kingwilliamstown. They also attacked the inadequate educational, cultural and recreational facilities, describing it as 'pathetic' that a community of 7 000, most of whom were pressurised into accepting residence, should be served by one school when compared with the situation in white communities. They said that public transport was inadequate and that there was a lack of medical facilities.

A spokesman for the East London City Council said in October that there were 2 050 coloured families on the housing waiting list and probably many more without accommodation. The council expected a large influx due to the Ciskei's decision to accept independence. During the current financial year between R2.5m and R3m was allocated for an expected 200 housing units.

In August it was reported that the Kimberly municipality had a waiting list for 2 060 houses for coloured people. According to municipal figures there was a need for 1 490 sub-economic and 570 economic houses.

Natal

The official housing shortage as at December 31, 1979 was 2 260 units for coloured persons and 10 600 units for Indians. According to the Durban Corporation's Housing Department there were 18 000 people on its housing waiting list in September. The Durban office of the Department of Community Development said in the same month that its waiting list for houses comprised 5 218 families. A spokesman for the department said the figure fluctuated almost on a daily basis. The Minister of Community Development gave information relating to the number of housing units provided by his department and the 363 local authority in 1979:

| Department of Group Areas | Community Development Local Authority | White 124 46 |
| Coloured Housing: | Coloured - | Indian 2 688 Natal |

The Minister of Statistics gave information on the number of dwelling units which were built by private enterprise in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg complex during 1979:79
Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Community Development said that in 1979 2 869 units for occupation by Indians were built in the rest of Natal excluding Durban. He estimated that during 1980 4 000 units for Indian occupation would be built in Durban and 1 050 in the rest of Natal.

The total picture of the number of units built by all agencies in Durban was thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Enterprise</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Community Development gave information on the amount spent by his department on the provision of economic and sub-economic housing in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the period April 1, 1979 to December 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Economic - R</th>
<th>Sub-economic - R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2 298 923</td>
<td>98 247 1 222 524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>776 656</td>
<td>33 000 94 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>21 513 200</td>
<td>4 938 879 5 176 305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The deputy city treasurer of Durban said in September that the city had received R27.4m from the National Housing Fund for the provision of housing and the erection of buildings for welfare organisations during the city's current financial year.

In May in terms of Proclamation 87/1980, "20 years after Indian-owned land at Cato Manor was expropriated by the Department of Community Development, a large portion of the area was deproclaimed for white and proclaimed for Indian occupation. According"

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Group Areas and Housing: Natal
to Mr L Fouche, Secretary for Community Development, it was too early to say when or how the land, owned largely by the department, would be resold to Indians. He said that the government would appoint a committee to study the area in conjunction with the Durban City Council, with a view to replanning the area.

It was reported in June that Indian business was prepared to inject large amounts into the Durban central business district if the city was given the go-ahead to become SA's first mixed central business district trading area. This had been suggested by the Rieckert commission. It was expected that the capital injection would help to preserve the city's central business district.

Mr J N Reddy, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Indian Council, said in March that three new Indian towns were to be erected in northern Natal. The towns were to be situated at Richards Bay, Mtubatuba and Gungindlovu.
Reddy said that the proposed new townships would provide homes and jobs for thousands of people and that they were for future as well as present housing needs.

Fears that the removal of Indian traders from the central business district of Ladysmith would lead to the town's white owned businesses suffering were expressed in April. The immediate past president of the Ladysmith Chamber of Commerce, Mr Gilbert Richmond, said that there was a strong possibility of empty buildings in the town's main street. It was believed that the shopping complex provided for Indian traders would attract custom away from the white shop-keepers.

According to the official waiting list for houses at the beginning of the year in Pietermaritzburg, there was a shortage of 2 456 houses in the city. Of these 57 were new applications. Mr Mike Hobbs, the municipality's estate manager, said that the completion of these houses would not significantly affect the housing shortage as past experience had shown that the availability of housing usually increased the demand.

The Secretary for Community Development reported that 5 099 dwelling units for Indians had been completed in Phoenix since the project began in 1976. A further 5 158 were under construction and the construction of 8 161 units would be begun as soon as funds became available.

There was widespread opposition to the two proposed rent increases during the year. Residents of coloured and Indian townships asserted that the proposed rent increases, as high as 15% in some cases, would result in many more people living below the bread line. The Durban City Council proposed in June that rentals on sub-economic housing should be limited to a maximum of 5% of the breadwinner's earnings up to R150 per month. The proposal was welcomed by community leaders. Before it could be brought into operation the concession had to be approved by the National Housing Commission.

The department's housing scheme for coloured people at Marianridge was not, according to the report, particularly urgent. This was because the Durban City Council was providing accommodation elsewhere on a relatively large scale. The report states that the council had erected 1 194 units at Newlands East and that a further 890 were under construction. To date the department has erected 602 units at Marianridge and was giving consideration to the construction of a further 250.

**Group Areas and Housing: References**

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AMENITIES FOR BLACKS IN THE COMMON AREA

Government policy and the permit system

Changes in the operation of the permit system related mainly to sport, a distinction being made by the government between sport and other types of recreational activities. (See chapter on Sport for further details.)

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that the current conditions attached to a licence for international status were as follows:

Hotels

The licensee shall at all times during the currency of the authority display in a conspicuous place, at or near the main entrance to the licensed premises, an insignia. A reproduction of the insignia shall be shown clearly and in a conspicuous place on all letterheads and advertising material in respect of the licensed premises or business.

Admission to any bar on the licensed premises which has a public entrance from outside and to which only white males have to date been admitted shall remain restricted to such male persons only.

Participation in any form of dancing on the liquor licensed premises shall be restricted to persons who are members of the group mentioned in the proclamation whereby the area wherein such premises are situated has been declared a group area in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966.

The use of any swimming pool on the liquor licensed premises shall be restricted to bona fide guests who are resident in those premises. Liquor, refreshments and meals may only be sold or supplied to a person who (a) is a bona fide resident in the liquor licensed premises (b) is a bona fide guest of such resident (c) takes an ordinary meal in the premises or is about to do so (d) attends a bona fide function, seminar, conference or other occasion on the premises.

As agreed with the licensee, a certain percentage at the most of the total number of beds ordinarily available in the hotel for the pub-
are not white persons. The Minister of Justice or any person acting under his directions may in a particular case suspend any of these conditions and restrictions. The restriction relating to dancing does not relate to foreign nationals.

Sports Clubs
Liquor, refreshments and meals may only be sold to a black person who is a competitor taking part in any match or practice on the grounds of the club, is an official accompanying competitors taking part in any match or is a guest of a club member. When, by virtue of the authority, liquor, refreshments or meals are supplied to any person or any person is admitted as a guest to the licensed premises, no dancing shall take place in that part of the premises in which such a person is present. The Minister of Justice or any person acting under his direction may in a particular case suspend any of these conditions and restrictions.

Social Clubs
Admission to the licensed premises shall remain restricted to members of the club and their bona fide guests. Participation in any form of dancing on the liquor licensed premises shall be restricted to persons who are members of the group mentioned in the proclamation whereby the area wherein such premises is situated has been declared a group area in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Racing Clubs
The sale or supply of liquor, meals and refreshments shall be restricted to blacks who are trainers, colour holders, owners of horses and their bona fide guests. Such sale or supply of liquor shall be restricted to the areas to which only holders of colours and trainers have access.

In January Dr Erika Theron, chairman of the Theron Commission, pleaded for the scrapping of discriminatory laws and an end to the permit system. The current confusion over the admission of blacks to restaurants, hotels and other public amenities brought the law into discredit and sometimes bordered on the absurd. Decisions on such matters, she said, should be left to the owners or controllers of the facility.'

Legislation
Liquor Act No 48 of 1980
It was no longer necessary to renew international permits annually. They remained valid unless withdrawn. This was intended to bring licences for international status into line with ordinary liquor licences. The provision that an international liquor licence cost twice as much as an ordinary licence remained. The PFP and NRP supported the bill with the exception of clause 10 which required that an additional fee be paid by the holder of an international licence. Mr Raw (NRP) said that this was penalising the holder for serving blacks and reflected an attitude objectionable to the NRP.

Theatre
Hotels
As at December 31, 1979, 59 liquor licensed hotels had been granted international status out of 75 which had applied during the year. Four of these had not had international status before. As at October 30, 1980, 69 hotels had international status, according to information provided by the Liquor Board. Their provincial distribution and grading by the Hotel Board was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>No Star</th>
<th>One Star</th>
<th>Two Star</th>
<th>Three Star</th>
<th>Four Star</th>
<th>Five Star</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were several reports of humiliating incidents at hotels caused by the conditions attached to the granting of international status; hotel managers and owners said that they found the application of these conditions an embarrassing burden. It was reported in August that foreign blacks (that is blacks from countries other than SA), but not black South Africans, could enjoy all privileges at such hotels including dancing, but neither foreign nor local blacks could dance with whites.

In October managers and owners of small hotels in Johannesburg said that hotel bars and off-sales outlets would have to become non-racial if they were to survive under conditions of escalating costs and increased competition with larger hotels.

Theatres
According to information provided by the Department of Community Development there were 37 theatres and halls throughout the country which had been granted open blanket permits as at November 10.

In March schoolgirls at St Anne's Diocesan College in Pietermaritzburg refused to attend a dress rehearsal at the Rowe theatre after being informed that six Indian pupils would not be allowed in. In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Community Development said that on January 22 a request to perform before a nonracial audience at the theatre was received. Permission was granted on February 8. Subsequently the management applied for a blanket permit to allow performances to be held before non-racial audiences at the venue. This was granted on March 27 with immediate effect. The permit included permission for non-racial audiences to attend dress rehearsals. He said that applications for general concessions in respect of certain theatres were considered with greater circumspection, in consultation with the local authorities concerned and other bodies, with due regard being had to the standard of theatre facilities and numerous other factors. The permit only arrived on the day of the performance and PFP spokesmen criticised officials for this delay which caused the incident.
The Bloemfontein city council decided to open the Civic Theatre to all races subject to the requirements of relevant government departments. Applications for each individual performance would be considered on merit. The National Council of Women said that they would continue to press for blanket permission as usually permission for an individual performance to be non-racial arrived too late.1"

In October the Sterreweg Theatre in Bloemfontein was opened to all races.

The Department of Community Development had made no decision on the application for an open permit by the Kimberley Theatre as at September.

In May the SA Theatre Union decided, with the approval of the Department of Manpower Utilisation and Development, to accept coloured and Indian professional actors as members.

I

Clubs
(For information on the developments within sports clubs see chapter on Sport.)

Clubs granted international status during the year were the Benoni Country Club, Inanda Club (Sandon), Edenvale Sports Club, New Club (Johannesburg), Old Edwardians Society (Johannesburg), Pirates Club (Johannesburg), Reed Stream Country Club (Bethal), Southern Suburbs Sports Club (Johannesburg) and White River Golf Club.11 During 1979 only one application was received from an unlicensed club in a white group area to admit members of other race groups to club land or premises as guests.12 72 clubs had been granted international status in 1979 - 25 in the Transvaal, 31 in the Cape, 14 in Natal and two in the OFS.

The condition prohibiting dancing attached to the granting of a permit was waived in two instances during the year. In April, the annual conference of the Association of Round Tables of SA, held in George and attended by delegates from African and overseas countries, was granted a permit which included dancing. In August the international dance festival previously held in Maseru was held in Cape Town with competitors participating on a non-racial basis.

It was announced in September that race clubs throughout the country had been given government permission in principle to implement on-course integration of race-goers. Clubs had autonomy to decide on desegregation. However, they would still have to apply for international status for the bars.13

In May the Johannesburg Turf Club applied to have the paddock bar facilities at Turffontein racecourse open to all races. In 1979 black guests at the club were allowed into the exclusive stewards and members lounges, but not allowed into the paying area of the paddock. A Turf Club spokesman said that it caused embarrassment to a party with blacks in it if they had to be split up because the black 371 people could not go into the paddock."4
In July the Durban, Clairwood and Scottsville turf clubs applied for international status. The Durban Turf Club's application was rejected on a technicality. The Port Elizabeth Turf Club had permission to serve liquor to black club members, owners and trainers, and applied in September for an international licence to serve all blacks.

Several instances were reported during the year of black guests being refused admission to clubs which did not have international status.

Beaches

At a public meeting during the Simonstown by-election in August the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, expressed his support for the opening of some beaches to all races, though he said some should be reserved for the exclusive use of particular races.

Controversy arose once again when blacks visited the Muizenberg, Sea Point, Camps Bay and Sunrise beaches in Cape Town over the Christmas/New Year season. As a result of complaints from whites they were asked to leave by police patrolling the beaches. According to Lieut P J van der Riel, the station commander at Muizenberg, between December 18 and January 30 people had been charged under the Separate Amenities Act and hundreds of others warned to remove themselves from the white beaches.

Mr Herbert Hirsch (PFP MPC for Sea Point) reiterated his call for completely open beaches. It was wrong, he said, for people to have to swim at a beach which was not as safe as the one reserved for whites. Mr Frank van der Velde (MPC, Wynberg) said that conditions at a Kalk Bay beach reserved for coloured people were completely overcrowded and unhygienic. He said the answer was to open all beaches to all races and put up gates at the smaller beaches and charge a minimal fee or close the gates after a specified number of people had entered. The role of the city council's beach constables was to control rowdy behaviour, not to enforce beach apartheid regulations which the council did not recognise.

Fe could not accept the proposition that racial mixing caused trouble on the beaches, saying that he and two other PFP MPC’s had toured the beaches and seen that at the 'open' beach between Sunrise Beach and Strandfontein all races mixed peacefully and unselfconsciously. The Western Cape Traders' Association called on black people to seriously consider boycotting white-owned supermarkets, bottlestores, hotels and restaurants as a result of the turning away of hundreds of blacks from so-called white beaches. If blacks were welcome to defend SA’s borders, said Mr K Allie the chairman, they should be welcome to use the beaches as well.

Later in January the administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, said that the provincial administration had instructed the city council to compile a list of rules for smaller beaches between Sunrise Beach and Simonstown because of the events over the Christmas season. An amount of R500 000 was planned to be spent on the employment of beach constables. The question of entrance charges to smaller beaches was also being investigated. He said that in 1979 the province spent R400 000 on the development of open beaches, with priority being given to Strandfontein. The highway from Mitchells Plain to
Strandfontein would be lengthened and a station built within Beaches walking distance of the beach. In 1981 almost R4.2m would be spent on open beaches, this being possible because the government made a grant on special application of Rim per year from 1979-81 for this purpose. For the development of a tidal pool at Strandfontein the Cape Town City Council had received a total sum of R1 304 670. However, the provincial administration reduced the operational and maintenance grant to the city council for the capital charges for approved capital outlay on open beaches by 25%. The city council had anticipated a provisional grant of R100 620 for 1980 and it only received R25 965. The administration gave as its reasons the fact that it could not continue financing projects which were being run at a loss.19

The administrator criticised the Cape Town city council for instructing beach constables not to order blacks from white beaches. The decision he said, made it difficult for his executive committee to consider a subsidy. The council had also refused to erect apartheid notices on beaches on instruction by the administrator and as a result he instructed the provincial secretary in terms of a provincial ordinance to erect such notices all along the False Bay coast from Clovelly to Mnandi Beach, the cost of which was debited to the council.20

In March Mr Louw said that he was determined to find non-political solutions to the Cape's beach problems and to create highstandard open facilities. He said he had a tentative blueprint for the development of a R12m Strandfontein project open to all, including a giant tidal pool, ablution and change blocks, caravan park, food outlets and ample parking facilities. The long stretch of False Bay beach was open to all and any facilities there must be similarly open to all. It had also been proposed that Rim be set aside for the possible development of open facilities on the Atlantic coast between Sandy Bay and Silverstroom. Money had been requested from the treasury. Regarding the opening of existing restricted beaches, Mr Louw said it was up to local authorities to convince the provincial executive committee that such proposals had the support of local residents in each case. Each beach had to be considered as an entity in relation to its environment and local interest.21

In April the Camps Bay Civic Association voted 129-99 in favour of opening its beaches to all races, saying that “anti-social behaviour” could be dealt with by the police and municipal beach constables. A group of Camps Bay residents circulated a petition dissociating themselves from any attempts by the city council to open Camps Bay beaches to all races which they said would inevitably lead to the opening of the residential areas. They said that the council wanted to open Camps Bay beach without a mandate from the ratepayers, without having consulted them and without there being any amenities or conveniences. A petition signed by 600 people to this effect was sent to the administrator.22
wanted stricter controls applied to Cape Town beaches before it was prepared to allow them to be opened to all races. The executive passed a resolution asking the city council as a matter of urgency to Beaches provide the following control measures:

1. admission fees to the beaches;
2. control of admission to beaches to avoid overcrowding;
3. supervision by an adequate number of beach police officers;
4. prohibition of alcohol on beaches in the Sea Point area;
5. adequate toilets and other facilities;
6. floodlighting to prevent crime.

They also asked that similar adaptations and provisions be applied to other public beaches in the Cape Town area 'wherever desirable'. The administration would then be asked to declare the beaches open, subject to the suggested control measures.21

The Muizenberg Ratepayers Association decided in favour of open beaches and recreation areas but said that this should be concurrent with the provision of adequate amenities and facilities for all races along the False Bay and Atlantic coastlines and an increase in the size of the municipal police force. The amenities and health committee of the Cape Town city council referred the resolutions of the three ratepayers associations to the executive committee with a recommendation that representations be made to the administrator on the whole question of the city's beaches. Ward 7> of Cape Town consisting of part of Southfield, Steenberg, Reat, Lakeside, Muizenberg, St James, Kalk Bay, Clovelly, Heathfield and Strandfontein, had submitted a resolution similar to the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers Association. In September the committee recommended that turnstiles be erected at Sunset, Glen and Queens beaches in Sea Point and Camps Bay to control crowds and check on unruly behaviour and drunkenness. There would be no charge for entry and no fences would be erected. Mr J Ross, chairman of the Kensington Ratepayers Association, thought that the turnstiles would be used to prevent an influx of blacks onto the beaches.22 This recommendation was subsequently implemented.

Generally attitudes in Cape Town regarding the opening of beaches reflected an acceptance of the idea provided they were protected from overcrowding and 'anti-social behaviour'. After a tour in August of several beaches by city councillors, the council decided that more beach constables were the answer to the problems of the beaches and it was going to propose that an admission charge be levied for entry to various beaches.26

The integrated beach in Cape Town was reported as being very dangerous. On January 3 the Cape Times reported that 61 bathers had been rescued from the surf in the previous five weeks.

The health and amenities committee of the Dias Divisional Council adjoining Port Elizabeth, recommended that application be made to the Department of Planning and Environment for a permanent permit which would allow Maitland River Mouth to be opened to all and that representations be made to the Provincial Administration for the demarcations of other areas as white areas.27
In East London a member of the later abolished Coloured Representatives Council said that the opening of Shelly Beach to all races had not solved the beach apartheid problem. The facilities were inadequate and could serve as a breeding ground for violence and chaos if there was not better control. Once again a call was made for all the beaches to be opened and the facilities on the West Bank to be developed. The chairman of the Beach Development Committee said sufficient financial resources were not available and that the committee's next priority was the development of the caravan park and the camping facilities near the tidal pool.8

In January 15 coloured anglers were ordered off one of Port Elizabeth's white beaches. Dr Botha, chairman of the city council's policy and resources committee, said that until such time as the beaches and facilities were shared, the best approach would be to ignore infringements of the law.2" In February the city council's policy and resources committee recommended to the administrator that all Port Elizabeth's beaches become non-racial provided that other Cape local authorities did the same and that there were adequate facilities. The committee also recommended that the council expedite provision of better amenities on the mainly black northern beaches so that people there could have proper facilities closer to their homes.

The administrator had indicated that he was prepared to consider applications from local authorities for open beaches.30 The chairman of the Indian management committee, Mr Bhana, questioned the policy and resources committee's demand for adequate beach facilities before beaches could be opened to all races. Only two beaches in Port Elizabeth had adequate facilities. The prerequisite that other local authorities agree to non-racial beaches was "farcical and halfhearted" because similar uniformity was not demanded in other matters. He again attacked the council for dragging its feet on the issue when it referred the recommendation back to the policy and resources committee saying that it was too vague. The Port Elizabeth branch of the National Council of Women of SA called on the city council to take the lead in opening beaches to all races and not to adopt a 'wait and see' attitude. At a meeting in March a unanimous vote was taken for the desegregation of Port Elizabeth beaches.

Charges could be levied on certain sections of beaches and beach wardens appointed to patrol the beaches.32 Black leaders in Port Elizabeth expressed anger that no more money would be spent on open beaches, contrary to a decision taken in 1978 by the provincial council to embark on a R2m development plan for Brighton Beach, New Beach and Joorst Park. Following recommendations by the administrator of the Cape the development of Brighton Beach only had been started, with a loan from the Port Elizabeth municipality. While wanting open beaches to be developed they saw the opening of white beaches as a more important priority. In September the Coloured Management Committee in Port Elizabeth proposed that a joint delegation consisting of its own representatives and those of the city council visit the administrator of the Cape, Mr Louw, in an attempt to get provincial funds to
continue the development of Brighton and New beaches and the further
development of the northern beaches. The committee ex-
pressed its opposition to the provincial administration's responsibility for the
development of beaches, saying that this should lie with the city council.4
The investigation into the beach situation by the Durban city council was not
completed and the beaches in Durban remained racially segregated, with white
beaches being most favourably situated and black beaches being much further
from the city centre and the beachfront facilities. In January, following an incident
when five Indian children were ordered to leave the children's paddling pool on
the beachfront following a complaint by whites, the Durban city council's
amenities committee decided to recommend that the pool be opened to all races or
that it be put out to tender for private enterprise. Three members opposed the
move saying that the recommendation was 'totally irresponsible' and if adopted
would lead to black-white clashes on the beachfront and the 'swamping' by blacks
of beachfront facilities."
The tourism committee of the Durban and District Hotel and Bottlestore
Association, while supporting integrated facilities, opposed the opening of the
children's paddling pool as it was considered not to be adequate for the numbers
of people already using it, particularly at peak periods. The change rooms and
toilets would also not be adequate for the envisaged numbers and more should be
built before integration took place. The committee said it would make strong
recommesat-ons to the city council to build extra facilities - not only paddling
pools but extensions of parks and other recreational facilities that would cater for
all groups whether they be integrated or not. The committee also decided to
approach the National Tourist Board to investigate the effects of integration on
the tourist market.36
The beach at Winkelspruit was opened in June to all races but the rocks for
fishing remained for whites only.
Restaurant and Shopping Facilities
In reply to a question in parliament about criteria applied in consider-
ing applications for permits for unlicensed restaurants to serve persons of all races,
the minister said that each application was considered on merit taking into
account local circumstances, including the need for such facilities and possible
racial friction.7
During 1979 applications from licensed restaurants were as follows:38
Cape Town Natal Transvaal
375
Restaurants and Shops
Received Granted Refused
8  5  3
3  2  1
Of the 11 restaurants granted licences, six had wine and malt licences.
Applications from unlicensed restaurants before December 1979 up to and
including January 1980 were as follows:
In January the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, said that his ruling that non-licensed restaurants and drive-ins could make application to allow blacks had not been taken advantage of. He could not understand the poor response after all the publicity which the matter had received.

According to information provided by the Liquor Board the situation as regards restaurants with international status (excluding those in international hotels) as at October 30 was as follows:
- Transvaal - 11 (eight had wine and malt licences)
- Cape - 8 (five had wine and malt licences)
- Natal - 6 (four had wine and malt licences)

This excludes three theatres which had international status for their restaurants, the Civic Theatre, His Majesty's Theatre (both in Johannesburg) and the Nico Malan Centre in Cape Town. The total number of applications to serve black guests from licensed restaurants without international status, both written and telephonic during 1979, was 3 894 of which 73 were refused. The minister refused to give reasons for the refusals. The figures for previous years were:
- 1976 - 1 768
- 1977 - 2 735
- 1978 - 3 212

Restaurants in Pretoria were reported to be having difficulty with their applications for international status because of the reluctance of the city council to support them. Several incidents of blacks being turned away from restaurants were reported during the year. The Potgietersrus town council also refused to support two applications by restaurants for international status.

At a meeting of the CBD Association in Johannesburg the chairman, Mr Nigel Mandy, said that there were some restaurants which served blacks without a permit because it was impossible to turn them away. The meeting requested the government to handle applications for international status with speed and sympathy. Mr Schlebusch, Minister of Justice, said that he was satisfied with the existing situation.

In order to lessen the humiliation experienced by black people wanting to eat out but who were unaware of which restaurants were non-racial, the Southern Transvaal Regional Committee of the SAIRR proposed a plan for a special sign to be displayed outside all non-racial restaurants to inform black diners that they were welcome. It was planned to extend the scheme to all banks, building societies and business institutions which renounced discrimination in their dealings with the public and in their employment practices. The plan was subsequently abandoned. It was felt that the scheme would con-
stitute a sanctification of the permit system, allowing n-n-racialism only in carefully selected areas and then on governmental decree. There were legislative constraints on fully fledged non-racialism and to distinguish such places, however well-intentioned, would be a farce. Secondly, there were restaurants which admitted blacks without permits and which would not be able to display the sign.44 Several shops opened their restaurants to all races.

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Justice said that he was not considering introducing legislation to amend the provisions of the Liquor Act relating to the statutory separation of races in retail bottle stores, liquor supermarkets and offsales outlets, which were conditions imposed in respect of liquor licences.45 In reply to another question he said that no amendments to such conditions were considered desirable as the outlets were places where friction might possibly arise, especially on certain days of the week like Saturdays. There was no intention of introducing separation when liquor outlets were extended to supermarkets because there was a uniform type of client who bought there. At other outlets, he said, there were certain elements who were not "so sophisticated".4”

In October Mr John Hooper, marketing director of Solly Kramers Ltd, the owners of 120 liquor stores, said that liquor retailers wanted all forms of dishihntion and segregation in the liquor industry to be eliminated. The business sector should be given the responsibility for planning for integration and for establishing the machinery to lessen the chances of racial friction. The first step should be the voluntary phasing out of segregation followed by legislation which would make it obligatory for retail outlets to be integrated. Managers and owners of hotels in Johannesburg said that it was impossible to maintain the legally required segregation in the off sales outlets as the numerical disproportion between black and white customers led to one side being full and the other empty.17

Municipal

Following the statement by the Minister of Sport that municipalities could decide whether or not to open sports amenities under their control, a delegation from the Cape Town city council met the Minister of Sport and Community Development on April 21 to obtain clarification on the matter as the Minister of Community Development had rejected an application by the council for all its facilities to be opened. After the meeting a statement was issued that the council could open swimming pools, including the Sea Point Pavilion, to all races but only for organised competitions. It would have to obtain the permission of the administrator to open any beaches to all races. Individually motivated applications would have to be submitted for facilities such as tennis courts, bowling greens, and municipal halls to be exempted from the provisions of the Group Areas Act. The Minister of Sport’s statement had only referred to organised sport under the control of a recognised sporting body.
The Minister of Community Development stressed that the government was anxious to create a much more relaxed atmosphere in SA with regard to the use of sporting amenities. However experience had shown that it was not possible to remove all controls as there had been many instances of severe confrontation and danger to persons and property at uncontrolled sporting events. The Minister of Sport would consider each application from owners of sporting facilities for an open permit for the use of particular premises on its merits and would consider these sympathetically, subject only to considerations of public safety and good order. The council agreed that a list of all facilities which the council was likely to be allowed to open to all races in the light of the minister's explanation be drawn up and submitted for exemption from the Group Areas Act. This was subsequently done.

In April the Cape Town city council received permission to open its library to all races. In June the council's permit allowing all races to occupy the city hall and the Good Hope centre was renewed. In the letter from the Department of Community Development to the council, ice-skating and roller-skating were added to the list of other activities in which different races could not participate in the same place at the same time without the permission of the government.

The Cape Town Festival in April was opened to all races, though black spokesmen said that in view of the incidents in the past they would boycott it. In January the Grahamstown town council opened its public swimming pool to coloured people who would use it separately from whites on two days of the week. The council thought this a fair allocation in relation to population numbers.

The East London city hall was opened to all races following an application by the city council, but an application for the Orient Theatre was refused. The East London city council supported an application for a permit for Indians and coloured people to stage dances and variety concerts once a month at the Buffalo Pass resort though this still needed the approval of the Department of Community Development.

The Queenstown town council applied for an open concession for occupation of the town hall by other races. This was refused as it did not meet the criteria, namely the regard for local conditions including the need for such facilities and possible racial friction. In June the Uitenhage town council approved an application for an Indian wedding in the town hall subject to approval by the Department of Community Development.

The Port Elizabeth city council, by a narrow majority, decided in May to apply to the Department of Community Development for permission to open all libraries to all races, following a recommendation to this effect by its policy and resources committee. The application was refused in October. A spokesman for the Department of Community Development said that the decision had been influenced by protests from individuals and organisations opposed to the
application. It had also been based on the fact that there were alternative facilities for blacks. The delay of four months in replying to the application was because feasibility reports had to be obtained and referred to several departments, among them the police."

In January the Kimberley city council decided against applying for a permit to admit all races to libraries saying that the existing

libraries in the white group areas were too small to accommodate the expected influx of members if facilities were open to all. Instead the committee recommended to the council that the Director of Library Services be asked if the provincial administration would be prepared to subsidise an enlarged new library for all races. The Kimberley city council accepted the recommendations of the library committee."

The Uitenhage town council refused a request by the Eastern Province Marathon Association in January for a non-racial braaivleis to be held at a whites only holiday resort, The Springs, after the completion of a marathon race. In October the Paarl town council applied for a blanket permit for all its sports facilities to be opened.

In January the Amanzimtoti town council decided to allow NAPAC to perform before non-racial audiences at the town hall provided the necessary permit was obtained from the Department of Community Development. It iso decided to allow blacks to participate in the competition or anised by the Surf Lifesaving Association of SA and to allow black sp ctators.

In March the Kin sburgh town council refused to allow The Motions, a black ban, to play at the Strelitzia Hall and in October refused permission for a Chinese man to live in a white residential area. The latter decision was, however, rescinded later. In April the Eshowe town council decided to open the membership of the Eshowe Sports Club to all races and applied for international status. The Department of Community Development refused the second application by the Kloof town council for a library permit to admit all races.

In August the Durban city council decided to open its library to all races. Previously a councillor, Mr David Taylor, had laid a charge in terms of the Group Areas Act against the town clerk for opening the Musgrove and Durban North branch libraries without a permit from the Department of Community Development. In August the Montclair Ratepayers' Association laid a similar charge.

The mayor and deputy mayor of Pinetown resigned in September because of the opposition by certain city council members to the opening of the library to all races.5"

In September the Stange? town council accepted in principle a recommendation by the Indian Local Affairs Committee for the opening of Indian and white business, trading and industrial areas.4

In the Transvaal Mr David Brink, MEC responsible for library and museum services, said he would instruct legal advisers to look at the provincial ordinance to ensure that local authorities would be able to open their libraries to all races without the fear of provincial subsidies being stopped. There was no
discrimination in library services in the province, he said. It would be up to the local authorities to decide for themselves whether they wanted to open facilities."
In May the PFP proposed a motion in the Johannesburg city council calling for all of Johannesburg's recreation centres to be opened to all races. There were 22 recreation centres in Johannesburg's white suburbs, two in Lenasia and five in coloured areas. The proposer of the motion, Mr L Dishy, said that about 130 000 black people lived in the city, mostly as domestics, but there were 379 no recreation facilities for them and no outlets for them to spend their time profitably. The council decided not to open its recreation centres and passed a resolution saying that it would open its facilities on merit only where similar facilities did not and could not exist in the various group areas and asserted that communities "had the right" to have their own facilities reserved for their own use.7 As a result 30 black women were prevented from attending a concert at the Parkhurst Recreation Centre in November. In October, after controversy about the use of its swimming pools by Chinese people, the council stated that these facilities were open to Chinese as they did not have their own group areas. In March the town council of Boksburg decided in principle that its city hall would be open to all races, although it would consider each individual application from black people to use the hall. In June the Benoni town council decided that its 'Bunny Park' a recreational area stocked with unpenned animals - would remain white. Blacks could use it only if they were in charge of white children or if they were in organised groups under white supervision. The chairman of the management committee justified this by saying that the park could not accommodate more people than those who used it at present.8 In June the Pretoria city council refused the use of the city hall for a multi-denominational revival meeting if blacks were present. It investigated complaints by councillors that whites were "being swamped" by blacks in the municipal parks. Councillor Mr A P Denyschen objected to the presence of blacks at parks and said he would start proceedings to have parks rezoned if a satisfactory solution could not be found to rid the city's parks of blacks. Other councillors were asked to prepare memoranda on the situation at parks in their wards and to canvass the opinions of the ratepayers. Mr Denyschen felt that the parks "belonged" to whites. By August Mr Denyschen had collected 10 000 signatures from voters in several wards expressing support for the idea of the parks being reproclaimed white. The Federation of Pretoria Ratepayers' Associations, representing approximately 250 000 voters, during September expressed its strong opposition to the opening of facilities such as restaurants, drive-ins and hospitals in a memorandum sent to the city council before the council decided on the applications sent to it for the opening of facilities. At its meeting in September the council postponed its
decision on the applications, some of which had been awaiting decision for a year, saying that it required additional information. A body called ‘Action White Parks’ was established in October to pressurise the council into reintroducing segregated parks. The Northern Transvaal branch of the PFP called on Dr Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development, to take a stand against the campaign.

Despite two petitions, one organised by the PFP and signed by 795 people, the Springs town council remained firm in its decision to only partially open its civic centre to all races. It decided that those hiring the halls would be allowed to invite members of other races to closed gatherings if the number of other races still remained in the minority. In November the town council decided not to allow a non-racial charity concert to be held at a local theatre.

(For the opening of central business districts, see section on Group Areas.)

Cinemas
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Community Development said that he had received applications for permits from the owners of cinemas but did not consider it desirable to release the names of the applicants. Certain applications had been refused whereas others were still under consideration. In respect of the applications refused, undue hardship was not proved and the criteria stipulated in the act itself were therefore not complied with. There was a fairly reasonable number of cinemas in all areas and it was thus not the policy to make cinemas generally available for attendance jointly by members of the different population groups.

CIC Warne applied for a blanket permit for the total integration of 80% of Metr cinemas. The remaining 20% were faced with landlord problems. The application by Ster Kinekor for certain cinemas to be opened was unsuccessful.

In April it was reported that of the original 29 applications from drive-in cinemas in the Transvaal, two had been approved and 21 were being considered. Ster Kinekor had lodged four applications for cinemas in Johannesburg. One had been refused and the others were still being considered. The city councils of Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth and Springs supported the applications by drive-ins to become non-racial. The Kimberley, Edenvale and Germiston town councils refused applications to have non-racial drive-ins in their towns.

Transport
In September Dr Anton Moolman, the assistant general manager of passenger services and road transport of the SAR, announced the decision of the former Minister of Transport, Mr Heunis, that the railways was to extend a system of reversible signs on the middle coaches of trains to indicate which races might occupy train coaches and they would be changed as the situation demanded, that is when the white coaches were empty and the black coaches were crowded. The system had been in operation in the Cape for several years and it had been decided to extend it to areas such as the Reef and Natal where there was a fluctuation of black and white passengers. This policy he said replaced an experiment by the SAR in 1979 which allowed blacks to occupy white compartments at the discretion of conductors if black coaches became
overcrowded. Dr Moolman said that the experiment had failed because it had given rise to 'friction' and complaints by whites. It had also been unsuccessful because it was difficult to give the staff guidelines on how to react in each and every instance. It was still government policy, he said, that trains be segregated. In view of this policy different races could not be accommodated in one dining saloon and a similar service for black first and second class passengers was unwarranted because of their small numbers. The SAR, he said, provided an alternative for blacks by serving them with full meals in their compartments.

Transport

There were several incidents where people were asked to leave the white coaches. These raised protests, not only about the humiliation caused, but also because the white coaches went empty when the black coaches were overcrowded. A spokesman for SAR, in response to complaints about overcrowded black coaches and to a demand that there be more first class coaches, said that coaches were allocated to different race groups and this had to be complied with. Blacks would not be allowed to move into white coaches. The suburban train sets were made up to suit specific services. The ratio of the different types of coaches was based on the average known passenger mix determined by head counts taken on the services.

In October the family of Mr Mokotedi alleged that before he died from head injuries he had told them that he had been pushed by whites out of the white compartment of a Johannesburg train which he had jumped onto in order not to miss the train. He hit his head on the platform.

In reply to an appeal by Mr Colin Eglin during the Railways budget debate for the elimination of apartheid at Cape Town station the Minister of Transport, Mr C Heunis, refused to allow blacks to buy tickets of all classes from white ticket offices because it "might cause friction" among the passengers because of the large number of passengers who would have to be served. He was also unwilling to provide a separate ticket office for blacks in the main white concourse which blacks might use to board trains. The station, said Mr Heunis, had been designed in two separate but equal complexes to ensure the smooth flow of passengers. Black first and second class passengers had been allowed to use the white complex since 1976 when they had started to do so in defiance of notice boards. Separate notices had been removed at Strand Street, Adderley Street and the Sea Side entrances but retained at toilets, waiting rooms and the restaurant reserved for whites only. All these facilities, he said, plus ticket offices were provided in the black concourse. Existing ticket facilities in the black complex would also have to be duplicated in the white complex. Mr Eglin, in reply, said that he could not understand why there should be friction at the station concourse if ticket buyers rubbed shoulders at nearby shops, banks and post offices."

It was reported that the Cape Town station was applying a less blatant form of discrimination at ticket offices where signs indicating the class of ticket rather
than colour were being used. Mr Hassan Howa, president of the SA Council of Sport, said the introduction of entrances based on class credentials was a way in which the authorities could carry out their policy of discrimination less offensively. The change was cosmetic because the majority of coloured people could not afford first class tickets.69

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Transport said that 26 applications for authority to convey members of all race groups (excluding applications for temporary permits) were submitted to local road transportation boards during the period March 31, 1977 to March 31, 1980. Six of these applications were refused.70

Black commuters travelling between Oakmoor and Olifantsfontein (on the main Pretoria-Johannesburg line) alleged clerks at Olifantsfontein refused to sell them season tickets from the same 383 window as whites although no signs were displayed on the windows. Mr J C van Rooyen, the SAR public relations officer, said that there were no discriminatory signs at the station and therefore no reason Resorts why black commuters could not be served at the white window. The ticket clerks at the station had been given instructions to serve all people at the window after the complaints."

The National Transport Commission (a standing body) appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Mr van Zyl to investigate the bus transport system in Durban specifically with regard to the multiplicity of companies operating bus services.

Women for Peaceful Change Now presented evidence to the Van Zyl Commission saying that many people in Durban supported the integration of the bus service for purely practical reasons, while for many others it was part of their commitment to the removal of discriminatory measures. A petition was submitted signed by more than 3 000 people who supported the move towards integrated buses in the city. A major complaint about the bus service was the relative infrequency of buses and the irritation caused by seeing buses pass by with empty seats. Problems also arose when friends of different races were unable to catch the same buses. Others said that money and fuel was wasted in running parallel bus services for whites and blacks on many routes. All black people supported the idea but a minority of whites were opposed to it on the grounds that the service might become too overcrowded if additional buses were not made available. They also expressed fears of theft and assault." The commission did not complete its report during the year.

In August the Durban Transport Management Board voted overwhelmingly in favour of integrating the city's black and white bus services. The chairman of the board said that an application would be lodged with the local Road Transportation Board to desegregate the services but retain the existing fare structures.'

In June the PFP again proposed the total integration of Johannesburg's bus service. Councillors said more than R10m would have been saved if buses had been integrated three or four years ago. Mr Oberholzer, chairman of the management committee, said that Johannesburg was "not ready" for the total integration of the bus service. If buses were integrated blacks on municipal buses
would pay double the present fares. However, the last four routes in Johannesburg
on which white, coloured and Indian passengers were segregated became non-
racial in this respect in June.74

In June the Department of Transport announced that representatives from the
Indian and coloured communities would be included on local transportation
boards.

Resorts

In May Mr Stainbank, MEC responsible for Parks Board Affairs in Natal, said
that the Natal Parks Board intended to provide accommodation on a non-racial
basis at as many of its resorts as possible. Two representatives of KwaZulu had
been invited to accept appointments to the board. Certain difficulties would have
to be overcome with regard to non-racial accommodation at lake and dam resorts,
including

384 a condition imposed on the administration that separate facilities had to
be provided at these dams.

In September Mr Stainbank announced that facilities at Mkuze Resorts Game
Reserve had been opened to all races. The Umfolozi Game Reserve would
continue to be non-racial. One or two cottages for use by blacks were available at
Hluhluwe, Royal Natal National Park, Giant's Castle Game Reserve, Kamberg
Nature Reserve, Vergelegen Nature Reserve and Solitude Mountain Resort. Non-
racial status had also been granted to all conservation picnic sites, overnight
camping facilities at Harold Johnson and Rugged Glen Nature Reserves and
False Bay Park campside (previously reserved for blacks only). Unreserved non-
racial status also continued to apply to all Wilderness trails and eastern shores hiking trails, all bush camps and the False Bay 'Dugandlovu' Rustic
Camp, Itala campsites for fishermen, Loteni camping sites and Giant's Lodge at
Giant's Castle. Mr Stainbank said that the Natal Parks Board was following a
policy of making specified self-contained accommodation units available for all
races in its conservation areas. An approach was also being made to the
responsible minister for permission to introduce similar facilities at inland lake
resorts where the Administrator of Natal did not have the

final say.7" A non-racial holiday village at Albert Falls Resort near Pietermaritzburg was
planned. The board applied for the reproclamation of the former whites-only
village for occupation by all races, who would share facilities at community halls
along the shoreline. The decision to integrate was believed to have stemmed from
the good response obtained from visitors in a survey carried out at the complex
last year.

The two baths at Badplaas Mineral Baths near Carolina in the Eastern Transvaal
which are controlled by the province were closed to Indians, who had contributed
financially to their development.

The Pleasure Resorts Department of the Transvaal Provincial Admin.
istration said that the development of facilities for white people had made it
impossible for provision to be made for Indians.76 In November a spokesman for
the department said that facilities for Indian and
coloured people at Warmbaths would be demolished.
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Forestry said that the provision of additional facilities for blacks on national hiking ways was not justified by the demand. He repeated the information on parallel facilities and the use of joint facilities given in the 1979 Survey (p 456). He said that on the Outeniqua and HottentotsHolland trails parallel facilities were provided at great cost but the utilisation was very low (figures were provided). He said that there had been no reaction to the request made in 1977 to the coloured community to nominate a representative to the National Hiking Way Board.

References
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2 Hansard 1 Q col 129
3 Argus January 11

Hansard 6 Q col 376 These were: Transvaal: Pretoria - Boulevard, Burgerspark, Manhattan; Johannesburg Carlton, Moulin Rouge, Devonshire, Rosebank, Sunnyside Park, Victoria, Airport Holiday Inn, Southern Sun Airport, Holiday Inn (Milpark), Johannesburg Landdrost, President Holiday Inn; Randburg -Kyalami Ranch; Groblersdal- Groblersdal; Pietersburg - Holiday Inn; Louis Trichardt- Clouds End; Tzaneen - Tzaneen; Ermelo -Holiday Inn; Vanderbijlpark - Holiday Inn; White River -The Winkler, Pine Lake Inn; Secunda - Holiday Inn. Natal: Durban - Athlone, Edenroc, Edward, Blue Waters, Elangeni, Holiday Inn, Maharani, Royal; Pietermaritzburg - Capital Towers; Camperdown- Ibhubesi; Newcastle- Holiday Inn; Richards Bay- Richards; Kokstad - Mount Currie; Port Shepstone - Bedford Inn. Cape: Cape Town- Claridges, Heerengracht, Holiday Inn, Capetonian, Townhouse, De Waal, Metropole, Mount Nelson; Wynberg - Palace, Newlands; Bellville- Holiday Inn; Colesberg -Merino Inn; Mafeking - Crewes; Wilderness -Holiday Inn; Oudtshoorn - Holiday Inn; Peddie- Hamburg; Keiskammahoek - Grosvenor; King Williamstown Central; Grahamstown - Settlers Inn; East London - Carlton, Holiday Inn, Kenn way; Port Elizabeth- Edward, Elizabeth, Holiday Inn; KimberleyKimberley; Stelle osch - Lanzarac. OFS: Bloemfontein - Bloemfontein, President; Harrismith - Holiday Inn. Daily News April Rand Daily Mail A gust 16, Daily Dispatch September 5
8 Star October 11
Hansard 8 Q col 534 o Friend June 10
Rand Daily Mail August 16 12 Hansard 9 Q col 599 13 StarSeptember 16 14 StarMay 14
" Daily Dispatch August 9 16 Die Burger January 4 17 Cape Times January 3 and 5 B Cape Times January 15
9 Burger January 19,Cape Times July 29 21 Cape Times February 2, Argus August 8 11 Argus March 5
22 Argus March 17
23 Cape Times June 4 " Cape Times September 22
2 Argus August 8
THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

General

political status

By the end of 1980 the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda were independent in terms of SA legislation. None of the three had won recognition from members of the international community other than S. Ciskei, Gazankulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and KwaZulu were ‘self-governing territories’ in that they had duly constituted legislative assemblies which legislated for the territories in a number of areas of government specified in Schedule 1 of the Black States Constitution Act.’

KaNgwane (the Swazi homeland) and KwaNdebele continued to move towards
self-government during the year. The Ciskei announced in September that it had accepted the principle of 'independence' for the territory.

In official government terminology the homelands were referred to as 'national states'. Since 1948 the areas set aside for African occupation in SA have been referred to as reserves, bantustans, homelands, black states, black national states and national states.

SA Legislation Affecting the Homelands

Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act No 3

Section 6 amends the Black States Constitution Act 21/1971. The amendment broadens the areas where the minister may cause an investigation into the desirability of reserving land for occupation or acquisition by Africans so as to include land falling under any local government body, or within any hamlet or town not situated within any area of jurisdiction not specifically mentioned in the clause.

Other sections are dealt with elsewhere in the Survey.

Borders of Particular States Extension Act No 2

The Act provides that certain land may be excised from the Republic and become part of certain states. The land referred to is land allocated in terms of the government's 1975 consolidation proposals.

The Transkei was given parts of the districts of Mount Currie, Elliot, Maclear, Indwe and Queenstown. Bophuthatswana was ceded parts of the districts of Vryburg, Taung, Kuruman, as well as the town of Mafeking in the Cape; in the Transvaal portions of the districts of Warmbaths, Brits, Rustenburg, Swartruggens, Marico, Delareyville,

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388 Thabazimbi and Mduitjana were ceded. Venda was granted land in the districts of Messina and Soutpansberg.

Homelands: State Attorney Amendment Act No 45

Policy

The Act empowers the SA State Attorney's office or its branches to perform the work normally undertaken by it on behalf of the SA government, on behalf of a foreign government if an agreement between the SA government and the government of any other state to that effect has been reached. The State Attorney's office or its branches are enabled to undertake such work anywhere in the Republic, in any court or in the foreign state, subject to any conditions which may be agreed upon.

The Act was intended to permit the employment of the SA State Attorney, his office or a branch by the administration of independent homelands, although it has wider application.

Some General Comments on Policy

The Prime Minister's tour of the homelands last year was followed up, as he promised, by talks with the leaders of the self-governing homelands. The talks centered on the future constitutional dispensation for SA and on Mr P W Botha's vision of the future. The homeland leaders stayed aloof from the government's proposals arguing that, in effect, they made no changes in the political position of Africans.
There was widespread criticism of the government's policy. Dr Robert Rotberg, a member of the Ciskei administration's commission of enquiry into independence for the Ciskei, said that the homelands were too small, impoverished and developmentally unpromising to provide meaningful resources for the country's African population (see Ciskei). Professor Christof Hanekom, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Stellenbosch, said that the idea that the social, economic and political development of urban Africans should be accommodated in the homelands was "a dangerous escape from reality" and that people who made such statements were living in "a fool's paradise, covered in ideological dust".

In a series of articles by senior members of the Bureau vir Ekonomies Navorsing: Same Ontwikkeling, a semi-official government-established organisation, co-inciding with its 10th anniversary, various implicit criticisms of past government policy were made. These included the recognition that viable, separate economies could not be created for the homelands, the concession that there would be no flow of Africans back to the homelands from the so-called white areas, the acknowledgement that the per capita GNP of the homelands was less than that of all but ten of the Organisation of African Unity's member states and the suggestion that 'white' towns should be sited within the borders of the homelands to act as growth points. (See Homeland Policy in chapter on Economic Development of the Homelands.)

The failure of the Verwoerdian masterplan was also implicitly acknowledged by the Corporation for Economic Development, originally the Bantu Investment Corporation. Statistics released by it in May showed that while it had been successful in creating job opportunities within the homelands the number of jobs created fell far short of the number of new work seekers entering the labour market every year.6 The plan outlined by Dr Verwoerd envisaged the eventual return to the homelands of most Africans, as there would be sufficient work opportunities in the homelands for their population.

The government apparently realised that the policy had failed. During the year the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, repeatedly referred to a constellation of southern African states in which there would be joint decision-making. In February he invited the leaders of the non-independent homelands to co-operate with a committee of experts to draw up a joint 'declaration of intent' on the country's political future.7 The homeland leaders stated that they wished to meet the Prime Minister as a team to consider a declaration of intent. However, he met them each separately. Earlier the homeland leaders had presented the Prime Minister with a statement containing five desirable or non-negotiable principles. These were:

1 preference for a unitary state as a first option, but qualified by a willingness to consider other alternatives;
2 non-negotiable rejection of independent black homelands;
3 non-negotiable abolition of statutory race discrimination in any
form;
4 non-negotiable dismissal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts as the basis for the division of land between white and black;
5 retention of SA nationality and the right to a SA passport was a non-negotiable prerequisite.
The statement also called for maximum economic and educational aid for blacks to compensate for "unequal opportunities in the past". Mr Botha met leaders of the non-independent homelands again in August. At the meeting he announced that the government would not go ahead with the proposed advisory council for Africans. (See section on Constitutional Developments in chapter on White Politics.) Following the meeting, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi said he would be willing to serve on a confederal body as a means towards forming a federation.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from June 16, 1976, to February 28, 1977 (Cilli6 Commission)
The Commission presented its report to the Minister of Justice on January 21. Discussing the homelands policy, the commission found that it was not a direct cause of the uprisings anywhere. However, it stated that dissatisfaction with the policy and a sense of frustration about certain aspects of it had contributed to a lesser extent to a general mood of resistance and revolt. On the question of ethnic grouping the report stated that the commission had found no evidence to support the view that ethnic grouping, either enforced or self-chosen, had been a direct cause of any disturbance or had given rise, together with other factors, to any riots.9

389 Homelands:
Policy

390 Homeland Consolidation
For further details see chapters on Group Areas and Housing, Police, Population, University and School Boycotts.

Government policy on the consolidation of the homelands appeared to have undergone a major re-definition since the appointment of the Central Consolidation Committee chaired by Mr Hennie van der Walt, MP for Schweizer Reneke.1⁰ According to Mr van der Walt, consolidation was no longer a question of just drawing lines on a map because the whole economic development of the homelands was at stake.1 Commenting further on how he viewed the question of consolidation, Mr van der Walt said that "in the framework of the constellation of states concept, the whole question of land might not be all that important". He explained that a future possible confederation might originate from the redistribution of power on a regional level. Because of this, the whole economic structure of SA would have to be examined on a regional basis. This meant that a portion of land might fit neatly into the regional economic structure without being consolidated into the homeland. Opening the Transvaal NP Congress the Prime
Minister outlined the possibility of regional developmental sharing between the authorities concerned.
In terms of this concept, observers stated that towns such as Pietersburg, East London, King Williamstown and Durban could be associated with neighbouring homelands in viable economic units. The approach eliminated either stark incorporation or the creation of an African twin city approach which the government had adopted in the past.
The Prime Minister's announcement in May that a new economic growth point was to be created north of Bronkhorstpruit in the Northern Transvaal,12 (see section on Decentralisation in chapter on Employment), appeared to be in line with the approach to consolidation outlined by Mr van der Walt. Observers said that the plan was regionally orientated and could not be compared with the development of border industries in the past. The concept of an interracial partnership within a formally designated 'white' area, in which the homeland governments would be involved in order to benefit them economically, was seen as innovative. Other observers questioned this interpretation. They pointed out that it had long been government policy to provide employment opportunities for Africans in or within commuting distance of their so-called homelands. They said that the proposed new growth point would result in the number of frontier commuters who had no rights of residence in the 'white area' increasing markedly and as such the plan could be viewed as making no change in government policy.
The problem of the consolidation of the homelands continued to be debated. According to Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, previous Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, the government still had to buy nearly ten million hectares of land at an estimated cost, in current terms, of R3 00m to fulfil the quota set down in the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936. Commenting on the situation Mr Bill Sutton, NRP MP for Mooi River, said that the government's land consolidation proposals were "an impossible myth" and the "last vestige of Verwoerdian thinking".4
The Central Consolidation Committee continued its deliberations during the year. In March Mr V A Volker, chairman of the Eastern Region Consolidation Committee, revealed that the sharing of facilities and infrastructures was being considered as a way to overcome the problems of consolidation.15 Mr Volker was reluctant to expand on this point but said that these could include harbours such as Richards Bay and East London.
In April, speaking in the debate on the Prime Minister's vote, Mr Hennie van der Walt, said that the consolidation commission's provisional reports would be handed to the cabinet in the first week of June.1" Press reports indicated that the commission's reports contained a number of alternative suggestions on how to effect the consolidation of the homelands. Mr van der Walt said that these reports were secret and that the cabinet would consider them before making its own suggestions. After this, further evidence would be taken from interested parties. He expected that the final report would be ready for presentation to parliament early in 1981 so as to enable the passage of any necessary legislation.
The reports were presented to the cabinet on August 7. Following a day-long meeting, the Prime Minister announced that the proposals were to be referred to six cabinet committees for further study. After this the proposals would be referred back to the full cabinet. Before the release of the final plans, interested parties, such as the homeland leaders and land owners affected by the proposals, would be consulted. Following this consultation the cabinet would reach a final decision which would then be put before parliament. Mr Botha appealed to everyone to carry on their everyday tasks and promised that no one would be expected to sacrifice assets without proper compensation.

In August the Commission for Co-operation and Development, the chairman of which was Mr Hennie van der Walt, was made solely responsible for all aspects of consolidation. Before this decision the Department of Co-operation and Development had been responsible for the control of consolidation.

In August Mr A le Grange, a senior government economist, said that so little money had been set aside that it would be impossible to execute even the 1975 consolidation proposals. Mr le Grange said that it had been calculated that at least R60m a year would have to be set aside if the consolidation was to be concluded. He said that the funds actually allocated were as follows:

<table>
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Homeland Citizenship

At the end of October the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof spelt out new cabinet guidelines concerning consolidation. In future land would have to be used productively and on an economic basis. Transfers would take place after assessing whether the land would satisfy the most important development needs of the homelands concerned. Where boundary adjustments were deemed beneficial, existing white landowners should be allowed to remain on the land.

This announcement was in line with the government's policy of creating regional economic development growth points. The transfer of land would be in addition to rather than instead of alternative forms of economic assistance. Dr Koornhof stressed that preference in the transfer of land to the homelands would be given to the fulfulment of the 1975 consolidation proposals. He said that the policy guidelines he had announced might differ from the proposals of the van der Walt Commission.

Uncertainty over the Future of the Border Region
The uncertainty reported in last year's Survey continued during the year. Addressing the SA Property Owners' Association, its president Mr G H L Canning, said that it was inevitable that other 'white' SA towns, particularly East London and King Williamstown, would be incorporated in the homelands. Mr Canning said he thought it was likely that both the Transkei and the Ciskei would claim East London and that King Williamstown would become the capital of the Ciskei.

Mr Canning's view was disputed by East London's Mayor, Mr Donald Card. Mr Card said that he believed that East London would stay 'white' but that its economic future would be linked to that of the homelands. He said that both he and the mayor of King Williamstown, Mr Des Beacham, were confident that their city and town would not be incorporated into the Ciskei.

In June there were reports that a joint Ciskei-Transkei-Border regional prosperity area had been proposed in a plan drawn up by the municipalities of East London and King Williamstown, the Chamber of Industries and the Chamber of Commerce. The plan which was presented to the government for its consideration, proposed joint executive and administrative bodies for the regional prosperity zone.

The Ciskei administration's decision in September to accept 'independence' in principle increased uncertainty. Whites in East London and King Williamstown pointed out that the government had reneged on promises to keep Port St Johns in the Transkei and Mafeking in Bophuthatswana 'white', and said the same could happen to East London and King Williamstown (see section on the Ciskei).

Citizenship
Repeating a question in the Assembly the Minister of Co-operation and Development said that 1474 Africans had regained their SA citizenship in terms of the provisions of the Black States Citizenship Amendment Act 13/1978. All the applicants had been citizens of the Transkei. The minister said that the number of applications pending was not readily available but only one application had been refused, although many others had been returned for further investigation. Judging by figures given by the minister last year, 37 Africans regained their SA citizenship during 1979. In September it was reported that the government had decided to introduce a plan to allow citizens of independent homelands to retain SA nationality. (See section on Citizenship in chapter on the Urban African.)

Opening the Cape provincial congress of the NP, the Prime Minister admitted that the government encountered serious opposition from homelands to accepting independence because of the loss of SA citizenship. Mr Botha said that the government was prepared to negotiate with the homeland leaders on the question. Commenting on the report Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the Transkei's president, said that Transkeians would not surrender Transkeian nationality because such an act would be a negation of the territory's independence. Chief Matanzima's attitude was at odds with that of Chief Patrick Mphephu, president of Venda, Chief Lucas Mangope, president of Bophuthatswana, and Chief Lenox Sebe, chief minister of
the Ciskei, the latest homeland to accept the principle of independence (see section on the Ciskei).

The Bophuthatswana government announced that residents would have to apply for citizenship of the territory because their old certificates were no longer valid. A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana government stated that old citizenship cards were issued by the SA government on behalf of the Bophuthatswana government before independence but they were now in a position to issue their own cards. Fears were raised that non-Tswanas, who had successfully applied for citizenship before, would be deprived of this status. Cases were reported where applications by non-Tswanas for the new certificates had been turned down. The minister of Co-operation and Development stated that 1319206 citizenship certificates had been issued to KwaZulu citizens as at December 31, 1979 with 1319794 still to be issued. During 1979 19324 such certificates were issued.

Acquisition of Land

The minister supplied information about the extent of quota land (i.e. land bought in terms of the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act) acquired by the SA Development Trust during 1979 and the area of land which still remained to be acquired in each province. The cost of land acquired during 1979 was R39406590.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Hectares Acquired during 1979</th>
<th>Still to be acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>46495</td>
<td>207918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>2972617300</td>
<td>17750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FS</td>
<td>57326</td>
<td>269021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>46495</td>
<td>207918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2972617300</td>
<td>17750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57326</td>
<td>269021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>494689</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total area of land acquired up to December 31, 1979 was calculated to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland Consolidation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hectares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal Natal 0 FS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total cost of the land acquired up to December 31, 1979 was calculated to be R397406590.2

The total number of Africans affected by the consolidation of the homelands in each year between 1970 and 1979 was as follows: 21

1974 1975 1976
1977 1978
1979
'Black Spots'
As at December 31, 1979 the amount of land added to the homelands as compensation for the removal 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 1979</th>
<th>Still to be acquired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>56 436</td>
<td>17 638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 717 16 832 13 127</td>
<td>40 578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 379 57 881 60 437</td>
<td>41 302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 119 828

During the period April 1, 1978 to March 31, 1979 the number of families and persons involved in resettlement in the homelands was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>4 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal to KaNgwane</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal to Bophuthatswana Cape Province to Ciskei</td>
<td>1 453</td>
<td>10 809 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province to Ciskei</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1 447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 157</td>
<td>15 688</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See also chapter on Relocation.)

Expenditure in regard to transport, temporary housing, compensation and initial development costs amounted to R8m.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development gave information relating to the number of people who had been relocated between 1970 and 1979.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFS</th>
<th>Natal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>6005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>7 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--9 026 -</td>
<td>12 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>21 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 413</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 504</td>
<td>64 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Homeland Developments
Cape Province
365 561 861
Developments in Individual Areas KaNgwane

Politically there were few developments in KaNgwane during the year. However, the continued relocation of people inside the area of residence designated for the Swazi during the year recalled last year's warning by Dr Willie Vosloo, (then Deputy-Minister of Plural Relations), against unplanned settlement of people.

"According to statistics released by the Bureau vir Ekonomiese Navorsing : Same Ontwikkeling, the population of KaNgwane increased by 200% between 1970 and 1978. Reports indicated that the relocation of people from 'black spots' in 'white' SA was continuing.

Mr E J Mabuza, chief minister of KaNgwane, warned against further relocation. Describing it as "a political bomb", he said that some of the areas to which people had been relocated had no amenities such as water, schools and clinics, and that the people who had been placed in them had no work opportunities.

Commenting on the possibility of KaNgwane achieving independence at some stage in the future Mr Peter Nhlabathi, a member of the KaNgwane legislative assembly, said that the KaNgwane administration (did not recognise the so-called borders of the territory and did not want people to move.33 His statement of opinion was in support of earlier rejections on independence by Mr Mabuza.

In terms of Proclamation R73 the territory's legislative assembly consisted of 21 chiefs, six members appointed by specific regional authorities and 18 elected members.

Gazankulu

During the year Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, chief minister of Gazankulu, attacked the notion of granting independence to the homelands. Commenting on Mr R F Botha's statement that citizens of independent homelands would benefit economically through Transvaal

82 480
1 468
1 064 3 925 13 086 20 920
5 507 12 769
141 219
56 558

396
stronger financial backing from the SA government and that regulations
discriminating against them would be removed because they had shown that they
did not want to share political power with whites.34 Professor NtSANWISI said that
it was "political bribery. It smacks of political blackmail. It is an attempt to
persuade nonindependent states to sell their birthright as South Africans for a
bowl of soup."
Earlier in the year Professor NTSANWISI had made representations to Dr Piet
KOORNHOF, Minister of Co-operation and Development, over what he perceived as
discrimination in favour of Venda at the expense of Gazankulu. Professor
NTSANWISI said that the actual population of the two territories were very similar in
size36 and the de jure population of Gazankulu was much larger than that of
Venda. In spite of this Venda's budget during the 1980-81 financial year was
more than double that of Gazankulu (R104m as opposed to R49m). Professor
NTSANWISI said that the only way he could explain the discrepancy was that Venda
had accepted independence last year37 while Gazankulu was still a self-governing
territory. Professor NTSANWISI pointed out that Gazankulu was also larger in land
area than Venda.

Elections were held in the territory between March 19 and 21. Altogether five
parties nominated candidates for the second election to be held in the territory
since it gained self-governing status. The parties, the Dikwankwetla Party, Matla
A Sechaba, the Basotho United Party, the National Party, and Mokga Wasichaba,
nominated a total of 82 candidates. There were also three independent candidates.
At the start of the elections, Mr Sello MOEKO, secretary of the Matla A Sechaba
party, attacked the ruling Dikwankwetla Party for preventing the opposition
parties from holding political meetings in the Bochabelo area and from addressing
school children. Mr C J WOLMARANS, chief magistrate and electoral officer for the
Bochabelo area, said that no party had been favoured by the ban on meetings and
that he was being "quite impartial and looking at everything objectively".
Observers said that the election was important for both the Dikwankwetla Party
and the opposition Matla A Sechaba party formed by Mr Caswell KOEKO and Mr
James Ngaka following their expulsion from the Dikwankwetla Party last year.18
They pointed out that the election had been a hard fought one characterised by
fierce disputes between Mr Kenneth Mopeli, chief minister of QwaQwa, and Mr
KOEKO and Mr Ngaka.
Before the results were announced Mr KOEKO stated that his party would take
legal action to have them declared invalid because of election malpractices. Mr
KOEKO said that his party, Matla A Sechaba, was satisfied that the involvement
of a SA Police orchestra in a Dikwankwetla procession and statements made by
Mr Mopeli in respect of citizenship for Basotho residents in the Maboloka, Malut
and Herschel districts of the Transkei were violations of Proclamation R203 of
November 29, 1974.

Mr Kenneth Mopeli's Dikwankwetla Party won all 20 of the popularly elected
seats. All opposition candidates lost their deposits. Commenting on his election
victory, Mr Mopeli said that he regarded the result as a resounding mandate not to opt for independence for the territory. He said that the Dikwankwetla Party would remain a member of the Black Alliance, headed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, and would continue to strive to use all available leverage to improve the lot of blacks in SA.39

In June Mr Caswell Koekoe filed papers on behalf of the Matla A Sechaba party in the Transvaal Supreme Court alleging election violations and requesting that the result of the election be set aside.40

Reacting to the application, Mr Mopeli accused Mr Koekoe of "sour grapes". Mr Mopeli said his party had proved that it had the support of QwaQwa citizens and that he had received the majority of his support from the urban areas. He said that he had sacked Mr Koekoe from the QwaQwa cabinet and had beaten him in the elections. He was confident that should new elections be held he would win them again.

Proclamation R82 increased the number of ministers in the territory's administration to eight, comprising a chief minister and seven others.

During the year Mr Mopeli repeatedly stated that QwaQwa would not accept independence. Addressing a gathering commemorating the death of the founder of the Basotho, Chief Mosesh, Mr Mopeli said that the whole of SA belonged to blacks and that he rejected Mr P W Botha's reformist policies because blacks did "not want reforms, but quite a change towards the normalisation of life in SA".41

He said that it was a question of time before blacks took over the government of SA. Commenting on the Ciskei's decision to accept independence Mr Mopeli said in October that QwaQwa would not accept independence under the present system.

The territory continued to be desperately short of land. According to Mr Mopeli the area, approximately 19 square kilometres in extent, needed an extra one million hectares of grazing and agricultural land to support its population. Mr Mopeli said that the territory's political stability depended on more employment being provided for its inhabitants. He said that QwaQwa claimed all the districts of Harrismith, Bethlehem, and ThabaNchu and part of the Ficksburg district in the eastern OFS. Commenting on the possibility of receiving this land, Mr Mopeli said that the government was able to give away land in the Eastern Cape and Natal where the National Party did not have much support but in the OFS it was difficult because it could cost Mr P W Botha, the Prime Minister, his position.

Commenting on the shortage of land and unemployment Mr Henk Badenhorst, manager of the QwaQwa Agricultural Corporation, said his corporation's task was near impossible but it aimed to see how far it could get on supplementary food sources like intensive pig and chicken farming which required much less land than cattle.

397 QwaQwa

398 Lebowa

Violence broke out in the Matlala area following the refusal of the 'Congress People' (named for the African National Congress), to Lebowa accept the
authority of the Lebowa administration. Resistance to government authority by the Congress People dates back to the passage of the 1913 Land Act, since when they have refused to move into defined residential areas, pay tax, accept the government regulations controlling livestock or the amount of land they are allowed to plough.

During February it was reported that mobs of Lebowa government supporters had attacked the Congress People, killing two and injuring 80 others. The report stated that the mobs, supporters of Chief Matlala, went on a four day rampage, burning the homes of Congress People and attacking them while chanting "Lebowa, Lebowa". Chief Matlala was reported to have said that the Congress People were still active members of the ANC.

Asked to comment on the fighting in the area, Brigadier W van Zyl, Lebowa's commissioner of police, denied any knowledge of the killings and burnings or an, allegation by the Congress People that the police were assisting the mobs.

The attacks on the Congress People were allegedly aimed at forcing them to accept the authority of the agent of the Lebowa administration in the area, Chief Matlala. They were reportedly carried out by the chief's supporters and were aimed at forcing the Congress People to abandon their homes and move into the main villages.42

In June Dr Cedric Phatudi, chief minister of Lebowa, called for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, imprisoned ANC leader. Dr Phatudi continued his criticism of government policy during the year.

Addressing the Sociology Society of SA at the University of the North in January, Dr Phatudi said that government policy was designed to separate that which belonged together and was damaging to the overall development of the Republic.43 In March he rejected independence for Lebowa as Lebowa was part of SA, which was already independent.44 and in May he denounced the proposals contained in the Schlebusch commission" as nothing more than "attempts to decorate the apartheid system".44 In April a select committee of the territory's legislative assembly rejected independence for the territory and the political accommodation of SA's African population through both a confederation and a constellation of states because both concepts had "an independent sovereign state" as their basic component.4 The select committee advocated that political accommodation be sought through the federation of the homelands and 'white SA'.

Dr Phatudi repeated his demand during the year for the inclusion into Lebowa of white towns in the Northern Transvaal.48 Describing the towns - Pietersburg, Tzaneen, Groblersdal, Naboomspruit, Soekmekaar, and Duiwelskloof - as islands surrounded by Lebowa, he said it was quite obvious to any right-thinking person that the towns were in Lebowa and should fall under Lebowa. Dr Phatudi said that nothing would happen to the whites living in the towns as "they are South Africans and Lebowa is in SA".

In May the Minister of Finance, Mr S M Mamiine, resigned from
the cabinet. Mr Mamiine had been severely criticised in the past following thefts in his department. Opposition members had called for both Mr Mamiine's resignation and for a commission of enquiry Venda into the thefts. Mr Mamiine was alleged to have instructed the Lebowa police to harass certain opposition members following the calls for his resignation.

The dispute about the name of the territory's new capital continued during the year. In June it was reported that the legislative assembly had decided that it would be called Lebowakgomo, not Phatudi City. During the course of the debate in the assembly, Dr Phatudi prorogued its sitting on three occasions to hold caucus meetings with his followers. Despite the assembly's decision, Dr Phatudi announced in August that the new capital would be called Phatudi City because "it was necessary for a nation to honour its leaders." The announcement was challenged by Mr M W Chueu, a member of the legislative assembly, who said "The people don't want to honour Phatudi, so he must not want to honour himselffirst ordered one to be built to house the Sasol installations if the government did not abolish its race laws. Speaking at the presentation of a motor vehicle worth R9 000 to Chief Rammupudu of the Bakopa tribe, Dr Phatudi said the attacks were regrettable but unless the government did something to remedy the present state of affairs many people would suffer.

Venda

In March the leader of the opposition Venda Independence Party called for the merging of the territory's two political parties. Opening the no-confidence debate Mr Mudau said that the territory could not afford two political parties as their differences were artificial and a luxury which created division, faction fights and political banditry. Mr Mudau said that his paramount objective in proposing the merger was to save the territory. He criticised the administration of Paramount Chief Patrick Mphephu for sowing the seeds of discontent and having trampled on the confidence of the Venda people. He said that the Venda civil service was riddled with nepotism and called for the dismissal of the entire cabinet for its "clumsy and weak manner of bargaining on the citizenship issue". He said that by uniting the two parties, the territory would be able to draw on the support of the chiefs and the intellectuals. Mr Mudau's proposal to merge the two parties was welcomed by Mr M D Netshivale, a former Venda Independence Party member who had crossed the floor to the ruling Venda National Party. However, Mr Netshivale said Mr Mudau should not set preconditions such as the dismissal of the cabinet for the merger. Mr E R Nesengani, the territory's Minister of Education, attacked Mr Mudau for having neither convictions nor a firm political stand. He said that Mr Mudau's party delighted in making hollow promises and that it had promised its supporters that it would merge with the ruling Venda National Party and take over the territory's administration. The terri-

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such a development was not yet right. 

Venda MP's said that Mr Mudau's call for a merger of the two parties represented an attempt on his part to get a cabinet post. Observers pointed out that since the 1978 elections in the territory two members of the Venda Independence Party had defected to Chief Mphephu's Venda National Party. They interpreted this as a sign that Mr Mudau's followers could be becoming restless at being continually in opposition. They suggested that Chief Mphephu's strategy in delaying the proposed merger could have been aimed at allowing time for more Venda Independence Party members to cross the floor, thereby weakening Mr Mudau's bargaining position.

Replying to a question in the territory's National Assembly, the Minister of Justice, Chief M B Rambuda, said that the territory's administration had no intention of repealing Proclamation R276 which allows for detention without trial for a maximum of 90 days. Chief Rambuda said the proclamation would never be repealed because the situation in the independent homeland was not settled and that there were still threats.

Chief Mphephu said that during the year his administration would concentrate on the territory's economic development and education. This would be done by paying special attention to the territory's mining potential and the establishment of more irrigation projects. Observers stated that unless SA continued to contribute 75% of the Venda budget, these plans would have to be shelved.

In February there were major changes in the top management of the Venda Development Corporation. The changes were apparently connected with the disclosure that the Venda administration had concluded a deal with the Beirut-based financier Mr Salim El Hajj.

The deal, valued at R100m, included the construction of a R45m international airport and a R15m hotel and casino complex. Following the disclosure of the deal, the corporation's chairman, Mr J Niewoudt, resigned and Mr Jaap Diedericks, a seconded SA official, was transferred back to the Economic Development Corporation in Pretoria. Mr El Hajj came under criticism for his earlier deals involving the Transkei's administration. The Venda administration subsequently cancelled the agreement with Mr El Hajj.

In September the territory celebrated its first anniversary of independence. According to reports although the crowd at the celebrations was more enthusiastic than that which attended the independence celebrations last year, Vendans said that they had not experienced any benefits as a result of the territory attaining independent status last year (see last year's Survey, p 328 et seq).

Relations with SA

Relations with SA remained good during the year. In June it was reported that an anti-insurgency unit had been added to the Venda National Force to assist the SA Defence Force combat the guerrilla threat to the country. The SADF continued to train the Venda battalion at Madimbo in Venda during the year. The Venda battalion is a
separate unit from' the Venda National Force which is responsible for 'law and order' in the territory including prisons, police duties and traffic control.

During the year the scope of the agreements signed by the territory's administration and the SA government last year was highlighted. A seconded SA official, Mr Edward de la Rey Nortje, had charges of theft against him withdrawn, because of the terms of an agreement which prevents the Venda administration from prosecuting seconded SA officials without the consent of the SA government. Commenting on the agreement, Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that it was "unusual for seconded officials to be granted immunity" as it was normally reserved for diplomatic personnel.

During the year Paramount Chief Mphephu held talks with President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Chief George Matanzima, Prime Minister of the Transkei, and Mr P W Botha, the Prime Minister of SA. The talks were described as fruitful.

Speaking at the celebrations to mark the territory's first year of independence, Paramount Chief Patrick Mphephu said that SA had to be reconstructed to satisfy the aspirations of Africans. Laying claim to the towns of Louis Trichardt, Tshipise, Messina, Soekmekaar and Lifubu which are situated in 'white' SA, Paramount Chief Mphephu said that the time had come to stop talking about land and to act.

Relations with Other Countries

Venda has yet to be recognised by any member of the international community other than SA. In June Paramount Chief Mphephu appealed to his two northern neighbours, Mr Robert Mugabe Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique, to co-operate with Venda in their joint struggle against poverty and illiteracy, to put aside their political differences with Venda and co-operate with the administration because of the close links between the social, political and religious systems of their three peoples.

Neither Mr Mugabe nor President Machel replied to Chief Mphephu's appeal. Both had earlier stated their attitude towards the SA government's homelands policy which they had denounced, and had refused to recognise 'independent' African states created under it.

In March Chief Mphephu said that the African continent needed time, skills and development but not armaments for its well-being. Speaking at the installation of Chief Gwamesenga at Ha-Mutsha, Chief Mphephu said that Africa was home for all its peoples, black and white, who were prepared to work for its development. He expressed the hope that the election of Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe would lead to political stability in southern Africa generally and in Zimbabwe in particular.

402 Ciskei

Political unity was the major factor in the Ciskei during the year. In January the remaining opposition members crossed the floor of Ciskei: the territory's legislative assembly to join the ruling Ciskei National
Politics Independence Party."5 CNIP supporters cheered as opposition members crossed the floor. This development brought formal political opposition in the territory to an end. In April the former leader of the opposition, Chief Justice Mabandla, an erstwhile chief minister of the territory, pledged loyalty to CNIP and Chief Lenox Sebe, the territory's chief minister, at the party's congress held at Ntabakandoda. Observers said that it was significant that the party had held its congress at Ntabakandoda, the site of the shrine of Chief Jongumsobunva's grave,56 chosen by Chief Sebe as the symbol of Ciskeian nationalism. Observers said that by holding the CNIP congress there, the party was strongly identifying itself as the party of the Ciskei which was above political differences.

Attempts to instil a sense of nationalism in the people resident in the territory continued during the year. In January it was announced that an administration-sponsored youth movement, Intsika Yesizwe (Pillar of the Nation) had been established in the territory. Outlining its aims, Chief Sebe said that the movement would bring the cultural and historic heritage of the Ciskei to the notice of Ciskeian youth, provide useful and profitable employment to school leavers, serve the territory and the community, identify the future leaders of the community, and stimulate in youth a sense of discipline, patriotism, nationalism and a love of the soil.7 The movement's organiser, Mr D T Matebese, said that the institution which would be established to provide training to youth in accordance with these aims, would be run on military lines.

Observers said that there was a definite similarity between the aims of Intsika Yesizwe and the Inkatha Youth Brigade. Both aimed at creating a sense of ethnic national pride among youth. They said that it was possible that Chief Sebe had decided to create the youth movement to counter the growing disillusionment of youth in the Ciskei with the rewards offered by the homelands system. The high unemployment rate in the territory - up to 35% in the urban areas was a threat to its stability and Chief Sebe's administration. Observers said that the movement could have been started to occupy workless youth. This view was given some support by the emphasis placed by Mr Matebese on the necessity to draw urban youth into a rural environment. The organisation held its first rally at Ntabakandoda in May.58

In April a demand was made at the CNIP congress for the dismissal of Dr J M L Klopper, the territory's Secretary for Health and Welfare. Delegates from the Thornhill relocation camp were reported to have demanded Dr Klopper's dismissal because he had "undermined the Ciskei government" and "treated the people with contempt". Reacting to the demand, Dr Klopper strongly denied the charges. He said that his efforts had led to the erection of six clinics at Thornhill and because of his recommendation the Department of Co-operation and Development had agreed to provide addi-
however, said that his dismissal had come because of "party politics and a reign of fear".1 They said that qualified staff were summarily dismissed from their posts if they did not follow the party line, pressure was put on people to conform, leading to drastic changes in their political views, and many who disagreed with the administration were banished to remote areas.

The territory's Minister of Health, Dr B Maku, was reported to have said he was awaiting Dr Klopper's resignation following the call for his dismissal and that his interpretation of the situation was that he should resign.62 He also said that there was "no official reason yet" for Dr Klopper's dismissal. Dr Klopper who had been awarded an OBE for his work in Swaziland and two scholarships by the World Health Organisation, was transferred to the Department of Health in Pretoria by the SA government.

Debate in the legislative assembly was characterised again by attacks on SA government policies. Speaking in the Assembly in May, Chief S M Burns-Ncamashe said that slavery still existed in SA because of the Republic's apartheid policies. Earlier members of the assembly had described apartheid as vile, evil and filthy and attacked the homelands policy, saying that the SA government had arrogated to itself a decision-making role over the homelands including the so-called 'independent' ones.3

In April Chief Sebe said that his administration was trying to create an effective and efficient police unit of which the territory could be proud. He said that his department controlled both the Central Ciskei Intelligence Service and the police. Earlier in the year the Minister of Agriculture, Reverend W M Xaba, warned that "anybody who is found to be anti-government will not be tolerated. Those who will not co-operate will have to face our law".4 In March it was reported that Chief Zwelivumile Komani, the chief of Imingualasi who was deposed by Chief Sebe following a dispute with one of the headmen at Peeltown, had been released from detention.6" Chief Komani had been detained for the third time since his deposition last year on January 15.

In an appendix to the report of the Commission of Enquiry into Independence for the Ciskei (the Quail Commission) one of the commissioners, Professor Robert Rotberg, attacked the Ciskei administration's use of preventive detention and banishment against its opponents. Professor Rotberg said that "the human rights of Ciskeians have been violated" by the territory's administration and that "breaches of accepted forms of democratic behaviour have been common" in the territory.6 Chief Sebe attacked Professor Rotberg and accused him of not giving his administration the opportunity to reply to the charges. He said that he would treat Professor Rotberg's appendix with contempt and that "that portion of the report already reposes in my waste paper basket".

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The Quail Commission presented its report to the territory's administration on February 11. The Commission comprised Professor George Quail, Professor Ernst
Dr Martin van den Berg, Professor Robert Rotberg, Professor Peter Kilby, Sir Arthur Snelling and Professor Coax Lolandle. The report was unanimous. The commission found that there was a high level of infant mortality and a widespread incidence of malnutrition in the Ciskei. Two of the main malnutrition diseases were endemic in the territory with rates in the 6-23 months age group as high as 4.5% for marasmus and 27% for kwashiorkor. Health services generally were found to be inadequate. The residents of the Thornhill-Sada-Ntabathemba relocation camps, although comprising 7% to 8% of the territory's population, had no doctor. Per capita expenditure on health in the Ciskei was approximately 1/3 of that in 'white' SA (R1 per head as opposed to R30 per head). The commission also found a serious housing shortage, and the inability to build houses fast enough; there was also severe overcrowding in the area. Land shortage was also found to be a problem. The report stated that if every de jure Ciskeian returned to the territory, the average population density would be 253 per square kilometre. Land was badly overgrazed and overcultivated which had led to erosion (47% of the Ciskei was found to be moderately to seriously eroded). The report stated that as the land was run it was too poor to sustain agricultural growth. The commission found that the average output by the Ciskei's farm population was R40 p.a. Unemployment was also found to be a serious problem. It was found that 25% of the economically active urban population, conservatively estimated at 100,000, was unemployed. The report stated that if the economically active population was defined as those between the ages of 15 and 65 years, the figure was as high as 39%. The report was particularly critical of the agreements on citizenship which preceded the 'independence' of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, which it described as denationalisation on ethnic lines. The commission found that for the Ciskei to accept independence in accordance with the present terms would mean the abandonment of any hope of Ciskeians participating in whatever arrangements might be devised in future for sharing, in an effective way, in the government of the whole of SA. It also found that the majority of Ciskeians did not favour independence. In a survey conducted to test opinion on the issue, 90% of Xhosa-speakers favoured universal adult suffrage in a unitary political system. 70% of the survey's respondents would accept a federal political structure as a second best option. Questioned on the possibility of one ethnic group dominating another, 60% of the respondents said all Africans were one people. The commission recommended that the Ciskei should not opt for independence unless certain conditions were met. These were that:

1 the majority of Ciskeians in the territory and SA voted in favour of independence in a carefully supervised referendum;
2 citizenship on satisfactory terms was negotiated which would
give non-residents the choice of either Ciskeian or SA citizenship or both and that the SA government relinquished its right to expel, deport or otherwise remove from the 'white' area Ciskeians who had chosen SA citizenship;

3 an enlargement of the Ciskei, agreeable to the territory's administration, was negotiated with the SA government;

4 the rights of Ciskeians to seek and retain employment in SA were explicitly preserved; and

5 SA agreed to provide equitable financial support.

Reaction of the Territory's Administration

After receiving the report Chief Sebe made various demands as preconditions for the Ciskei's acceptance of independence. In March he stated that the land promised to the Ciskei in terms of the SA government's consolidation proposals was one aspect of his demands. The land would have to be transferred to the Ciskei before independence. He suggested that the SA government enter into a written agreement with his administration, undertaking to transfer the land to the territory in terms of an agreement to be negotiated prior to the territory's independence. He said that his administration favoured the creation of an associated citizenship for all Ciskeians and SA, agreements which would entitle Ciskeians to seek and retain employment in SA and an agreement which would guarantee the rights of Ciskeians to an equitable share of SA's natural resources.

In April Chief Sebe further clarified his preconditions for independence. He said that the Ciskei claimed all the land between the Fish River and the Great Kei River extending from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg mountain range. He said that whites living in the area could either remain in the greater Ciskei or their properties could be bought by the SA government and transferred to the Ciskei. Chief Sebe said that SA acceptance of these preconditions would enable his administration to hold a referendum on the acceptability of independence to Ciskeians under his administration's terms. Following Chief Sebe's address the CNIP congress gave him a mandate to seek independence on his terms.

Commenting directly on the Quail Commission's report, Chief Sebe told the territory's legislative assembly that his administration would not follow its recommendations slavishly. He said that his preconditions for independence, described as a package deal which would be put to Ciskeians in a referendum, had been drawn up after certain concepts in the report had been married to the aspirations of the Ciskeian people.

Chief Sebe restated his demands during the debate in the legislative assembly in May. He told the assembly this his administration had asked the SA government to:

1 fulfil the 1975 consolidation proposals before December 1981;

2 incorporate the area between the Fish River and the Great Kei from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg mountains into the Ciskei; and
Ciskei: 3 guarantee the Ciskei's continued membership of the rand
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tary area and the right to participate in negotiations and
adjustments on the formula by which its benefits are calculated. He said his
administration opposed independence for the territory if it meant surrendering SA
citizenship.
Commenting on Chief Sebe's conditions Mr J Engelbrecht, commissioner-general
of the Ciskei, said that the SA government was unable to respond to Chief Sebe's
demands as yet.7 Mr Engelbrecht said that the SA government was awaiting the
findings of two commissions of enquiry into land consolidation and citizenship,
the van der Walt Commission and the Niewoudt Commission, and would only be
able to reply to Chief Sebe after these had been received.
However, Mr Engelbrecht revealed that the Minister of Co-operation and
Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, had sent Chief Sebe a message in which he had
expressed optimism that negotiations between the territory's administration and
the SA government would be successful.
The possibility that a referendum on the territory's independence would be held
during the year faded when the SA government failed to give an answer to the
demands set out by Chief Sebe while the territory's legislative assembly was in
session. Chief Sebe explained his reasons for wanting to hold a referendum. It
was not necessary to test the acceptability of the package deal since it had already
been accepted by the Ciskeian people at the CNIP party congress, but because the
acceptance and rejection of matters pertaining to independence by the outside
world was subject to adopting procedures considered by the world as
constitutional and acceptable.
Observers stated that Chief Sebe had clearly decided to opt for independence for
the territory. They pointed out that his statement that the Ciskeian people had
already accepted the package deal was inaccurate and based solely on the support
he had been given at the CNIP congress. They said that subject to the SA
government's reply to Chief Sebe's demands being given in time, Chief Sebe
could recall the territory's legislative assembly so as to permit the holding of a
referendum on the territory's independence.
Negotiations between the Ciskei and the SA government on independence for the
territory continued. On September 30, after a meeting between Chief Sebe and Dr
Piet Koornhof, a statement was issued to the effect that the Ciskei had agreed to
accept independence in principle. Dr Koornhof said that the SA government had
decided to give top priority to the implementation of its policy of regional
development. He said that the areas of Berlin, East London, King Williamstown,
Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, and the Ciskei would be promoted as an area of common
economic development in which all the peoples of the region could share.
Agreement was also reached on the relocation in the Ciskei of Ciskeians who
were employed in SA. The SA government agreed not to remove Ciskeians
resident in
the Republic to the Ciskei except after consultations between the two
governments.
At a meeting of the Ciskei people in Zwelitsha, attended by approximately 8 000 people, Chief Sebe said that the SA government KwaZulu had conditionally committed itself to entering into a confederal agreement with the Ciskei. He said this agreement would follow the attainment of independence. Chief Sebe said that the government would allocate R80m for the purchase of 100 000 ha of land to further consolidate the Ciskei before the end of the year. He said that the SA government had indicated through the Minister of Co-operation and Development that it would agree to the demands set out in the territory's package deal. A show of hands by those attending the meeting was interpreted as an acceptance of independence for the territory. Chief Sebe said in October that a referendum on independence would be held on December 4. The results of the referendum were announced on December 17. Of the territory's 503 000 registered voters, 295 891 voted in favour of independence for the Ciskei. There were 1 642 votes against independence and 2 198 spoilt papers. The percentage poll was 59.5. Commenting on the results Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Science at the University of Natal, said that a combination of fear and boycotts of the referendum had resulted in the outcome. He pointed out that the opposition Imbhumba Party had not advised opposition supporters to register their opposition to independence and that Chief Sebe had advised those who opposed independence not to vote in the referendum with a veiled threat of possible imprisonment if they did not obey him.

At the beginning of November, Mr Hennie van der Walt, Chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, released the commission's draft proposals for the consolidation of the Ciskei. The areas suggested for incorporation into the Ciskei were the Black Kei-Winterberg, Waterdown Dam-Klipplaat-Hogsback, Pirie-Kubusi, Berlin-King Williamstown, Kidds Beach-Chalumwa, excisions of the Gubu Dam and part of the Peeltown location. Mr van der Walt said that the proposed extra land was in addition to the 100 000 ha still to be acquired in terms of the 1975 consolidation proposals. Local residents were opposed to the recommendations. Representatives of the King Williamstown Borough Council and the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce said they had not been consulted on the proposed incorporation into the Ciskei and favoured participation in a co-prosperity zone. The parliamentary representatives for the area were optimistic that incorporation would lead to an economic boom in the area. Chief Lenox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, called on whites to help make a success of the scheme.

KwaZulu

Political developments in KwaZulu during the year were once again dominated by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and the ongoing competition between Chief Buthelezi, chief minister of the territory, and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu king. Following the dispute between the KwaZulu administration and King Zwelithini
last year, Chief Buthelezi announced in January that the king would no longer be permitted to give interviews on his own to the press. In future the king's private secretary, Mr S J Mkhize and the KwaZulu Minister of Justice would make all arrangements for press interviews and would attend them. The decision to muzzle the king was apparently taken after he had given an interview to pressmen in which he criticised the contribution of certain politicians to the improvement of conditions for Zulus. King Zwelithini told Pace, a magazine started by Department of Information secret funds, that he had been "showing the way" to his people in a practical fashion, but the politicians' contribution "unfortunately sometimes consists only of rhetoric". The king also referred to his fleeing from the KwaZulu legislative assembly reported last year and said he did not know why he had been accused of misdemeanours as nobody had "been able to prove anything" against him. Chief Buthelezi interpreted the king's comments as a direct attack on him. He said that the interview was "the kind of thing that brings bad blood and leads the legislative assembly and the KwaZulu government from one crisis to another as a result of the king's persistence in acting unconstitutionally".

Despite Chief Buthelezi's action at the beginning of the year, King Zwelithini continued to attempt to define a relatively independent role for himself. In August it was announced that he had attempted to join the SA defence force. Earlier in the year Chief Buthelezi had said that the KwaZulu administration would have nothing to do with the Zulu brigade which had been formed by the defence force. Observers interpreted King Zwelithini's attempt to join the army as yet another challenge to Chief Buthelezi and speculated on the possibility that SA agents could have been behind the king's attempt in a move designed to embarrass Chief Buthelezi. As soon as the king's application to join the SA army was received by the magistrate at Nongoma it was forwarded to the KwaZulu cabinet for approval. Following a meeting of the cabinet, Chief Buthelezi said the cabinet had turned down the application because, he said: "I do not think it is in the interests of the king's own image, or that of KwaZulu for that matter, for His Majesty to train as a soldier".

The Inkatha movement continued to be the dominant force in KwaZulu politics and through it Chief Buthelezi himself. (See section on Inkatha in chapter on African Politics.)

It was announced that the NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration would move towards joint planning and control of provincial roads and also parks and conservation matters with the KwaZulu administration. At the beginning of the year the territory established its own police force. Explaining the development the Secretary for Justice, Mr N A Otto, said that initially the administrative headquarters of the territory's police would be established at Ulundi. This would be followed by a gradual take-over of the existing police stations. Mr Otto said that the KwaZulu administration hoped to site police stations in areas where there were none and that priority would be given to areas in which there was faction fighting.
Faction fighting continued in the Msinga district from where it spread to urban areas of the Transvaal. The fights have been occurring sporadically for the past 80 years and had their origin in a dispute over land rights. The rapid increase in the population of the area due to relocations caused increasing pressure on the land and faction fighting became more common in recent years. The fighting broke out again during the year and spread to Soweto. In an effort to stop the fighting the five chiefs of the clans in the Msinga area (originally there were two clans living in Msinga) met with representatives of the KwaZulu legislative assembly in Johannesburg. Despite an initial success the attempt to resolve the fighting ended in failure. Fighting continued sporadically and eventually petered out towards the end of August. However, the basic causes had not been resolved, while the drought during the year had probably contributed to the severity of the violence.

Chief Buthelezi repeatedly attacked the SA government's policies during the year. In April he warned that whites could not subjugate blacks politically forever as the white man was totally dependent on blacks. He said that this dependency gave blacks political power, which meant that a black victory in the political struggle was inevitable. Outlining his political goals, Chief Buthelezi said that to avoid bloodshed in SA, the country's wealth would have to be redistributed to alleviate the lot of the poor. He reiterated that he would not accept independence for KwaZulu and that he aimed at a unitary SA in which there was universal adult suffrage, although he was prepared to negotiate on this.

In August Chief Buthelezi refused to attend a meeting between the Prime Minister and the chief ministers of the homelands. Explaining, Chief Buthelezi said that the constitutional provisions for consultation offered by the Schlebusch Commission and subsequent legislation did not provide any solution to SA's problems. He also objected to the fact that the SA government had gone ahead with revisions of the constitution despite his appeals for there to be a moratorium until such time as there was general agreement on constitutional design in the country.

**Bophuthatswana**

**Internal Matters**

In May President Lucas Mangope announced that his administration favoured white farmers remaining owners of their land after their farms had been incorporated into Bophuthatswana. President Mangope said that his administration had suggested to the SA government that 20% of the official valuation of the farm should be paid to the owner before incorporation and a further 80% would be guaranteed should the farmer decide to sell out within five years. He said that farmers could remain SA citizens while still qualifying for all the technical and financial aid offered by the Bophuthatswana administration. Pressures among his overcrowded people to acquire any available land made the idea of leasing the land back to the farmer after incorporation "a political absurdity". It was for this reason that
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his administration had decided that it was "only as an owner of the land" that a
white farmer could remain on it after incorporation.8"

Following the presentation of the budget in the territory's national assembly, the
Minister of Finance, Sir Cyril Hatty, said that the territory's books had not
balanced for the past five or six years. He said that this was a situation which had
been inherited when the territory became independent in 1977. The reason lay in
the lack of finite knowledge of revenue and expenditure and a shortage of
information on which to make estimates. The minister said that two international
accounting firms had been engaged to sort out the backlog. Although he had
hoped that they would be able to do this in time for the 1980-81 financial year this
had proved impossible. Nevertheless a start had been made in respect of the
accounts in which the largest discrepancies appeared or in which it was possible
that the administration had suffered serious losses. Sir Cyril said that good
progress had been made in these areas. However, he said that many items would
have to be written off as irrecoverable.8"

The Minister of Finance also questioned whether the territory had the necessary
professional staff to ensure that the development work envisaged in the territory's
record development budget for the year was carried out.2 He pointed out that in
the 1979-80 financial year only R25m of an allocated R35m had been spent by the
Department of Public Works. He said that R56m had been allocated for the
current year to the same department and that R10m had been allocated for
development. The Bophuthatswana Development Council criticised all the
administration's departments with the exception of the Department of Police for
having failed to identify and motivate projects adequately. The territory planned
to recruit expertise in America and Britain to alleviate its critical manpower
shortage.

The territory's Law Revision Commission, comprising Chief Justice Hiemstra,
Professors Marius Wiechers, Johan van der Vyfer, Dawid van Wyk, Ignatius
Rautenbach, Fanje Jacobs and Daan van Rensburg, all SA legal experts, continued
its work during the year. The commission was established to review SA
legislation in terms of the Bill of Rights in the territory's constitution.3 As a
result of its work the Internal Security Act 1950, the Public Safety Act 1953,
Riotous Assemblies Act 1956, Terrorism Act 1967, and Section 22 of the General
Law Amendment Act 1966, all inherited from SA, as well as the Riotous
Assemblies Act 1978, have been repealed. They were replaced by the Internal
Security Act No 22 of 1979, last year.84 Professor Wiechers said that other
aspects of SA legislation would be repealed, notably those dealing with
censorship and the press. He said that the commission was considering the
possibility of an ombudsman to test administrative complaints about legislation
against the provisions of the constitution.5

Sun City, the casino-hotel complex jointly owned by the Bophuthatswana
National Development Corporation and the Southern Suns Hotel Group, was
criticised by the territory's traditional elite, the chiefs, who said that the complex
was luring Tswana women and involving them in prostitution, drink and easy
money. They said that traditional values were being abandoned and that the "imorals of our people" were "going to the dogs".

In response to the chiefs' criticism, the territory's administration appointed a commission of agricultural, economic and social experts to investigate the social implications of the complex. Observers pointed out that similar social changes had taken place in Lesotho and Swaziland once tourist attractions had been built there and said that a large part of the reason was the poverty of the people, who were attracted to the complexes but could not afford to participate without becoming involved in prostitution.

In July a dispute arose between President Mangope and the Bophuthatswana Chamber of Commerce. Earlier in the year the Bophuthatswana Federated Chamber of Commerce had been formed. The new chamber affiliated itself to the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party led by President Mangope. President Mangope threatened to instruct local traders to join the Bophuthatswana Federated Chamber of Commerce rather than the established Bophuthatswana Chamber of Commerce if the latter refused to break its links with the SA-based National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC). Despite President Mangope's warning the Bophuthatswana Chamber of Commerce retained its link with NAFCOC.

Non-Tswana Residents
In January it was announced that the SA government and the Bophuthatswana administration had decided to establish a joint management committee to formulate a development strategy for the Winterveldt area. Replying to a question in the SA House of Assembly the Minister of Co-operation and Development said that during 1979 approximately 5000 non-Tswana families had been relocated in the Mdutjane district. He said that this figure referred to all non-Tsawanas, not just those from Winterveldt. The minister was unable to give figures relating to the number of non-Tswana who still remained to be relocated at the end of 1979. Violence broke out in May when it was reported that Ndebele clansmen living in Bophuthatswana near Hammanskraal, had attacked Tswanas. The attack was apparently caused by a dispute over the extent of the authority of Chief Daniel Ramabele Mahlangu, a Ndebele chief, who claimed that he was also the chief of the neighbouring Katjebane village. In the past there have been repeated clashes between Ndebele residents of Bophuthatswana and the territory's administration.

Relations with SA
In March it was announced that President Lucas Mangope would visit SA officially during the month. The occasion of President Mangope's visit co-incided with the announcement by the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, that Mafeking would be incorporated into Bophuthatswana. President Viljoen made the announcement at the state banquet hosted by him for President Mangope. The announcement was welcomed by the mayor of Mafeking, Mr Andries Bloem. Mr Bloem said that he was pleased that the situation had been decided once and for all. He did not believe that there would be an exodus of whites from the town because "we
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have had a very good relationship for a long time”. Mr Bloem said that the
question of citizenship was worrying the town's white, coloured and Indian
residents and that the government had been asked to maintain the status quo for a
transition period of five years. He said that he believed the government would
accept this.

In June it was announced that Mafeking would be handed over to the control of
the Bophuthatswana administration on September 1. Mr Hennie van der Walt,
chairman of the Commission of Investigation into Co-operation and
Development, said that there was a general feeling in the town that it should
become part of Bophuthatswana but that "no-one would be forced to remain in
Mafeking against his or her will".

President Mangope announced the details of the town's incorporation in June. He
said that the schools in the town which were controlled by the Cape Provincial
Administration would become private schools and would remain the property of
the Cape Province which also would continue to run the hospital on a multiracial
basis. He said that all officials and teachers would receive free housing, water and
light and while the houses were occupied by seconded officials they would remain
the property of the SA government, after which they would be transferred free to
the Bophuthatswana administration. The staff of the magistrate's court was
seconded to Bophuthatswana in toto and there was to be as little change as
possible to the existing public service. The SA Railways would run the railway
link in the territory but the strip on which the line was situated was transferred to
Bophuthatswana. Municipal officials were given the choice of continuing as
employees of the municipality or becoming seconded officials. President
Mangope urged whites to stay in the town but said there was no pressure, direct or
indirect, for them to do so. The town was officially handed over to the territory on
September 19. Mr P W Botha, the SA Prime Minister, attended the ceremony.
A dispute arose in August over the decision to grant a trading licence on the
Bophuthatswana border with SA to the National Party MP for Witwatersberg, Mr
J C B Schoeman. The licence was granted despite a SA government guideline
which stipulated that there should be a five kilometre wide no-trading zone along
the border. Despite reported objections from the Peri-Urban Board's officials, Mr
Schoeman was granted the trading licence in less than three months to establish a
store opposite the entrance to Ga-Rankuwa, the industrial development site within
Bophuthatswana.

The decision was criticised by business on both sides of the bor. der. Mr S J J
Lesolang, a veteran Ga-Rankuwa businessman, said that Mr Schoeman's store
would compete unfairly with African-owned businesses in the planned shopping
centre at Ga-Rankuwa. Ms Anne van Rensburg, a De Wildt trader, said that she
had been waiting to hear the outcome of her licence application for over a year
and she thought it was "bitterly unjust that Mr Schoeman got a licence in under
three months". "The Secretary for Commerce in the Bophuthatswana
administration, Mr Solomon Rathebi, said that a number of applications for trading licences had been referred to his department for scrutiny by the A authorities. He said that it would be strongly recommended that they should not be granted.

The acting secretary of the Transvaal Board of Development for Peri-urban Areas, Mr B G E Roux, said that Mr Schoeman's application for a trading licence had not been referred to the Bophuthatswana administration for comment. Asked whether the board would reconsider the issue of Mr Schoeman's licence, Mr F J B Gouws, the board's chairman, said as far as the board was concerned the issue was closed.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koomhof, is said to have called for a report from his department on the conditions under which trading licences were granted to whites on the border of the homelands following the disclosures. Local traders lodged objections to Mr Schoeman's licence with the Provincial Townships Board which has the statutory power to revoke the licence.

In October it was confirmed that Mr Schoeman would be granted the trading licence. The Bophuthatswana government protested to the SA government at the decision.

Relations with Other Countries
Bophuthatswana remained unrecognised by any country other than SA. Mr Solomon Rathebe, Secretary for Economic Affairs, said that this was largely because of a lack of information in world capitals about the territory. Speaking at the completion of a month long visit to the United States and Western Europe, Mr Rathebe said that after the group which he had led had explained the territory's case, it had found a lot of goodwill and a positive reaction out of which he believed something positive could come in the long term. He said that the cold logic of the international community's argument against recognising the existence of Bophuthatswana - that the territory's recognition would be tantamount to recognising the apartheid system - was very sound but he objected to its implications with regard to the human situation.

In August the territory hosted an international conference attended by legal experts from all over the world. The conference focused on law reform in Southern Africa and the way in which African customary law clashed with Western law and how to solve these contradictions. Delegates from 10 countries including Uganda, Sierra Leone, Britain and Tanzania attended the conference.

Transkei Legislation
A state of emergency was proclaimed during the year, in terms of the Public Security Act (Transkei) No 30 of 1977. Regulations in terms of Section 48 as published in Transkeian Government Notice No 81 of 14 June, 1980, were as follows:

The regulations define:
'affected person' as a person enrolled as a scholar or a student at any institution and any person in the employ of any institution whom a member of the police may declare to be an affected
The regulations prohibit affected persons from leaving or going to any municipal area or, except on Sundays, being on any street except for the purpose of proceeding to an institution to attend a class which he is required to attend or perform any official duties which he is required to perform, without the written permission of either the magistrate or the station commander of a police station in respect of a municipal area or of a chief, headman or station commander of a police station.

On Sundays affected persons may only be outside the boundaries of any premises, kraal, hostel or other place at which they are residing for the purpose of proceeding to any church or other place of worship to attend a bona fide church service.

They may not leave their place of residence on any day between the hours of 6.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m. or between 6.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. for any purpose other than attending a bona fide funeral ceremony except for the purpose of receiving medical treatment or for the reasons outlined above except with the permission of the magistrate, chief or head of the area concerned or the station commander of a police station.

No person shall:

1. if an affected person, absent himself from any required class or fail to perform any required duty except with the permission of the designated authority of the relevant institution;
2. advise, incite, encourage, command, aid or induce in any manner an affected person to perform 1 above;
3. disseminate or assist in or encourage or procure the dissemination of any publication likely to encourage 1 above;
4. at any time or place advertise, convene, organise, preside at or attend any meeting, gathering or demonstration intended or likely to have the effect of 1 above;
5 if he is an affected person attend at any time or place any meeting, gathering or demonstration other than a bona fide church, or funeral ceremony or Sunday School;
6 except with the written permission of the Commissioner of Police or the designated authority concerned advertise, convene, organise, preside at or attend any meeting in a defined area;

7 threaten or suggest the use of violence to, or in any manner intimidate any affected person to do 1 above;
8 carry any firearm, weapon or object which could cause injury or damage in any defined area; Transkei:
9 in a public place or defined area utter, shout or display any Legislation slogan which is likely to have the effect of 1 above or which indicates he associates himself with actions such as 1 above;
10 except with the written permission of the Commissioner of Police or the designated authority concerned enter or be in any defined area when the institution in control of such an area is closed.

The police are empowered to, without warrant:
1 arrest and detain an offender under these regulations or a person whom the police have reason to believe has committed or intends committing an offence under these regulations or any other law;
2 search any premises or vehicle at any time, in respect of investigations into an offence which has or may be committed under the regulations or any law; and
3 seize any vehicle, firearm, weapon, publication, document, or instrument used or likely to be used to commit an offence under the regulations or any other law.

The Commissioner of Police or a commissioned officer acting under his direction may, subject to the directions of the minister, detain or cause to be detained for such period as is necessary any person arrested for committing an offence under the regulations or any other law or any other person if the commissioner or such officer has reason to believe that such person has committed or intends committing an offence either under the regulations or any law or that the person is in possession of information relating to the commission of any offence or the intention to commit any offence.

He may give such orders or cause such orders to be given as he deems necessary to maintain law and order. If he deems it necessary to maintain law and order he is empowered to:
1 close any public road or part thereof; 2 close any public place or part thereof; 3 prohibit any meeting, gathering or assembly (other than the National Assembly) and order the persons attending to disperse; 4 prohibit any person from entering any defined area or any other place or area; 5 confine any person to any district, area, place or premises; and
6 exercise such other powers which the minister may determine to maintain law and order, the peaceful administration of the country and the termination of the state of emergency.

In any prosecution under the regulations the onus of proof of innocence rests on the accused person. No interdict or other legal process is able to affect decisions, actions or orders under these regulations.

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Public Security Amendment Act No 5
The act deals with the registration of organisations. An unlawful organisation is defined as an organisation which has been declared Transkei: unlawful under section 26 or which by virtue of the provisions of section 26A(9) or section 26A(10)(d) is unlawful.

Section 26A(a) provides that an organisation which is required to be registered in terms of a notice published in the Gazette in terms of section 26A(1) and which has not registered in accordance with the provisions of section 26A(1) will be an unlawful organisation with effect from the date specified in the Gazette notice or the date following the date on which the 30 day period from its formation expires.

Section 26A(10)(d) provides that any unregistered organisation which fails or refuses to comply with a written request from the Secretary of Justice to supply him with a certified copy of the organisation's constitution, a list of names and residential addresses of the office bearers of the organisation, a certified copy of the organisation's governing body authorising the office-bearer to make application for registration and any further information which the organisation may wish to submit in support of its application (section 26A(2)(d)) and any other information which the minister may deem necessary (section 26A(10)(a)) shall be an unlawful organisation with effect from the date specified in the secretary's written demand.

Public Security Further Amendment Act No 19
The act provides that offences under sections 6 or 7 of the Public Security Act will be heard before the Supreme Court unless the Attorney-General decides otherwise.

Any trial under the Public Security Act may be held at any time and in any place. Persons accused of an offence under sections 6 or 7 of the original act will be tried summarily without a preparatory examination.

Second Public Security Further Amendment Act No 30
The act extends the powers of the Commissioner of Police. It empowers him to fulfil the role ascribed to the Secretary for Justice in the original act.

Acquisition of Immovable Property Control Amendment Act No 8
The act prevents the acquisition of immovable property in the Transkei by any person who is not a citizen of the Transkei, by any company in which a controlling interest is held by or on behalf of any person not a citizen of the Transkei, and by any person, any company or any body of persons (including a statutory body) which the Minister of Local Government may declare by notice in
the Government Gazette to be a person, company or body to which the prohibition shall apply.
The act further prohibits the acquisition of immovable property from such a person, company or body of persons.

Other Internal Matters
Internal party politics in the ruling Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) was characterised by a growing number of reported power struggles between various government members. Various personalities in the party were reported to be feuding in Mdantsane, Butterworth, Ntabankulu and the Herschel district. Observers said that the feuds had emerged after Chief George Matanzima, the territory's prime minister, had become TNIP leader after the resignation of his brother, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, last year. The feuds in urban areas centered on the mismanagement of party funds while those in the territory itself were more characteristic of a struggle for power between various personalities. Rumours abounded that Chief Kaiser Matanzima would return to active politics through the amendment of the territory's constitution to allow for an executive presidency, in order to put an end to the infighting. However, these proved unfounded although observers said that the possibility that this could occur in the near future could not be discounted.

Two former members of TNIP, who resigned from the party last year to join the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), rejoined TNIP during the year. Following his conviction under the territory's Public Security Act for making statements which had the effect of subverting or interfering with the authority of the state, Chief Jeremiah Moshesh was sentenced to two years imprisonment suspended for five years. Chief Moshesh, the leader of the BasothoHerschel people, announced in February that he had resigned from the DPP. Because of his conviction Chief Moshesh was suspended from his ex-officio membership of the territory's national assembly. In July it was announced that Chief Moshesh had been appointed the territory's consular representative in Durban.

Speculation that Ms Stella Sigcau, daughter of the late state president of the territory, Chief Botha Sigcau, and sister of Chief Mpondobini Sigcau, newly-appointed paramount chief of the Pondo, would rejoin TNIP, was confirmed in August. Ms Sigcau was dismissed from the territory's cabinet after she had given birth to the allegedly illegitimate child of Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, although the liaison was regarded as customary in the territory. Soon after her dismissal she joined the DPP. Ms Sigcau was appointed Minister of the Interior after the dismissal of Mr S K Ndzumo after he had disclosed an alleged coup d'etat attempt (see p 418). It was pointed out that both had been connected with TNIP from an early stage; Chief Moshesh had been in the territory's first cabinet while Ms Sigcau had been given a cabinet post in 1968, and said that their return to TNIP had not been unexpected. Sources close to Chief Moshesh said that the Matanzima administration had advised him to appeal against his conviction. They said that the installation of Chief Mpondobini Sigcau as paramount chief of the Pondo probably had encouraged Ms Sigcau to rejoin TNIP.
Pondo disillusionment with the Matanzima administration remained a factor in Transkei politics despite the installation of Chief Mpondobini Sigcau. Speaking at the ceremony to mark the new paramount chief's installation, Chief Kaiser Matanzima warned the

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Pondo not to involve themselves in subversive activities, and asked why large caches of arms were being found in Pondoland. He said that the Pondo had learned their lessons during the 1960 eastern Transkei: Pondoland uprising. He advised Chief Mpondobini Sigcau to employ the 'stick' as that was the only way understood by Africans and said that the territory's administration was stable "because it deals with any problems as it sees fit". He said Africans did not understand the philosophy of consultation.

In March Mr Louis Mtshizana, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, was expelled from TNIP. Mr Mtshizana, a controversial politician in the territory, had earlier expressed the view that chiefs should not be ex officio members of the territory's national assembly. He said that they were a waste of money, they did not contribute to the national assembly, were not equipped for it and were not responsible to the electorate. Observers said that Mr Mtshizana's expulsion indicated that the Matanzima administration was still basing its support on the territory's traditional elite, the chiefs.

In April Chief George Matanzima disassociated the territory's administration from the 'Free Mandela' campaign. Replying to an opposition-sponsored motion which was ruled out of order by the national assembly's speaker, calling for the territory to associate itself with the campaign, Chief Matanzima said that the motion was a duplicate of one passed in 1977 calling for the release of all detainees on Robben Island. He said that his administration would not countenance appearing to be drawn into the campaign by organisations and newspapers in SA which "were conspicuous by their silence when the Transkei called for the release of Mandela in 1977".

In July Chief George Matanzima announced a major cabinet reshuffle occasioned by the surprise resignation from the cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr D S Koyana. The new cabinet appointments, which took effect on August 10, were Mr H H Bubu, Minister of Education, Mr A N Jonas, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Mr G T Vika, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chief D D P Ndamse, Minister of Health, Chief G S Ndobankulu, Minister of Local Government and Land Tenure, Mr Cromwell Diko, Deputy-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr D Tezapi, Deputy-Minister of Defence and Police, Mr S P Kokudi, Deputy-Minister of Health and Education.

Earlier a state of emergency had been declared in the territory. Aimed at preventing an increase of unrest following demonstrations at the University of the Transkei, "the declaration and regulations promulgated in terms of the Public
Security Act No 30 of 1977 (see Transkei Legislation) imposed a virtual dusk to dawn curfew on the territory's students. Towards the end of June it was reported that the civil defence force had been called up to guard strategic points in Umtata and that there were road blocks throughout the territory. Chief George Matanzira said that the unrest was the result of the subversive activities of the ANC and PAC. However, in August the Minister of the Interior, Mr S K Ndzumo, said that there had been a police plot to overthrow the Matanzima administration in a coup d'etat. Speaking at the funeral of a police sergeant, Mr Ndzumo told the assembled crowd that the sergeant had been one of the people who had opposed the plot which had failed because 419 members of the territory's defence force had not supplied the plotters with arms.

Earlier in the year, Chief George Matanzima had told the national assembly that several members of the territory's defence force Politics had been detained by security police after it had been discovered that they were selling firearms and ammunition, stolen from the defence force, to members of the public, and Chief Kaiser Matanzima had said that arms caches had been found in Pondoland.

Asked to comment on the reported coup d'etat attempt, Brigadier Martin Ngcebea, the Commissioner of Police, said that he knew nothing of the matter but would investigate it. Following a special cabinet meeting at which Mr Ndzumo reportedly refused to retract his statements about the attempted coup d'etat, Chief George Matanzima announced that he had been dismissed from the cabinet. Chief Matanzima declined to give reasons for Mr Ndzumo's dismissal and said that he had no knowledge of the alleged coup attempt.

Despite Chief George Matanzima's denial, an investigation of the territory in July revealed that tension was rife. Police had fought pitched battles with local tribesmen, armed with army issue rifles. The investigation revealed that a great deal of political tension existed in the capital. Cabinet ministers were reported to prefer to discuss confidential matters in the open air and Chief George Matanzima was allegedly concerned that his telephone was tapped.

At the beginning of September, Mr Ndzumo and Brigadier Elliot Cwele, former head of the territory's police who was dismissed last year after he had refused to arrest Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, were detained by security police in connection with the alleged coup d'etat attempt. Brigadier Cwele's relatives brought an unsuccessful court application for his release. The presiding judge found that the administration and the security police had good reason for Brigadier Cwele's detention.

The day after the judgement in Brigadier Cwele's application was handed down, Chief George Matanzima announced that Mr Ndzumo had died in detention. Before his death Mr Ndzumo, who suffered from diabetes but had a supply of medicine with him in prison, had made a statement to the police which led to Mr George Vika and Mr Cromwell Diko, newly appointed members of the cabinet, being questioned. The two ministers were questioned after Mr Ndzumo had allegedly told the police that he had informed them about the attempted coup. There were reports that Chief Sabata Dalindyebo was linked with the plot which
according to Colonel L S Kawe, a senior Transkei CID officer, still existed. Observers stated that while this was possible, it was unlikely because of Chief Sabata's opposition to the homelands policy. The territory continued to be beset by financial problems. In May the Minister of Finance said that during the 1978-79 financial year R2,9m was spent without authorisation by 10 departments. The minister, Mr R S Madikizela, said that the flouting of treasury instructions had become the order of the day." Corruption was reported to be rife in the territory. In an effort to stamp it out, the SA government reportedly assumed a large measure of financial control over

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the administration of the territory's budget. Reports indicated that the SA government stopped paying over its annual R113,5m aid payment in bulk and instead replaced it with a scheme giving the SA authorities tight control over how the aid would be spent. As a result the half-completed development of the territory's university was halted in July. The SA government reportedly took the decision not to allocate any further funds for the university's development, a favourite project of Chief Kaiser Matanzima, because of a belief that priority in the territory should be given to the creation of a basic infrastructure and several educational and technical training projects. (See also Relations with other Countries.)

On several occasions during the year the Transkei's administration clashed with representatives of the media in the territory. This confirmed a trend which was reported last year.92 (See chapter on Control of the Media.)

In an attempt to limit the number of press leaks which were embarrassing to the territory's administration, tighter controls were imposed on civil servants in May. In terms of an internal administrative measure civil servants were prevented from talking to the press and the right to comment was reserved for ministers.

Opposition Politics

The territory's opposition DPP struggled for survival during the year. This resulted mainly from the conviction of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo and continued harassment of opposition members by the territory's security police. The much publicised arrest of Chief Sabata was reported in last year's Survey (see pp 340-1). The territory's Attorney-General, Mr George Muller, headed the prosecution team, Dr Percy Yutar having withdrawn from the case. Chief Sabata was found guilty on a charge of violating and injuring the dignity of the State President and was sentenced to a R700 fine or 18 months imprisonment. R200 or six months was suspended for three years."

In July the Dalindyebo Regional Authority decided that Chief Sabata should be fined R100 for misconduct arising out of his conviction. However, the territory's administration refused to accept the Regional Authority's decision, which was referred back to it. In August the Regional Authority recommended that Chief Sabata be suspended from the chieftainship for a period of two years. This also proved to be unacceptable to the territory's administration, which ordered that Chief Sabata be deposed. Announcing the deposition Chief George Matanzima
said that Chief Sabata had a long history of undisciplined behaviour and that he was a supporter of the ANC and PAC. Chief Sabata denied the allegations of misconduct and asked why, if he was an ANC and PAC supporter, he had not been arrested.4

The dispute between the Matanzimas and Chief Sabata apparently centered largely on tribal politics. Chief Sabata claimed that he was superior in Tembu tribal ranking to Chief Kaiser Matanzima, a claim which is supported by many anthropologists and elderly Tembu, who regard Chief Kaiser Matanzima as an upstart. The claim is based on the question of whether Chief Kaiser Matanzima's father was a paramount chief. Chief Sabata's supporters state that he was not and that he was junior to Chief Sabata's father. Chief Matanzima's supporters claim that Chief Sabata was sponsored in his early years by Chief Kaiser Matanzima who also introduced him to the Chief Magistrate of Umtata when Chief Sabata was installed as Paramount Chief of the Tembu. Chief Sabata denied this. He said that his guardian, Chief Dabulamanzi, had done this. The person who performs the introduction is significant in terms of rank.

Following Chief Sabata's deposition, he disappeared from his home. According to reports he had fled the territory because he feared assassination and that the Transkei's administration might banish him to a remote area. He was believed to have escaped to Lesotho en route to Swaziland to seek political asylum. Chief George Matanzima, the territory's Prime Minister, ordered the police to establish the deposed Tembu paramount's whereabouts. Unconfirmed reports stated that Chief Sabata had arrived in Swaziland where King Sobhuza had offered him asylum.

The mystery surrounding Chief Sabata's whereabouts deepened during the year. Reports in September indicated the possibility of a link between his disappearance and the ANC. An ANC spokesman in Lusaka confirmed that the organisation knew the whereabouts of Chief Sabata and that he was safe. In October Chief Sabata was seen at a diplomatic function to commemorate the first anniversary of the Republic of China's embassy in Maseru, Lesotho.

Towards the end of August it was reported that Chief Sabata had been granted permission to appeal against his conviction. Earlier the trial judge, Justice Munnik, had refused leave to appeal on the grounds that he was satisfied that no court or judicial official would reach a different view to the one he had.4

Commenting on the decision of the SA appellate division to grant Chief Sabata leave to appeal, Chief George Matanzima said it was not a foregone conclusion that if Chief Sabata won the appeal he would be re-instated as Paramount Chief of the Tembu. Observers said that Chief Matanzima's statement indicated that the administration's action against Chief Sabata was designed to remove him as an active force in the territory's politics.

In September it was reported that Chief Sabata's half-brother, Chief Bambilanga Mtiyara, an administration supporter, was recommended as the successor to Chief Sabata by the Tembu tribal authority heads. The meeting at which the decision was taken was reportedly observed by members of the security police and
attended by a TNIP member of the National Assembly, Chief M S Dalisile. Chief Dalisile reportedly told the meeting that "Chief Bambilanga was born and destined to be paramount chief. I wish to warn those of us who have evil intentions against him." "Chief Bambilanga announced his intention of taking over both Chief Sabata's kraal, the Great Place, and his farm on which Chief Sabata's family was living. Chief Bambilanga said that both the farm and the Great Place were the property of the paramountcy.

Security police harassment of DPP leaders continued during the year. In January the DPP Youth League was launched. Observers said that it represented a significant move as TNIP had not been able to form a youth wing. Soon after the formation of the Youth League security police detained four members of the DPP executive and the same number of Youth League executive members. Another executive member of the Youth League was detained in mid-February and one had been in detention since before the body was formed.

Commenting on the reason for the detentions, Mr S A Xobololo, one of the DPP executive members who had been detained, said after his release that it was unbelievable that the party's annual congress and the formation of the youth league by a legally constituted official opposition could be the reasons for detention. Mr Xobololo recalled that during the 1977 election in the territory opposition members had also been detained. He said that this had been the reason that only 43% of the electorate voted. An election is scheduled to be held in the territory next year.

Throughout the year the DPP criticised both the administration and the territory's security laws. Party spokesmen said that the Matanzima administration was destroying democracy and called on the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, or his cabinet, to resign and return the territory to SA. Denouncing the territory's security laws Mr Caledon Mda, deputy leader of the DPP, said that their retention would lead to a situation similar to that in Uganda under Idi Amin. He said that the security laws had been used against people who opposed the ruling party but not the territory itself. The Minister of Justice, Mr T T Letlaka, rejected opposition criticism of the security laws and said that they were there to prevent people from acting unconstitutionally. He said that the laws would remain in force.

Relations with SA
In February the territory's administration announced that it was resuming diplomatic relations with SA. Diplomatic relations had been unilaterally severed by the administration in 1978 apparently in an attempt to gain the territory international recognition.98 Explaining the decision Chief George Matanzima said that ties were to be resumed "following SA's determination to negotiate with
Transkei" on the territory's land demands. The SA government welcomed the decision. Diplomatic relations were officially resumed in March. Commenting on the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with SA, Mr Peter Miller, NRP MPC for Natal South Coast, said that the territory had no option in the light of SA's willingness to assist the territory financially (see section on Other Internal Matters). On a number of occasions during the year Chief Matanzima supported the SA concept of a constellation of states in Southern Africa. In February the foreign ministers of the three independent homelands met with the SA Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha. The Transkei's Foreign Minister, Mr Digby Koyana, chaired the meeting and said that regular talks would be held in future. In March it was reported that diplomatic links between the Transkei and Bophuthatswana were to be established. Commenting on the possibility Mr Koyana said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two territories "could come as a natural step, because our relationship at the moment is very cordial".

The territory's interest in forming one unit with the Ciskei was 423 restated during the year. According to Mr E Z Booi, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the amalgamation of the Transkei and the Ciskei would work itself out before long to the advantage of the Xhosa Transkei people. Mr Booi said that part of the Ciskei had originally belonged to the Tembu. The chief minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lenox Sebe, has repeatedly rejected any notion of joining the Ciskei to the Transkei.

The extent of the territory's dependence on SA was revealed during the year. According to the Report of the Department of Cooperation and Development, 500 294 Transkeian 'nationals' were registered to work in SA at the end of June 1978. During the past three financial years, SA granted R572 770 000 to the Transkei. This included the annual fixed statutory amount of R1 3.5m, taxes collected in SA on behalf of the territory's administration, the territory's share of the customs pool, compensation payments in terms of the monetary agreement and an agreement covering the development of certain areas (see chapter on Economic Development of the Homelands for further details).

Relations with Other Countries
The Transkei remained unrecognised by any member of the international community other than SA. The territory was not invited to the Zimbabwean independence celebrations and in April the Zimbabwe Department of Foreign Affairs issued instructions for the territory to withdraw from the Zimbabwe international trade fair. Commenting, Chief George Matanzima said that Mr Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, had joined the politics of the self-righteous when Zimbabwe had broken its ties of friendship with the Transkei. Bishop Abel Muzorewa's Zimbabwe-Rhodesian administration had not recognised the Transkei although the territory had been allowed to exhibit at the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia international trade fair last year.
In July the nomination of Mr Ronald Reagan as the Republican Party's candidate in the US presidential elections raised hopes in the territory that it would gain US recognition should he be elected. Mr Reagan had on a number of occasions in the past expressed the view that it was wrong for the US not to recognise the territory's independence. However, US interests in Africa are likely to suffer if recognition was granted.

The cost to the territory of maintaining official envoys overseas was R360,000. Mr Digby Koyana, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that the territory had four representatives abroad, two of whom were Transkeians. The envoys maintained offices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Austria. He said that the Austrian office which cost R1,500,000 a year was not yet operational.

In April it was reported that Chief George Matanzima had written to the deposed Shah of Iran offering him residence rights in the Transkei. Chief Matanzima offered the Shah a choice of places of residence, direct telex facilities with everywhere in the world and the permanent secondment of a unit of the Transkeian army to guard him. The reported offer was confirmed by one of the territory's intermediaries, Mr C J van Rensburg, an East London businessman. Mr van Rensburg declined to comment further without the permission of the Transkei's Prime Minister or State President. Although one of the Shah's aides denied any knowledge of the invitation, it was suggested in April that the Shah was seriously considering the offer and had possibly accepted it. It was in connection with this report that Mr Sydney Moses, a Daily Dispatch reporter in Umtata, telephoned Chief George Matanzima for confirmation just before the newspaper was banned in the territory and Mr Moses was detained for a second time (see chapter on Control of the Media for further details).

The territory abandoned two prestige projects during the year: the construction of an international free port at Mazeppa Bay and an international airport at Umtata. Making the announcement, Mr Ramsay Madikizela, the Minister of Finance, said that the territory's administration had entered into the R185m contract with Mr Salim El Hajj, a Lebanese financier and the Transkei's former ambassador in Lebanon and the Middle East, in December. The contract required that the territory make a down payment of R12,8m for a feasibility study. Because of financial difficulties only R9m was paid over to Mr El Hajj.

Mr Madikizela said that since the R9m had been paid nothing more had been heard of Mr El Hajj and the feasibility studies had not been received. Commenting on this he said "It has been our fear that El Hajj is one of the international crooks who have been swindling our state from time to time by making promises to assist the country in return for huge sums of money". Mr El Hajj was also involved in a R100m contract with Venda. On the advice of the SA government the Venda administration refused to make the down payment until after it had received the feasibility study from Mr El Hajj.
Venda also subsequently cancelled its contract with Mr El Hajj (see section on Venda: Relations with Other Countries for further details).

Following the reports of Mr El Hajj's activities he threatened to sue the Johannesburg Sunday Times for defamation both of himself and his company, Middle East Commercial and Investment Services, SAL. The newspaper contested the action and demanded that Mr El Hajj and his company put up security to cover the costs of the action.

The Berkeley Affair

Mr Humphrey Berkeley, former roving ambassador for the territory, continued his attempts to sue the territory's administration and to have the three security policemen who allegedly assaulted him prosecuted by the SA government. In March it was reported that investigations into the alleged assault had been reopened by the SA police. Last year the Eastern Cape Attorney-General, Mr E C Heller, declined to prosecute the three men for what a senior SA police officer described as an offence "too trivial" to warrant extradition and prosecution.

Mr Berkeley, a prohibited immigrant in SA, was allowed to visit SA for one week in April to pursue his action. In June he was informed that, following the further police investigation, the Attorney-General saw no reason to apply for the extradition of the three men in order to prosecute them. Mr Berkeley said that he was concerned that no legal action would be taken against the three men.

In August the SA government granted Mr Berkeley a 28-day visa to enable him to pursue his civil action against the Transkei's administration and the three security police members for unlawful dismissal, wrongful arrest, abduction, assault and attempted murder.

He also had an action against Chief George Matanzima for libel. Mr Berkeley arrived in SA in October. It was reported that he intended to sue for R500 000.

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Rand Daily Mail August 1 9
To the Point May 23
Rand Daily Mail February 19
9 Ibidpara 10.3
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12 See chapter on the Economy
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Sunday Times August 10 19 Star August 18
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2 See last year's Survey p 304 26 Hansard 8, Q cols 482-3 27 Calculated from figures quoted earlier, see last year's Survey p 305, and figures quoted this year
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1 Rand Daily Mail April 22 io Sunday Times June 1 5 ' Citizen March 1 7 42
Sunday Post February 10
BeeldJanuary 24 i4 Citizen March 18 '2See chapter on White Politics
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7 Post April 1 41 Citizen March 18 41 VoiceMay 21-27 See last year's Survey p
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January 25
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Voice March 19-25
Daily Dispatch February 14
April 7 Evening Post May 28
Rapport June 1
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7 Sunday Times April 6
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Star May 28
1 Star July 3
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OF THE HOMELANDS'

Financial matters regarding the homelands

Expenditure

Expenditure in the homelands by the SA government for the 1978-79 financial year was given in the report of the Auditor General for that year as follows:2

Dept Co-operation and Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Expenditure (R)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51 197 108 21 187 146 149 253 046 63 160 196 5 192 506 30 456 390 10 723 609</td>
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SA Development

Trust

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<th>Trust</th>
<th>Expenditure (R)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 266 849 1 416 274 27 035 531 6 769 880 2 318 781 3 436 731 10427 602</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Total 331 170 001 60 671 648 17 024 608 408 866 257

The amount under the Department of opment includes both the statutory grant to other expenditures by the department.

Co-operation and Development and the homelands as well as

Sources of revenue in the non-independent homelands and expenditure by the homelands (excluding expenditure by the SA Railways and Port Administration) have been extracted from the reports of the Auditor General for the homelands and SA for the 1978-79 financial year as follows:

Revenue

Balance at

1.4.78

30 789

344 290 (deficit) 1 178 041 (deficit)

2 153 894

Grants from

State Revenue   General

Fund   Revenue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Expenditure (R)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ciskei Gazankulu</td>
<td>47 502 300 21 665 430 19 587 900 10 189656</td>
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<tr>
<td>KwaZulu Lebowa</td>
<td>140 399 300 45 958 579 NOT AVAILABLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa Venda</td>
<td>4 588800 11 879 771 NOT AVAILABLE 10021 200 14 506 708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Daily Dispatch May 30

91 See last year's Survey p 339 94 Star April 2

Daily Dispatch August 7

Daily Dispatch May 10

Sunday Post September 14 Daily Dispatch February 1

'See last year's Survey p 342 et seq " Rand Daily Mail June 11 ... Daily Dispatch April 29 12 See last year's Survey pp 334-5
Other
Departments 1 174 187 225 138 11 150 674 1 688 606 233 902 1 614 844 937 257
Total 638 144 828 558 439 251 618 682 745 189 507 965 088 468 257
Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda KaNgwane
Total (including balance) 69 198 656 29 443 265 185 159 838 1 662 252 24 527 908 427

Expenditure
Homeland Finance
G
I
Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda KaNgwane
Homeland governments SA Govt
73 583 046 14 135 844
30 468 276 3 230 658
51 224 957 47 039 951
NOT AVAILABLE 16 960 213 3 156 389
NOT AVAILABLE 11 470 777 12 067 268
Total 87 718 890 33 698 934 198 264 908 20 116 602 23 538 045
Estimates of expenditure from the State Revenue Account 1980-81
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 Total 610 400 90 000 000 1 689 600 140 666 000 232 966 000
Contributions to homeland estimated as follows:
governments for 1980-81 were
Statutory grant 32 389 000 15 483 000 6 027 000 95 917 000 44 558 000 1 991 000
Additional grant
38 510 400 20 943 500 10 629 700
85 165 900 40 769 600 7 196 600
7 700 000 5 496 300
Administration and technical assistance 3 673 000 1 911 000
886 000 10 813 000
5 099 000
727 000
428 000
The Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda
Amounts payable to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda the 'independent' territories, were provided for in the Foreign Affairs vote as follows:
Amount payable to the government of Venda: (Section 2(1)(b) of Act 105 of 1979) The Transkei (Section 2(1)(b) of Act 106 of 1976)
R38 000 000 unavailable
428
Ciskei Gazankulu KaNgwane KwaZulu Lebowa QwaQwa Venda KwaNdebele
Total estimated expenditure
74 572 400 38 337 500 17 542 700 191 895 900 90 426 600
9 914 600
13 624 300

Bophuthatswana (Section 2(1)(b) of Act 93 of 1977) Salaries and allowances of judges seconded to Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Transkei governments (Act 63 of 1979):
22 000 000 R160 000

Homeland Policy
In an article published in Development Studies, Southern Africa Mr A le Grange of Benso concluded that in terms of the pattern of expenditure on land purchase the consolidation of the homelands according to the 1975 consolidation policy would never be complete. Four alternatives were mooted, all of which were based on the acknowledgement that it had become impossible to create enough job opportunities in or near the present borders of the homelands to allow for significant resettlement in these areas:
1 bringing borders closer to growth points in the 'white' area. He suggested that employment opportunities could be created for the KwaNdebele and Lebowa areas by redrawing their boundaries to place them closer to the Bronkhorstspruit, Witbank and Middelburg development axis;
2 including a few white towns as growth points in the homelands. Important towns, other than the larger metropolitan areas in specific regions, could be included in the homelands, although the buying out of these towns would be extremely expensive;
incorporating some urban African residential areas in homelands. Due to the high concentration of Africans in urban areas it would be impossible to remove them to their own states. He suggested that the African urban areas in the 'white' areas could become parts of homelands. Instances where this has been accomplished were Umlazi, KwaMashu, Mdantsane, Mamelodi, and Garankuwa;

4 joint management of border industrial growth points. Disadvantages of the present system were that African governments felt that development of border industrial growth points were undertaken at the expense of development in the homelands and that they were responsible for social and physical infrastructure on their side of the border while they did not share in the taxation income earned on the profits of industries.

He held that the incorporation of these border industry areas into the homelands would cost millions and might have a detrimental effect on existing employment and sustained growth. An alternative would be the conversion of certain border industry areas into common economic development areas.

He also suggested that despite these measures there would have to be more coherent heartland consolidation. (See also section on Decentralisation in chapter on Employment and section on Area and Consolidation in chapter on the Homelands.)

Following a meeting between the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima of the Transkei, Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Chief Patrick Mphephu of Venda they stated that they had "considered the establishment of regional co-operation in the fields of economic activity, social affairs, interstate relations and security matters". They agreed to establish a development bank for Southern Africa which would be open to all countries in Southern Africa who wished "to participate on the basis of equal status". Agreement was reached on the following proposals to be considered in structuring economic development and co-operation:

* a declaration to promote private enterprise;
* the establishment of a special committee to consider the training of manpower;
* a joint approach to the planning of a transportation system, starting with a roads network;
* the formulation of a joint forestry development strategy;
* consideration of a single customs union between Southern African independent countries.

They resolved to encourage private enterprise by:
* promoting peace and political stability, and adhering to the rule of law and prevention of arbitrary government;
* providing monetary stability;
* restricting the public sector's direct role in the economy mainly to the provision of collective and strategic goods and services and the co-ordination of regional development;
* ensuring the maximum movement of labour, capital, technology and entrepreneurship which could be reconciled with official, social and other non-economic policies;
* assuring private businesses that they would not be nationalised and that their ability to make profits and repatriate dividends would not be arbitrarily restricted.5

The gross national income per capita for 1976 for each homeland, the latest date for which information was available, was as follows:
Ciskei KwaZulu QwaQwa Lebowa Gazankulu KaNgwane
General Economic Development
Ciskei
In March the Ciskei cabinet approved a guide plan for the development of Alice as the capital of Ciskei and commissioned detailed planning. The decision was taken after a report was issued in 1979 by the Uys Commission which had investigated the matter.7
The Ciskei government appealed to SA for financial assistance for the development of the Peddie South area which was handed over in November 1979. The government's primary aim was to create a middle-class farming community in the area."

The annual report of the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) stated that it had not succeeded in attaining its development and financing targets during the 1977-78 financial year. The reasons were the generally depressed economic conditions in the country and delays caused by time-consuming procedures in obtaining "approvals and permissions from a great number of authorities".
Reports revealed that a plan for joint economic sharing between Ciskei, the Border region and the Transkei was being considered by the SA government. The plan proposed a 'regional co-prosperity zone' for the area with joint executive and administrative bodies and was drawn up by representatives of the East London and King Williamstown municipalities, the Kaffrarian Divisional Council, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the Chamber of Industries, and the Chamber of Commerce.
It proposed that a regional administrative authority and a regional economic executive committee be established, to be composed of all political authorities in the region. It found that the development of the region had been fragmented and that high transport and electricity tariffs had depressed its growth.
The object of the regional economic executive committee would be "to pursue the economic quality of life goals" of the zone and the committee would comprise representatives of each regional element, the private sector and observers from the regional administrative authority. The latter would provide the regional economic executive committee "with the political machinery to enable progress to be achieved in the zone, to agree on policy and to relate socio-political needs to
economic development needs”. The plan stated that there should be a free flow of labour and materials in the zone and a ‘tilting’ of expertise from the developed to the under-developed areas. It also advocated “the systematic removal of regulations, restrictions and forms of discrimination which limit development”.

A study of the economy of the region by the University of Port Elizabeth concluded that there were no short-term solutions to the economic revival of the area. It called for a complete revision of the development incentives in the region. Other findings were that African unemployment was at an unacceptably high level - approximately 43 000 in the East London-BerlinKing Williamstown area; and that possible boundary changes in the region would make no difference to the conclusions drawn in its study.

Dr Robert Rotberg, a member of the Quail Commission, stated that the homelands were "too small, too impoverished and too developmentally unpromising to provide meaningful resources for 22 million Africans now and 37 million in 20 years". (See section on Ciskei in chapter on Homelands.)

The Transkei

The acting Prime Minister of the Transkei announced that the Transkei government was formulating a national plan including a comprehensive rural development strategy. A National Technical Planning Committee would be established to recommend development programmes and projects to the National Development Board. He stated that the Transkei should not aim for spectacular development but for development which would be of maximum benefit to its people.

The Transkei's objectives for development were the following:

- Agriculture: * development of agricultural land and conversion of subsistence farming into commercial farming;
  * development of major physical resources;
  * urban development;
  " housing and education programmes;
  * improvement of health and nutritional standards. Problems identified were the following: " incorrect land use;
  * occupation of agricultural land by non-farmers;
  * lack of adequate marketing and input supply facilities;
  * lack of infrastructural development;
  * lack of knowledge and motivation;
  * very low per capita incomes. Among the plus factors for agricultural development in the Transkei were:
    * a number of major dam sites;
    * large areas suitable for dryland cropping;
    * suitable land for tea, sugar and sub-tropical fruits and forestry;
dramatic effects which development of these resources could have on employment, land settlement and living standards. He stated that the following key procedures should be adopted by the Transkei Development Corporation and the Departments of Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce, Industry and Tourism:

* promotion of the motivation and participation of local communities in planning and implementation;
* improvement of credit and marketing facilities; "development of rural service centres where marketing depots and small-scale commercial and industrial enterprise could be established;

Agriculture

Bophuthatswana

President Mangope announced in May that his government would draw up a formula for the incorporation of white farmlands into Bophuthatswana which would be submitted to the SA government for consideration. He said he eventually wanted to see Bophuthatswana citizens acquiring a much greater stake - and ultimately a majority stake - in Bophuthatswana's economy."

A survey of agricultural potential showed that the dryland area in the homeland measured 309 672 ha. According to preliminary indications 100 000 ha of high-potential land was available for wheat production and 160 000 ha for maize production. If it was accepted that middle-class farmers were settled on these areas and the balance of 433 the dryland areas used for other production purposes then:

1 a total of 6 439 farmers could be settled on maize and wheat farms;
2 625 farmers could be settled on irrigation land with plots of 9.7 ha;
3 2 541 cattle farmers could be established each with 169 cattle;
4 a total of 9 605 farmers would have been settled, earning incomes of R2 500 per year.

The gross value of production of these 9 605 farmers would come to R92,641m.

(Amendment 1977 the total gross value of production was R1 08m). An estimated 416 000 tons of maize and 125 000 tons of wheat could be produced. An amount of R134,1m would be needed for tractors, implements and production credit while 27 578 people would be employed full-time as workers on middle-class farms. During 1978/79 an Agricultural Development Corporation (AGRICOR) was established to co-ordinate agricultural development. It was envisaged that this corporation would gradually take over the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation's agricultural interests and loans. During 1978/79 the BNDC extended credit to individual Tswana farmers for purchase of fertilizer, seed, bags etc and granted loans for the purchase of agricultural implements costing R99 650 in all.

A long-term plan to develop 35 000 ha of Bakwena-ba-Mogopa tribal land in Bophuthatswana's Odi district into a modern farming area was launched,
commencing with a 2 800 ha wheat project. The project was divided between 28 farmers each of whom would have 100 ha. The participating farmers had been selected by a tribal committee and the Department of Agriculture and a liaison committee had been established to maintain contact with the Technical Advisory Committee.4

Ciskei

The head of the Department of Geography at Rhodes University, Professor J B McDaniel, stated in July that the Ciskei government had done more for agriculture in eight years than the SA government had in 70 years. He also stated that the 4 ha plots being farmed under leasehold at Keiskammahoek could result in the creation of a minority elite. One-quarter hectare subsistence plots were preferable because they raised present levels of living and employed a simple technology.5

The Quail Commission report painted a negative picture of agricultural development in the Ciskei.1 It identified the following features which had led to the impoverishment of the agricultural sector:

* a traditional economy of subsistence farming;
* a communal land tenure system;
* blocked exit from the agricultural sector of a growing population and injections of additional population by the SA government;
* the temporary absence of able-bodied males.

Homeland Agriculture

The average output (marketed plus subsistence) per person of the Ciskei's farm population of 357 000 was about R40 per year. This low figure was a result of excessive population density, inefficient land use, and low yields. The average yield for the Ciskei was 2.4 bags of maize per ha (18-24 bags on white farms); 3-6 bags of wheat, compared with 20-25 bags on white farms; and a cattle turnover of 2% per year at a margin of R18 per head as opposed to a 20% turnover at R50 per head for whites.

Approximately 15% of the territory's (consolidated) 830 000 hectares was suitable for dryland cultivation of which only 2% or 16 000 hectares was potentially irrigable. Two-thirds of the land was suitable for pastorage. The Ciskei had approximately 195 000 beef cattle and 430 000 sheep and goats, meat being the only major food item in which the Ciskei was self-sufficient.

The commission stated that overgrazing affected 39% of the territory's pastorage. Only 23% of the Ciskei's consolidated land area was completely free of soil erosion and 47% was classified as moderately to severely eroded. The commission recommended that stock reduction was necessary.

It stated that the main channels of assistance to the Ciskei's 30 000 or so farms were the Ciskei Marketing Board and a network of 124 primary co-operatives which employed the majority of the Ciskei's 30 extension officers. As a result of the small size of farms and population pressure it was not possible for Ciskeian farmers to generate a marketable surplus beyond subsistence.
It held that many of the constraints on agricultural productivity could be significantly reduced in the short term if sufficient funds were available. The following amounts would be necessary: control of erosion - R8m over 5 years; stock improvement - R5m over 3 years; surveys of agricultural potential - R500 000; development of irrigation schemes - R1 m a year; credit - a revolving fund of R3m. These would be in addition to the Ciskei's current agriculture and forestry budget of R10m.

Projects under way in the Ciskei were the Tyumie citrus project - a plantation of 35 000 valencia and navel oranges; a 20 ha tobacco curing business employing 98 permanent and 302 temporary Ciskeians; the Thorndale milk project situated on the Tyumie estate comprising a herd of over 208 Friesland cows and employing 22 Ciskeians; the Peddie fresh milk project with a herd of 85 cows under the direction of an African manager and employing seven Ciskeians. Further projects were a pineapple project comprising four farms providing 5 800 tons of cayenne pineapples for the export market for canning purposes and employing 160 Ciskeians, while 96 seasonal and full-time workers were employed on the Ndakana project which produced sheep, wool, cattle, maize, wattle bark and plums.

As with other parts of the country this year the Ciskei experienced a drought said to be the worst in 30 years. Following talks between the Minister of Co-operation and Development and the Ciskei government a drought relief co-ordinator was sent to Zwelitsha. The SA government gave R7m to the Ciskei government for relief measures. The amount was used inter alia for the supply of fresh drinking water to people and animals by mobile tankers; the creation of 11 000 employment opportunities through the introduction of projects to eradicate noxious weeds, to prepare land for afforestation, burn fire breaks, maintain roads and clear culverts and waterways. Feeding programmes and feeding schemes for cattle were introduced. 7

Agriculture
Gazankulu

During 1978 the Gazankulu Agricultural Company (Pty) Ltd was formed by the Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation and the CED. The company was to be responsible for the development of large agricultural projects in Gazankulu and would also actively assist in the establishment of individual farmers on projects which it had developed.

Approximately 600 work opportunities were established on the Marivan irrigation project on land rented from the Bankuna Tribal Authority. The project comprised 300 ha of land and was situated on the southern bank of the Great Letaba River. Cotton, tobacco, potatoes, beans and onions were being cultivated. A small dairy was established.

During 1978 the Gazankulu government approved in principle the development of a large agricultural scheme in the Mhala district which would involve local farmers in the production of citrus and other sub-tropical fruits. By 1980 seven poultry farms were in operation, the corporation's investment being R340 000.8
A 150 ha New Forest project was established in 1978 on less effectively used land in a 500 ha government-launched irrigation scheme. Producing sub-tropical crops and creating employment for about 120 people, the scheme also provided training by example to local Shangaan farmers. It served as the nucleus for the local Kanana Farmer's Co-operative. It was the only large rural employer in the Mhala district and paid out R52 000 in wages per annum. Test plots were kept for the CED's agricultural division where cotton, sugar beans and cassava were grown. The CED estimated that of the land under the control of Gazankulu in 1976 some 28 600 ha could be placed under irrigation if the necessary dams were built. Some 8 500 farmers could be settled on this land earning R2 500 p.a.9

KwaZulu

Professor J Hanks of the Institute of National Resources stated that KwaZulu contained about 20% of SA’s population on 7.5% of the total land. He held that continual fragmentation of land holdings in rural areas in order to accommodate rapidly increasing numbers of people meant that huts were replacing arable land.2

In 1979 a community development project, the Africa Co-operative Action Trust (ACAT) was formed whose ultimate aim was to transform KwaZulu into a food exporting entity. By January ACAT had given instructions to about 3 000 peasant farmers.2” ACAT’s target was to establish 150 savings clubs among farmers, consisting of 20 to 40 members each by mid-1980.

Homeland Agriculture

A new tripartite company, KwaZulu Stock Owners' Company, designed to sell livestock, was formed by the Stock Owners' Co-operative and the CED. The company would be managed by the co-operative and the stock shared between it and the CED for an initial ten years. Thereafter shares would be made available to KwaZulu citizens. After twenty years the project would be fully owned by KwaZulu citizens.”

KwaZulu was severely hit by one of the worst droughts this century. By May it was estimated that more than 100 000 cattle had died. A survey by the Natal Agricultural Union showed that the total outflow of Natal's 41 rivers this year was only 8% of that for the same period in 1979. The drought was critical in Heatonville, Nkwalini, Eshowe, Mkuze and Magudu, Kokstad, Mount Currie and the Swartkop/Sweetwaters and Indeleni areas.”

It was reported that some people had to walk up to five hours to collect food or water.

The effects of the drought were:

*: half of KwaZulu's croplands yielding no food at all;
*: malnutrition affecting many of the 3 million inhabitants;
*: an increase in the number of malnutrition-related sicknesses;
*: sugar-cane crops dying;
*: a loss to the SA Sugar Association of millions of rands.

These conditions were aggravated by high unemployment in the territory.
Various measures were undertaken to combat the drought. Appeals were made by Chief Buthelezi for people to sell cattle rather than let them die. Thousands of game animals were culled in the game reserves of Umfolozi, Mkuze and Ndumu on the periphery of KwaZulu.
The KwaZulu government had spent more than R6m on drought relief by August. In addition a public drought relief fund was established and the Natal Red Cross handled the distribution of relief supplies in rural KwaZulu. By August a hundred boreholes had been built each costing R2 100 and additional dam-making units at R600 per unit.

Lebowa
During 1978/79, R1 280 was spent on six new agricultural loans to Lebowa farmers by the Lebowa Development Corporation (LDC). A further R821 300 was invested by the CED, mainly in the Tours coffee project and the Tswelepele irrigation project.
An additional 610 employment opportunities for Lebowans were created by both development corporations in the agricultural sector.
The construction of an agricultural high school was embarked upon jointly by the Lebowa government, Anglo American Corporation and De Beers. The school, costing R5.5m, was scheduled to open in 1982 and would accommodate 200 boys and 100 girls.

QwaQwa
The total expenditure by the QwaQwa Development Corporation on agricultural development amounted to R314 000 for the 1979 financial year.
The QwaQwa agricultural company came into operation to deal mainly with pig and dairy farming. The QDC’s investment in the company amounted to R232 910 and job opportunities were created for more than 40 Sotho, excluding seasonal labourers. The piggery had a 250 sow unit while about 20 000 litres of milk were produced monthly by the dairy herd.
Financial assistance to three farmers totalling R23 213 was granted.
The QwaQwa Dairy was established to deal with the distribution of milk in QwaQwa. The company distributed milk internally but also replenished its stock with milk from outside to ensure that milk would be available in times of shortfall. The QDC’s financial involvement in the dairy amounted to R29 000. Shares would be made available to African citizens as soon as the company had been placed on a stable footing.

The Transkei
During the 1978/79 financial year the policy of the agricultural division of the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC) was rationalised and the loss for the year reduced by R42 000 to R497 000. A number of non-viable projects were terminated.
The TDC reported that the costly infrastructure for irrigation schemes and dams in the Qamata district was wasted due to an unsuitable climate and soil and the lack of a profitable well adjusted crop. Other discontinued projects were those at Laute North and Port St Johns. Factors militating against profitability on these and other projects were the drastic escalation of all fuel costs, and a trebling of diesel costs.
There was a reduction in operating costs on all projects through inter alia a reduction in staff. Theft continued to lead to losses of 8-12% of the total crop yield.

The report stated that the dairy farming herd in the Oathay and Occupation Post projects had increased and produced 3,000 litres of milk daily. Irrigated pastures to support the increased herd had been planted. The Laute and Poort farm irrigation projects continued to function well.

Nooitgedacht farm was converted from a potato producing unit to one of vegetable production supplying Umtata outlets. The Gwatyu beef project continued to function well. In March 1980 the multimillion rand Ncora irrigation scheme was opened. The scheme which is based on a dam across the Tsomo river would eventually provide water to irrigate about 5,500 ha of fertile land. The land use plan provided for" a commercial servicing farm providing a comprehensive range of services to and for local farmers;
* traditional plot-holders on 1, 25 ha units;
* chiefs and headmens' farms;
" commercial farms.27

Homeland Agriculture

During the 1978/79 year the Venda Development Corporation (VDC) lent R100,000 to Venda farmers for production facilities mainly in poultry, pig, avocado and mango undertakings. After negotiations tribal authorities agreed to make land available for development on a bipartite or tripartite basis, following an intensive liaison campaign, and an agreement that the profits would be shared. There was an outcry by the African community when it was revealed that a wage of R1 a day was being paid to workers employed by the Venda Development Corporation and Sapekoe on their tea estates and by Phaswana Boerdery on its coffee and tea plantation.

Corporation for Economic Development (CED)

The CED carries out the following functions regarding agriculture:
" establishment of projects on tribal or state owned land within the homelands;
* technological assistance to small farmers;
* establishment of agents on properties in the homelands, with the object of producing specific products;
* the farming of land bought by the SA Development Trust for eventual incorporation into the homelands;
* the purchase of productive land, such as citrus or timber estates, which has been earmarked for inclusion within an African area. This is to obviate loss of productivity during transition.
Specific projects launched, operated or assisted by the Agricultural Division were as follows:

**Bophuthatswana**
* The Mooifontein maize and sorghum project;
* The Taung irrigation project;
* The Lesedi and Distobotla co-operatives managed for Agricor;
* The Kumiso Ya Maswi dairy production unit;
* The Rooigrond pig unit;
* The Modikwe Mankwe dryland wheat project;
* Two livestock marketing schemes.

**Venda**
* The Tshivase tea project;
* The Phaswana coffee project.

**Lebowa**
* The Tours coffee project;
* The Landford, Blouberg and Lorna Dawn irrigation schemes;
* The Tswelepele irrigation project.

**Gazankulu**
* The Mariveni, Mhinga, New Forest, Belasting and Nondweni irrigation projects.

**KaNgwane**
* The Figtree irrigation project.

The CED's Bureau for Training commenced this year with a formal training programme for African employees of the corporation's Agricultural Division. Recruits were sent to the Temba Training Centre in Bophuthatswana near Hammanskraal and to the Boskop Agricultural Training Centre near Potchefstroom run by the Department of Education and Training. Forty-two employees from the projects at Zebediela and Gillimberg situated on SA Development Trust land were receiving training at these centres.

**Commerce Bophuthatswana**
In 1978/79 83 new business units were erected to be leased to Tswana entrepreneurs compared to 19 the previous year. As at March 31, 1979 the total number of units leased was 258 situated in 21 urban and suburban centres. During that year 104 loans for business financing were approved.

Eight tripartite companies were in operation in Bophuthatswana at March 31, 1979 and shares in Metro Cash and Carry were transferred to Tswana citizens during the financial year. The BNDC sold 5 000 of its shares to ten Tswana private individuals and to Bodiredi Bafokeng (Pty) Ltd, a Tlhabane-based company. The second phase of the Temba shopping centre costing R269 000 was completed. The eight companies and BNDC investment in them is as follows:

**Company**
- Bophuthatswana Bakeries (Pty) Ltd
- Shoecorp Shoes Stores (Boph) (Pty) Ltd
- Wanda Furnishers (Boph) (Pty) Ltd
- Bophuthatswana Chain Stores Ltd
- Metro
As at March 31, 1979 the BNDC was operating 40 enterprises which included breweries, wholesale and retail concerns, bottlostores, art and craft centres, bakeries, garages, a hotel, a semi-precious stone industry, bar lounges and beer gardens.

In March 1979, the Bonbru Brewery at Tlhabane, a modern sorghum beer brewery, came into operation. During the year the corporation was able to finance R2.2m of its total capital expenditure of R7.7m out of its own resources.

During 1980 Metro Cash and Carry Holdings Ltd opened a second branch in Bophuthatswana at Taung involving a capital investment of R500 000. The Taung store served about 100 licensed retailers.

Licences granted to traders in Bophuthatswana increased from 886 in 1972, to 1873 in 1976 and 2600 in 1980.

The Mmabatho Sun Hotel maintained an average occupancy of more than 80% throughout the 1978/79 year.

During the period April 1, 1978 to March 1979 the corporation granted financial aid for housing or business projects to 499 Ciskeians, amounting to R1 700 216.

The total investment by the KwaZulu (KDC) in its own undertakings as at March 31,
Breweries
Beer distribution
Hotels
Holiday resorts
Buildings for letting
Administration and other assets
Total
Development Corporation 1979 was as follows:
M
1 436 1 646 1 308 1 104 4 863 1 230
R11 587
Total loans to entrepreneurs outstanding as at March 31, 1979 amounted to R6.8m. During the 1978/79 financial year business loans to the value of R3.9m were granted. The loans approved were as follows:
Type of Business General dealer Bottle store Restaurant Supermarket Sugar cane contractors Butcheries Garages General
Average value per loan
R26 000 R34 000
R27 000 R89 000 R75 000 R22 000
R23 000 R21 000
Two breweries were located at Ngwelezana and Madadeni with production capacities of 8.5 and 2.0 million litres per month respectively. The entire production of the breweries was sold within the KwaZulu Territorial Area and in four released areas. The Madadeni 441 Hotel was established during the year.
By 1980 ten tripartite companies had been established in KwaZulu with a further 12 planned.
Commerce QwaQwa
During 1979 the first large-scale business in QwaQwa-the Setsing business centre was opened. The QDC report for 1978/79 stated that financial aid of R265 967 had been approved for the erection of fifteen businesses by Sotho businessmen. It also reported that business at QwaQwa Hotels (Pty) Ltd - an affiliate of the corporation - had increased.
A confectioner's shop had been erected for Sasko QwaQwa Bakery and additional ovens provided. Extensive improvements were made to the workshop of QwaQwa Toyota, and an African director appointed. A new shop to the value of R100 000
was erected for Federated Timbers which took over P G QwaQwa, a tripartite undertaking in building materials.

This year the QwaQwa Chamber of Commerce attacked the QwaQwa Development Corporation for setting up supermarkets in villages in QwaQwa in direct competition to locally owned stores, and for allowing white entrepreneurs in to develop QwaQwa. The chamber approached a Pretoria legal firm to challenge the QwaQwa Development Corporation on the issue.

Lebowa
During 1978/79 a second modern business complex worth R200 881 was completed and a start made on a shopping complex to cost R330 000 at Phatudi City. The Lebowa Development Corporation (LDC) also provided R95 893 for the erection by a private citizen of a further complex at Seshego.

Cumulative expenditure on business loans by the corporation rose from R382 000 in 1977/78 to R2 033 000 in 1978/79 and loans granted but not yet paid rose from R871 000 in 1977/78 to R2 032 000 in 1978/79.

Three tripartite companies were established in 1978/79. Metro (Lebowa) took over the LDC's wholesale interests at Malaita, Koringpunt, Mepela and Bushbuck Ridge and a new branch was to be opened at Chuniespoort. Aidec (Lebowa) started operations as insurance brokers and Wanda Furnishers (Lebowa) was operating two branches, one at Seshego and one at Namakgale. Shareholding in all these companies would be made available to Lebowa citizens.

During the year privately-owned hotels at Gakgapane and Motetema were completed. An amount of R185 000 was approved for the erection of a rest camp at Madjadji to accommodate tourists at the home of the Rain Queen. The corporation ran two bakeries employing 378 people and was constructing a third one. It operated 14 beer halls providing employment for 106 people. The beer distribution operation had a turnover of approximately 1 500 000 litres per month.

442
Homeland Commerce
A new tripartite company was established this year between the LDC and an advertising agency, Rent-a-Sign Outdoor, to handle outdoor advertising in Lebowa. The company's investment in Lebowa amounted to R21 600 but its expansion programme for the first year provided for a further investment of R2 800.

A further tripartite company was established between the LDC and Coalmark, a coal distribution company. Accredited merchants in Lebowa would participate in the company by the issue of shares to them based on the volume of coal sold by each merchant. An amount of R10 000 was approved for the project and it was estimated that 108 new job opportunities would be created initially.

The Transkei
During the 1978/79 financial year financial aid amounting to R4,9m was granted to Transkeian businessmen, while housing loans of R462 000 were made available. Up to March 31, 1979 a total of R19,7m had been placed at the disposal of borrowers.
The profit made on commercial projects in 1979 amounted to R314 000. A number of projects were sold such as Butterworth Butchery and Kenmore Dairy and a number closed down e.g. Gcuwa Cinema, Transkei Removals. The Transkei bought its first helicopter this year, while it reported that its R4m 40-seater Hawker Siddeley bought in December 1979 was running at 65% capacity carrying more than 1 000 passengers a month. An order for R30m worth of blockwood and plywood was placed by one of West Germany's largest timber merchants with Chet Board. The order would be executed over the next five years at R6m a year. The Chet Group of companies operated two timber processing plants in Butterworth and a saw-milling complex in Umtata and a fourth company, Chet Veneers, started production this year."12

Venda
The Venda Development Corporation's annual report for 1978/79 stated that business complexes to the value of R2.5m were under construction at Thohoyandou and Makhado and a wholesale tripartite company costing R269 000 was approaching completion. More than R1m had been invested in the corporation's programme of financing Venda business. About 50% of the amount lent was still outstanding on March 31, 1979. Plans were under way for the establishment of two supermarkets, an outfitters, a furniture store, a motor spare-parts store and an outdoor advertising undertaking. A tripartite insurance brokers firm was also being planned.

Industry
Bophuthatswana
The following table details industrial development in Bophuthatswana undertaken by the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (BNDC):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Growth point</th>
<th>Babalegi</th>
<th>Seloshesha</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure investment as at March 31, 1979</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total corporate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rm</td>
<td>Rm</td>
<td>Rm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>23,2</td>
<td>26,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,6</td>
<td>4,6</td>
<td>6,2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,0</td>
<td>28,4</td>
<td>34,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bophuthatswana government created an Industrial Development Board to establish new industries and expand existing ones. Incentives included factory buildings at attractive rentals, generous tax concessions, price preferences on government tenders, railage rebates and subsidised housing loans."
Bophuthatswana’s first grain silo was opened this year and negotiations were under way with Sentrachem for the establishment of a multi-million rand ethanol plant.

Ciskei

During the financial year 1978/79, six agreements were signed under the agency system for industrial development and 224 job opportunities for Ciskeians created. Total investment in these projects was R2 013 000. The Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) constructed buildings to the value of R948 000, the CED provided loans of R1 560 000 and industrialists would, at full production, have invested R949 000. The establishment of an additional three industries representing an investment of R6 448 000 was approved during the 1978/79 year and would provide a further 252 jobs for Ciskeians. Extensions to six existing factories were approved, which on completion would involve an investment of more than R2,5m and provide job opportunities for 70 people.

The chairman of Dimbaza Foundries stated that more than R2m in sales was anticipated for the year, 40% of which would be exported. In the three years since the foundry was established it had been expanded four times to meet increased production requirements. 16

The Grosvenor Hotel at Keiskammahoek was taken over by the Ciskei National Development Corporation on April 1.

Gazankulu

The report of the Gazankulu Development Corporation for 1978/79 pointed out that development of large secondary industries in Gazankulu was not feasible because Gazankulu was unfavourably located in relation to the main consumer areas in SA. Nevertheless attempts were being made to promote industrial development. Investment had amounted to R4 290 136 of which approximately R562 000 had been invested by the private sector while R2,9 m had been expended on the establishment of infrastructure.

The corporation established an achar factory together with the Letaba Co-operative at Nkowankowa and a bakery at Giyani. A further two bakeries were planned and all would be established on the tripartite basis. A block of small industries was established in the Mhala district in Gazankulu providing work for 20 employees and having an annual turnover of R75 000. They comprised a carpenter, a wood carver, a furniture manufacturer, an upholsterer, a welder, a clothing manufacturer and a leather worker. Larger units which were opened during the year housed a radio repairer, an armature winder, a glazier and a panel beater."

KwaZulu
Isithebe had 35 functioning industries, providing employment over 3,500 Zulus and an established infrastructure to cope with a steady demand by new industrialists for over ten years. It was envisaged that Isithebe would eventually comprise 190 industrial stands on 430 ha of land. Total investment in the estate including CED outlay for future development exceeded R86m. The CED as at January 1980 had invested more than R12.2m in infrastructure, R19.4m in buildings, and R16.6m in loans to industrialists, which together with the estimated private investment of R23.5m gave a total of approximately R72m.

It was announced that the R11m manganese steel foundry opened at Isithebe in 1979 by Vickers Lenning Ltd was to be expanded. The foundry was running close to its 6,500 tons per year capacity of which target exports were 1,500 to 2,000 tons.

A further development was that cheap fuel would be available to factories in Isithebe as a result of a R1.4m coal produced gas plant and reticulation system being erected for the CED, which managed the estate and which would run the plant and reticulate the gas to users. Companies which had accepted the service were Apex Foundries, Ferrodo, Plastithene, GEC, Durity Clothing, Vickers-Lenning, Palfridge and T and C Enamels. The plant would use up to 20 tons of Natal low grade coal a day and would produce 4,000 metres of gas per hour. All seven steel engineering production companies of the Apex group were to occupy a 25 ha industrial site at Isithebe. This represented a total investment of R24m and would lead to the creation of 1,000 jobs.

Lebowa

The first phase in the establishment of an industrial township at Phatudi City was completed during the 1978/79 year comprising an expenditure of R1m for the 70 ha area of 47 stands. Up to March 31, 1979, 17 individual Lebowa industrialists were established employing 110 people. Apart from investment in these small industries the LDC increased its direct investment in industrial and related undertakings (fully owned as well as shared participation) from R1 316 687 to R3 389 727 - an increase of 157%.

The following tripartite companies were launched during 1978/79: Lebowa Tractor Service, Lebowa Milling Co and Northern Cordage Company. The total LDC and CED investment in industrial and related undertakings as at March 31, 1979 amounted to R20 828 264 as opposed to R17 500 000 in 1977/78 with employment figures of 4,400 and 2,500 respectively.

QwaQwa

Five factories had been established in QwaQwa by the CED as well as smaller industries such as a clothing wholesaler, a mat-weaving factory, a dressmaker, and a building contractor. A further six factories of a small type together with three factories of 200 m2 each had been completed at a cost of R150 000 for use by African industrialists. Two further factories were being constructed at R79 440 each and two were being planned.

Venda

Due to the agricultural character of Venda concentration was on the location of agro-industries. The Venda Development Corporation's R600 000 achar
undertaking -one of the largest in SA -produced 1 600 tons in two seasons thus creating a cash market for the entire mango crop of Venda. Under construction were a R850 000 sorghum beer brewery, a R700 000 bakery and a R1,15m maize mill. The infrastructure of the Thohoyandou industrial township was completed at a cost of R800 000. An amount of R464 000 had been approved for a brickworks.

Mining
The Mining Corporation spent R809 400 in mineral exploration in the homelands excluding Bophuthatswana. Figures for previous years were R866 300 for the year 1977/78, and R667 700 for 1976/77. The capital expenditure on mining ventures for various years was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974/75</td>
<td>Homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>975 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>1 684 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>2 748 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>3 824 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>5 817 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>9 851 500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expenditure on prospecting by the private sector was as follows (excluding Bophuthatswana):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>600 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974/75</td>
<td>800 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>066 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>206 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>035 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>327 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details of prospecting by follows: the private sector during 1979 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>RSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of valid concessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total extent (hectares)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 691 887 027 166 857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of expenditure Blacks in employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 337 37 906 870 761 932 077 279 615 77 297 120 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Black earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>3 168 5 192 235 962 84 969 61 265</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 754 12 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of KwaNdebele</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 139 975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 327 993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>425 310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details as follows:
of mining activities by the private sector during 1979 are
Homeland RSA
Ciskei Gazankulu KwaZulu Lebowa KaNgwane Venda
QwaQwa KwaNdebele
MC-MINING
Lebowa Gazankulu
Number of mines in production
3
4
1
6
4
2
1
Blacks in employment
78
225 511
8 080 1 613
303
38
18
Total 59 11 602 15 203 906
Employment
The Minister of Co-operation and Development ing information regarding the
additional number of
gave the followwork opportuni-
446
Earnings
R
98 036 67 011 1 046 831 1 883 000 1 449 733
77 627 19 819 4 330
362 148 195 371
ties created for Africans by each of the development corporations in 447
1978/79:41
Corporation for Economic Development Ciskeian National Development
Corporation Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation Lebowa Development
Corporation QwaQwa Development Corporation KwaZulu Development
Corporation Venda Development Corporation KaNgwane Development
Corporation Mining Corporation
The cost of creating these jobs per sector was as follows:
R
Industry Agriculture Transport Commerce Mining
755 196 401 507 179 559 194 239 176
Homeland
Housing
4 800 2 600 5 400 4 800
Mr H van der Walt (NP), chairman of the Consolidation Commission, stated that there would have to be concentration on labour-intensive industries in the homelands and that 229,000 jobs would have to be created over the next ten years.42 A Manpower Development Commission was formed to find employment for Ciskeians in SA. A labour orientation service was established in Mdantsane to recruit labour to meet the needs of employers.43 A survey revealed that some women in Babalegi, Bophuthatswana, were being paid as little as R7.50 per week and some men R12.50 per week.44 (See individual sections on Agriculture, Commerce, Mining and Industry for further details on employment.)

Housing

Bophuthatswana

The BNDC granted the following housing loans to Tswana citizens who wished to build or improve their houses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>1,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 19     | R135,050
| 57     | 403,953
| 66     | 454,001
| 88     | 643,180

Ciskei

From the inception of the Mdantsane Housing Scheme at the beginning of 1977 to March 1979 Ciskeians had contributed R500,000 to Homeland wards deposits for housing loans. Of the applicants 152 were provided with deposits for loans by their white employers, of whom 16 gave the deposits as gifts and 63 provided the deposits on an interest free basis.

KwaZulu

The KDC is the main source of housing loans despite the fact that proclamation R200 of 1978 permits financial institutions to grant housing loans in KwaZulu. Very little support came from this sector. The details concerning housing loans were as follows: loan liabilities as at April 1, 1978 amounted to R1,8m; loans approved during 1978/79 numbered 200 with a total value of R2,8m; interest rates were 8.5% per annum; loans were granted for up to 90% of the purchase price; the average loan was for a period of 30 years. The KDC estimated that there was a backlog of 80,000 houses for KwaZulu's urban population. An estimated R480m would be needed to eliminate this backlog on the basis of R6,000 for a standard four-roomed house.

Lebowa
During 1978/79 investment in housing by the LDC was R459 942 as compared with R222 072 in 1977/78.

QwaQwa
The QDC undertook an experimental housing project of 16 houses to the value of R140 000. In addition, 14 housing loans totalling R85 000 were granted to Sothos who with the help of the corporation built their own houses during 1978/79.

Venda
During 1978/79 ten loans were granted totalling R129 000 and five show houses erected in Makwarela were sold.

General
A survey on the homelands by Professor Wallace van Zijl of the University of the Orange Free State’s urban and regional planning department revealed that existing densities ranged from 3.9 to 47 persons per ha, but that 75 persons per ha would be accepted by the population provided that a form of low-rise, medium density housing was developed as opposed to multi-storey solutions.

Transport
The CED’s function as a Southern African development bank entails direct involvement in the development of national transport services in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Gazankulu. The CED holds 50% of the shares while the development corporations hold the other 50%.

The following table details the transport position homelands as at March 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Number of bus depots</th>
<th>Fixed assets ROO0</th>
<th>12,2</th>
<th>11,6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>11,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

African personnel strength

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>31</th>
<th>30.0</th>
<th>1 471</th>
<th>5 61 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The number of passengers carried by buses in each homeland for various years is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>40 200 714</td>
<td>53 704 271</td>
<td>58 220 751</td>
<td>63 310 463</td>
<td>72 822 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>26 105 448</td>
<td>31 844 320</td>
<td>36 985 467</td>
<td>44 419 540</td>
<td>50 729 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>10 212 372</td>
<td>10 736 358</td>
<td>17 921 831</td>
<td>22 593 356</td>
<td>23 364 877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 701 286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>3 073 798</td>
<td>3 023 788</td>
<td>4 375 023</td>
<td>4 989 375</td>
<td>5 488 622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following table gives details of the training of transport personnel for the nine months from April 1, 1979 to December 31, 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Drivers</th>
<th>Technical</th>
<th>Welding</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>372</td>
<td></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temba</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>1 927</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3 048</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The TDC reported a loss amounting to R3 260 000 in its transport division. See section on transport in chapter on Urban African Affairs for details of fare increases and bus boycotts.

References

Unless otherwise indicated information in this chapter was taken from the annual reports of the various homeland development corporations for the 1978/79 financial year.


450
Economic Development of the Homelands
Star July 24
6 Hansard 5 Q col 922
7 Eastern Province Herald March 11
Daily Dispatch January 22
Daily Dispatch June 30
Ibid
Growth March 1980
Rand Daily Mail May 12 14 Growth March 1980
Weekend Post July 26 16 The Quail Report, op cit
20 Sunday Tribune April 27 21 Natal Mercury January 24
Star August 15
26 Rand Daily Mail August 21 27 Daily Dispatch March 14
Star April 28
Momentum 1 (1) September 1980 12 Daily Dispatch May 3
Evening Post July 28 14 Post April 29
RELOCATIONS OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION

During the year one of the most thoroughgoing overviews of relocation appeared in an SAIRR publication. It examined various factors underlying this process.

The author isolated certain categories of relocation: the clearance of 'black-spots'; abolition of the labour tenant system and squatting on white-owned farms; the operation of influx control; urban relocation; the institution of betterment schemes; development of strategic infrastructure; homeland consolidation and resistance by communities.

The author, Mr G Mare, claimed that the overriding intention of the government in relocating people was to control the mobility of the African population. In order to maximise the utilisation of labour and for political reasons, e.g. the creation of ethnic states.

The number of Africans resettled as a result of the abolition of 'black spots' for the years 1970-1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Africans Resettled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>17032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>11432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>17717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>16832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>13127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>18721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>29400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>62379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>57881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>60437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Details of removals from certain townships which were or are still to be deproclaimed are given below for the years 1970-1979.
Tswaing Deben African residential area
Charlestown residential area Nelspruit African residential area
Mlungisi township Duncan Village Graskop KwaMashu

Status
Deproclaimed (d) Not deproclaimed (nd)

nd
nd
1 June 1979

People removed
2 013
367
2 104

pending 16000
partly d 10 127
partly d 83 025

d during 1978 2 000

became part of KwaZulu on April 1, 1979

The numbers of African tenants, registered or unregistered, who were uprooted in each province in the years 1970-1979 were as follows:5

Transvaal 0 F S
82 480 91
1 468
1 064
3 925 13 086 20920
42 413
Natal
6 005 120 6 286 722
1 447 7 353 9 026 12 327
21 108
Cape Province
369 561 861
5 100
3 849
6 813
12 600 (Transkei) 25 300 (Transkei)
1 057
322 (Ciskei)

The Minister of Co-operation and Development stated that in the case of 'badly situated' African areas the people were settled on land equivalent to the agricultural and/or pastoral value of the land from which they were removed. In all cases they were given more land than that which they had occupied previously. They were also settled on the same basis as they were used to before. In the case of 'black spots' the owners of land were compensated at market value for their land and improvements and with the money received they were entitled in cases where they owned more than 17,13 hectares to purchase land from the SA Development Trust of an equal agricultural and/or pastoral value. In both
instances the land was first planned, developed and certain basic requirements such as water, sanitation and schools/clinics provided without any cost to the people resettled.

Transvaal

The Bophuthatswana government resettled 100 Bakgatla families from Welgeval in the Pilansberg Mountains to tents and shacks near Sandfontein to make way for the development of a game reserve project. The tribe were estimated to have lived in the area since 1500, and had bought it in 1898. Tribesmen who were opposed to the move also complained that they received insufficient compensation.

Winterveld

An intergovernmental management committee comprising the SA and Bophuthatswana governments and the Building Research Institute of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research was established to draw up a development plan for Winterveld.

Part of the plan would necessitate the resettlement of thousands of squatters and the authorities held talks during the year with other homeland leaders over the plight of the non-Tswana tenants. Speaking in parliament Dr Koornhof stated that 'reasonable' progress had been made in providing accommodation for non-Tswanas who voluntarily left Winterveld. He stated that about 5,000 families were settled on SA Development Trust land in the Mdujane district at the end of 1979.

It was also reported that thousands of Winterveld non-Tswana squatters were being deprived of residence rights by the Bophuthatswana government as they refused to apply for Tswana citizenship. This loss of residence rights deprived them of the opportunity to obtain legal employment in SA as SA authorities refused to register workseekers who could not furnish proof of residence. In February Dr Koornhof announced concessions aimed at alleviating the plight of non-Tswanas by allowing them to work in SA "provided they were authorised to be employed in a particular prescribed area on or before January 1, 1980".

In the first two years of independence up to November 1979 only 10,000 citizenship applications from non-Tswanas were received in the Odi district of which 5,000 were approved. Estimates of the non-Tswana population of Winterveld ranged from 250,000 to 750,000 people.

The Northern Transvaal Administration Board continued with its programme to resettle all Africans living in 'white' Pietersburg into the nearby Lebowa homeland. Thousands had been resettled and the town clerk stated "we will have no urban blacks here next year". He said that the board was resettling urban Africans living in Potgietersrus in the homelands and would apply the same policy in Messina and Louis Trichardt.

KaNgwane authorities stated that they had absorbed about 150,000 people from 'black spots' and white-owned rural areas in the past few years. Some of the resettlement areas were Eerstehoek, Dundonald, Fanie and Lochiel.
In August Dr Koornhof addressed a meeting of over 2 000 Batlokwas and stated that there was no need for their removal from the Machaka and Ramokgopa villages. The Van der Walt Commission's report had recommended that the residents of these two areas should be resettled. He stated that he had received requests from the Lebowa government and Batlokwa representatives for the reprieve of the villages but that the final decision would be made by the SA Cabinet Ministers' meeting. (See 1979 Survey p 433 for background on the removal of the Batlokwa.) In October many of the families who had defied the removal and had taken refuge amongst the Ramokgopa and Machaka people re-

453 Relocations Transvaal

454 turned to the Makgato village. Some then received summonses for being in the area illegally. Police and government officials visited the area and attempted to persuade the people to return to Kromhoek. Relocations OFS Orange Free State Onverwacht By January 31, 1980 an estimated 15 000-20 000 non-Tswanas had been resettled at Onverwacht, a farm acquired by the SA government in the Orange Free State. Resettlement commenced in May 1979. Most people came from the KroONDraai and Mokoena districts of the Thaba Nchu area of Bophuthatswana and were relocated due to their unhappiness at becoming part of Bophuthatswana. Negotiations were under way to incorporate Onverwacht into QwaQwa. Tents were provided for the families by the SA government, for a period of one month, during which time they had to build their own shacks. The nearest town where work could be obtained was Bloemfontein, about 60 km away, costing R1,20 for a single trip by bus. People were only resettled once they had satisfied the authorities of their marital status and citizenship. They had to pay R1 for a stand number. Water shortage problems developed as more people moved in, and water tankers were introduced. Some sites were uninhabitable because they were full of boulders, bisected by streams, or liable to flooding during rain. At the time of writing there were 100 classrooms available in three schools. All classrooms were used for double sessions. The estimated number of pupils was 9 000 with classes of up to over 80 in Form 1.11 Natal A survey undertaken by the Drakensberg Administration Board revealed that there were 38 600 squatters over the age of 16 in Northern Natal. It was estimated that there were well over 100 000 squatters in Southern Natal.12 The SAIRR found, in a survey of squatter settlements, that their local population lay somewhere between 300 000 and 750 000. It concluded that recognition
should be given to the fact that informal settlements could become a permanent feature; and that authorities should demonstrate a willingness to consider new strategies for the planning and development of informal settlements.

Research by the University of Natal's Centre for Applied Social Sciences showed that of sample households in the peri-urban settlement of Dube farm 39% had no rural connections, 33% maintained only token ties with their rural home, and only 25% claimed to have land rights in the rural areas, of whom only 14% had livestock.

The government went ahead with its plans to remove more than 800 African families from the Bergville district to make way for the construction of Woodstock Dam. They were to be resettled on previously white-owned farms in Oliviershoek. Tribesmen were to live in tents while they constructed new houses. They had been paid various amounts as compensation, one householder with three huts receiving R295.

All labour tenants' contracts expired at the end of August, affecting an estimated 175 000 African tenant farmers in Northern Natal Relocations who would have to move off the farms and find work and accommodation elsewhere. The administration board's estimate for tenant Province farms in the remainder of Natal was 200 000 Africans.

Northern Cape
One hundred and fifty Africans were moved from the towns of Stella and Jan Kempdorp. The people of Stella were moved to Atemalang 60 km away and to Madibogo 40 km away where they would have to build their own houses. Most would have to continue working at Stella which would mean an extra R10,15 in transport costs per month.

Controversy broke out concerning the removal of an estimated 5 500 Tswana, 1 300 Xhosa and a few hundred Sotho people at Jan Kempdorp in the Northern Cape, to Pampierstad, 26 km away, in Bophuthatswana in July. While the Department of Co-operation and Development denied that people were being forcibly removed, the chairman of the Valspan township community council, Mr M R Cwaile, stated that administration board officials were warning residents that if they did not move they would be evicted and their houses demolished.

The chairman of the local chamber of commerce, Mr P Botha, stated that the removal would be "a heavy blow" for the town's economy as Africans at Valspan accounted for about 40% of the cash income of businesses.

Eastern Cape
Glenmore residents and Professor Whisson, an anthropologist at Rhodes University, refuted a statement made by Dr P Koornhof in parliament that the residents of Glenmore were "happy" and the situation at the resettlement camp was under control. Most residents had no work and depended on government rations delivered on a monthly basis for food. These excluded meat and vegetables.
Originally it was intended to move 30,000 people to Glenmore but a decision to halt the scheme was taken on September 21, 1979, when only 3,000 had been moved. The reason given by the Deputy Minister of Development was that the Ciskeian government did not consider Glenmore to be a national or regional growth point within their National Development plan which became available after the planning of Glenmore had been started. Furthermore, the Ciskeian government was no longer prepared to participate in the development of Glenmore as a township, as the land on which it stood had been earmarked for agricultural purposes.

An amount of R600,000 had been spent to date on the erection of temporary housing, a clinic, a water purification system, an oxidation dam, water reticulation, a school and other services to cater for approximately 600 families until such time as permanent houses would be available. He stated that no alternative arrangements had been negotiated.

The former owner of the farm Glenmore, Mr Ronald Clifton Knott, claimed R252,000 from the Minister of Agriculture in an action in the Grahamstown Supreme Court. He held that the R283,000 paid to him for his property when it was expropriated in 1976 for African resettlement was based on an incorrect evaluation.

It was reported that the Ciskei government needed R25.9m over the next five years for the development of the Thornhill resettlement camp. In February a joint Ciskei-SA committee was formed to investigate the conditions under which people in the camp lived.

The Ciskei government accepted Pretoria's plans to resettle people in the Mooiplaas-Kwedera area. The Deputy Minister of Development, Mr J J G Wentzel, announced in parliament in May that the 4,000 Africans living in the Eastern Cape town of Stutterheim were to be moved to the village of Frankfort (which falls within Ciskei) 32 km away. Objecting to this Mr Lorimer (PFP) stated that these "Verwoerd-type master plans should now be something of the past" and that "it was totally unreasonable" to expect workers from Stutterheim to commute such a distance each day to work. Employers in the area stated that the move would adversely affect their employees and cause severe labour problems.

The Eastern Cape Administration Board was granted an interim interdict by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court in May to prevent the emergence of a developing squatter community at Bethelsdorp (Veeplaas). The court granted a rule nisi calling on the owner of the property, Mr P Jijana, to show why he should not be prohibited from allowing any further people on the property in contravention of Act 52 of 1951. There were about 180-200 huts on the land. Squatters were ordered to remove their shacks before June 28.

Confusion surrounded the position of seven remaining families at Klipfontein who refused to be relocated. Thirteen families had been given orders by an
Alexandria magistrate to leave the area by June 20 of whom six were resettled in
the nearby Kenton emergency camp.2°
In June about 1 000 people were removed from Alexandria and Woolridge and
relocated at Kammakraal near Peddie. A further 40 families were threatened with
removal.21
According to a report by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Department of
Justice and Reconciliation, two million Africans had been moved since 1948 in
the process of the implementation of the government's separate development
policy. It stated that a further one million people would be moved before
consolidation was completed. It estimated that the removals would cost R2 133 a
family, making a total expenditure of R380m.
References
1 Mare G, African Population Relation in SA, SAIRR 1980
2 Hansard 10 Q col 609-623
Ibid

Relocations
of the
African Population

EDUCATION
Comparative Statistics and General Matters
Total expenditure from the State Revenue Account on education during the 1978-
79 financial year was as follows:
R-000  %
The Provinces (white) 724 864 46,61
Dept of National Education (mainly white) 274 717 17,66 Dept of Coloured
Relations and the CRC 179 454 11,54
Dept of Indian Affairs 74 602 4,80
Dept of Education and Training 144 213 9,27
Dept of Public Works 48428 3,11
Other state departments 8 544 0,55
'Non-Independent Homelands’ 100 471 6,46
Total 1 555 293 100,00
Expenditure on African education (excluding capital expenditure and expenditure on universities) in the 1979-80 financial year was as follows:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dept of Education and Training</th>
<th>Homelands</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116 739 700</td>
<td>120 117 470</td>
<td>236 857 170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The estimated expenditure by the Department of Education and Training for 1980-81 showed an increase of R58 566m over the previous year's estimates of R181 804m. (These figures do not include expenditure by homeland administrations.)3

Programme R-million
Administration 11 147
Primary education 106 919
Secondary education 41 213
Tertiary education 48 502
Vocational, trade and industrial training 2 084
Training of handicapped children 1 708
Teacher training 8 084

Programme R-million
Adult education 4 111
Supporting and associated services 16 602
Total 240 370

Comparative Statistics
The Department of Public Works budgeted the following additional amounts for Accommodation, Structures and Engineering Services:4

R-million
Technical and vocational education for Africans 2.7
Total 2.7
Total Estimates 1980-81 243 070

Provision for the erection and maintenance of buildings for primary and secondary schools for Africans was made under the Department of Education and Training's vote and amounted to R30m.

Total expenditure from the State Revenue Account on education for Indians during the 1978-79 financial year amounted to R72 985 986. Total expenditure during 1979-80 amounted to R82 225 291. An amount of R73 073 700 was voted for all Indian education during the 1979-80 financial year." (Different totals were given by different sources.) Expenditure was planned as follows:"

Programme R
Education administration 3 445 000
Secondary, primary and pre-primary education 64 742 000
Education of handicapped children 2 267 000
Education of children in need of care 356 000
Training of teachers 2 216 000
Adult education 47 700
Total expenditure on the education of coloured persons during the 1978-79 financial year amounted to R143 808 722. Capital expenditure during the same period totalled R20 614 918.1 Total expenditure in 1979-80 amounted to R155 700 052. According to the Department of Statistics the estimated total expenditure on education for whites during the 1978-79 financial year amounted to R999 581 000.12

According to the Minister of Statistics the amount and the percentage of the gross national product in the calendar year 1978 allocated to education was as follows (including the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount R-million % of GNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White 1 009,8 2,62′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured 196,7 0,51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian 95,2 0,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African 253,6 0,66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 1 555,3 4,04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Black Pupils in White Schools
At the end of November the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that he intended introducing legislation in order to enable provincial education authorities to call on parents to make a direct contribution to the education of their children. He said that he had in mind the ending of the system of free books.

Per Capita Expenditure
Estimated per capita expenditure pupils of the various racial groups was ters in the assembly:14 during 1978-79 on school pugiven by the responsible minis-

White Indian Coloured African in 'white area'
Including Capital Expenditure
R
724,00 357,15
225,54"71,28

Pupil-Teacher Ratios
Pupil/teacher ratios for 1980 were calculated from statistics supplied by the Department of Statistics.6 Ratios for 1978 and 1979 were given in last year's Survey, p 487.

White Coloured Asian African
1:18,6 1:28,8 1:25,6 1:45,9
(The number of pupils and teachers in the 'independent' homelands are not included.)

Admission of black pupils to white private schools
White private schools continued to admit black pupils during 1980. According to a report in the Financial Mail 17 there were 559 black pupils attending the 55
private schools in the Cape Province. Figures for the other provinces were not
available, but according to reports the Administrator of the Transvaal approved
nearly one-fifth of the applications for blacks to attend private schools in the
province.18
The admission of blacks to Vryheid Mardini Convent resulted in other schools in
the area breaking off all sports contact with the convent. The constitution of the
North Eastern Natal Junior School Sports Association allowed for the
participation of white schools only in inter-school competitions.19
In July the annual general meeting of the Conference of Headmasters and
Headmistresses of Private Schools of SA and the national council of the
Association of Private Schools resolved to continue working towards a unitary,
non-racial education system for
SA. 2o
Excluding Capital Expenditure
R
640,00 297,31 197,20
68,15
The conference resolved to send a telegram to the Minister of National Education,
then Mr Punt Janson, expressing its "grave concern" at the education crisis. The
telegram urged "the establishment, after consultation between all affected parties,
of a unified, non-racial system of education which protects the individual rights of
all South Africans".
The conference also resolved to investigate ways in which private schools could
make practical contributions to attain this aim. Explaining this resolution Mr
Mark Henning, chairman of the conference, said that it was not "simply a matter
of continuing what we have already done in opening the schools to all races".21
In October a tentative plan was announced to establish eight non-racial private
schools similar to Waterford School in Swaziland. It was estimated that each
school would cost an estimated R2,5m and would cater for approximately 500
pupils from nursery school level to matriculation.
Teachers' salaries
White teachers' salary scales remained higher than those of their black
counterparts who had similar qualifications. According to a press report the
starting salaries of some teachers and principals in 1980 after the increases were
as follows:
Teachers
Academic Qualification
Matriculation plus three year diploma Matriculation plus four year diploma
Matriculation plus five year diploma Matriculation plus six year diploma
Matriculation plus seven year diploma
White
Men Women
R462 R382
R542 R462
White
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian/Coloured</td>
<td>R422</td>
<td>R352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R502</td>
<td>R422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>R322</td>
<td>R262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R422</td>
<td>R352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full details of the new salary scales for teachers were not available. The responsible ministers declined to provide details of the scales in the assembly.  

Non-racial Teachers' Association

On the initiative of a Johannesburg school teacher, Mr Saul ozynski, with the support of Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, the now banned "drninistrative director of SACHED, a meeting of ten educationists in the Johannesburg area was held in May. The purpose of the meeting was to form an interim committee which would form a non-racial education union. The steering committee subsequently called a meeting of approximately 600 teachers, academics and other interested persons in Johannesburg on June 11. The meeting resolved to form the National Africans Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) and elected an executive. Operating under the slogan 'One National Education Now', NEUSA's basic aims are:

1. to establish a union of educationists, which makes no distinction on grounds of race, colour, creed or sex;
2. to use all its resources to promote and to work for a system of education which is just, equal and appropriate for all in SA;
3 to provide opportunity for teachers, academics, parents, students, pupils and other interested persons to meet and to discuss, plan and conduct research into questions relating to education; 
4 finally, to represent the interests of its members. 
By the end of the year NEUSA had one branch, the Southern Transvaal, which had been formed in October. It planned to establish further branches in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Cape Town during 1981. 

AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
The education system came under repeated attack during the year. It was criticised for failing to provide the skills required by the SA industrial economy and for alienating school children from the society for which they were being prepared. 
Attacking what he described as the "failure to develop high school enrolment more adequately" Dr Frans Auerbach, an educationist, said that this failure "must have retarded the country's economic growth very significantly". Dr Auerbach said that his findings revealed that whereas 34% of white children were in secondary school in 1970, for African children the figure was 4,6%. 
Mr John Parsons, manpower researcher for the Chamber of Mines, said that the demand for skilled workers was rising much faster than the white population's ability to meet it. For this reason, he said, training opportunities would have to be made available to Africans on a greater scale. However, Parsons observed that in view of the current situation, an increase of expenditure on African education "will alleviate the skilled shortage a bit, but not much". 
Dr Auerbach supported this view in the short term. While he recognised the desirability of compulsory education, he said that the shortage of teachers, which he described as a function of the system, made it impractical to introduce compulsory education immediately. 
Dr E G Malherbe stated that there had only been a very small increase in the real expenditure on African education between the 1940s and 1970s. He stated that in the 1940s the average spent per head on African education was 60 cents while in the 1970s the average was R1,60. 
In July Professor Ezekial Mphahlele, of the Department of African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, questioned the relevance of African education to the African child's life experience. He pointed out that the education offered to blacks said nothing about "the world the school child returns to after school". 
Professor Mphahlele said that the white education system was not the answer for blacks. 
This was also stressed by some participants at an education conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand. Delegates questioned the relevance of an education system which was Euro-centred when SA was a country on the African continent. They argued that the country's pressing needs were typical of those of a developing state and the education system should be designed to cope with these problems.
Education and Training Amendment Act, No 52

The act amends the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979 (see 1979 Survey pp 490-491). The act makes provision for the remuneration of members of committees of the Council for Education and Training and for the payment of allowances to members of bodies established for state schools and community schools. It further makes provision in connection with the appointment, pensionable age, pension rights and retirement benefits, promotion on probation and discharge on account of ill-health of certain teachers and further defines the circumstances under which certain teachers will be guilty of misconduct.

A teacher will be guilty of misconduct if he or she refuses to undergo medical examination by either a district surgeon or a board of medical practitioners designated by the Secretary of Health. Similarly a teacher will be deemed guilty of misconduct if he or she commits an offence. Previously a teacher would only be guilty of misconduct in terms of Section 22(0) of the act if on conviction of an offence he or she was sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine. The act was opposed by the PFP because of the amendment to Section 22(0).

Statistics

According to the Report of the Department of Education and Training, the number of schools, teachers, pupils and population in 1979 was as follows (excluding foreign Africans): 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of population at school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 495</td>
<td>72 864</td>
<td>3 484 329</td>
<td>16 268 000</td>
<td>21.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School Education Africans: Legislation

The departmental report gave the number of schools, teachers and full-time pupils by area as follows:"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Area</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Education</td>
<td>6 657</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>32 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans: Homelands</td>
<td>4 838</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>39 729</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistics

Total 11 495 980 71 884 72 864 3 484 329

Schools

The number and types of schools for Africans in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) in 1978 and 1979 was as follows: 31

1978 1979

| State/government       | 289 343 |
| Community               | 5 861 6 072 |
| Farm                    | 4 556 4 734 |
| Mine and factory        | 105 105 |
| Hospital                | 33 33 |
| Scheduled               | 27 28 |
| Special                 | 10 10 |
Schools and Sections of Schools 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>数量</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary (Sub A - Std 2)</td>
<td>3305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Primary (Stds 3 - 5)</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary (Sub A - Std 5)</td>
<td>6174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary (Stds 6 - 8)</td>
<td>1050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (Stds 6 - 10)</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Secondary</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Centres</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-Service Training Centres (Teachers)</td>
<td>3 Technikons 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Vocational Training</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Schools</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Schools</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night Schools</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals may differ as one school may provide education of more than one type.

Government Policy on Building Schools

The departmental report gave the number of classrooms by area (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Teacher Training</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Homelands</td>
<td>22,984</td>
<td>2,891</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>26,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26,245</td>
<td>6,510</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>33,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49,229</td>
<td>9,401</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>59,956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979 the state is responsible for the erection and maintenance of both new and existing schools. The public relations officer of the Department of Education and Training said in April that there was a backlog of 7,000 classrooms in the 'white' area of the Republic.

Dr F Auerbach estimated that the backlog in the homelands was at least 8,000.

The Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, told a meeting of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries that the backlog in the 'white' area would be eliminated by 1986. He said that 33 senior secondary schools, two new teacher training colleges, 18 technical centres, 12 technical institutes and a school for the crippled would be built. In addition more classrooms would be added to existing schools and present school buildings would be improved.

No information was available in connection with the elimination of the backlog in the homelands. The provision of education in these areas is the responsibility of the homeland administrations.

Voluntary Contributions
Various funds, in particular those established by newspapers in the major centres, continued to act as channels for public money into African education. The Star's TEACH Fund collected money to build a school for the residents of Alexandra and the Daily News's Learn Fund continued to operate in Natal. Various other bodies, e.g. READ, donated books to African schools to enable them either to establish school libraries or improve existing ones.

Fees, Free Books and School Uniforms
The minister stated in the assembly that progress had been made towards the introduction of compulsory education for Africans at the primary level. He said that this had been done through the supply of textbooks and class readers, the elimination of double sessions, the lowering of pupil/teacher ratios, the erection of additional classrooms, the lowering of the admission age, and the upgrading of initial education and the introduction of level teaching.

School fees continued to be levied. A dispute arose in January when pupils called for a boycott of school to protest against the payment of fees. Pupils claimed that at white-supervised schools they were forced to pay R50 for books and school funds while those at schools with African principals paid R8.37. The students also objected to compulsory school uniforms.

According to Mr G Engelbrecht of the Department of Education and Training the department was not responsible. Mr Engelbrecht said that "while the department does not object to the prescribing of school uniforms these uniforms may not be made compulsory and children without them must not be discriminated against". Mr Engelbrecht also said that the charging of fees was the responsibility of the schools’ principals and their councils. According to an investigation in Soweto the amount payable as school fees ranged between R75 and R40. The Department of Education and Training's Linder-secretary for the Johannesburg region, Mr G White, said that each school child was required to pay R30 security on admission to school for school books.

Following the call for a boycott of classes, which was only partially successful, Mr Jaap Strydom, the Department of Education and Training's regional director, announced that there would be an investigation into the question of school uniforms and fees.

Mr Strydom denied that the investigation had been ordered as a result of the boycott call. He said that the department did not want parents to pay higher school fees or higher prices for uniforms than was necessary. The report, completed in April, recommended that there should be a common uniform and standard fees for Soweto schools.
Basing his estimates on 1979 prices which increased substantially during 1980, the minister stated in the assembly that the average annual cost of stationery, prescribed books and textbooks per pupil was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>R3,50</td>
<td>R12,80</td>
<td>R15,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>R6,60</td>
<td>R18,00</td>
<td>R45,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prescribed books</td>
<td>R5,60</td>
<td>R14,40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister stated that if the Department of Education and Training supplied all three free the estimated annual cost would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>R4,717</td>
<td>R3,538</td>
<td>R12,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>000</td>
<td>000</td>
<td>000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prescribed books</td>
<td>000</td>
<td>000</td>
<td>000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A report in the Cape Times claimed that at primary school the cost of a child's stationery requirements was higher than the figure given, varying between R5 and R8 and this figure rose to between R20 and R30 at secondary school. The department's claim that all textbooks, other than prescribed works, were provided free, was also disputed. A Guguletu, Cape Town, teacher said that there were often times when there were "not enough books to go round" and when pupils either had to buy their own textbooks or share with others.

Departmental policy on the supply of textbooks was outlined in May. All textbooks other than prescribed works are supplied free. However, before pupils are issued with books at the beginning of each year, the books which they had the previous year must be returned. Any books which are missing must be replaced by the pupils' parents. Textbooks are supplied as follows:

- Two readers per pupil per standard in each of the three languages from sub-standard B to standard five; in sub-standard A two books are supplied in the relevant mother tongue only; from standard one up to and including standard ten every pupil is supplied with a textbook for each subject the pupil studies, provided such a book is available. Textbooks for standards one to four have to be available in each of the nine African languages.

Double Sessions and Platoon System

During 1979 the following numbers of schools, teachers and pupils were involved in double sessions or the platoon system (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of teachers</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Double Sessions</td>
<td>(Sub A - Sub B)</td>
<td>467</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of schools, teachers and pupils involved in double sessions decreased in comparison with 1978 figures by 1,079 schools, 2,299 teachers and 180,235 pupils.

Platoon System (Sub A - Std 5) Number of schools Number of teachers Number of pupils
698
2,926 153,772

The numbers of schools, teachers and pupils involved in the platoon system increased in comparison with 1978 figures by 46 schools, 490 teachers and 27,756 pupils.

Pupil Enrolment
The number of pupils attending schools for Africans increased again in 1980. Mr Jaap Strydom, Johannesburg regional director for the Department of Education and Training, said in January that the department expected the number of pupils in Soweto schools to increase by about 11,000. A similar increase in numbers was experienced in Natal. Dr Gerald Hoskin, Director of Education in Natal, said in May that the

468
School Education Africans
growth rate in African secondary schools in Natal and KwaZulu was as high as 24% per year.49

The Minister of Education and Training said in April that the number of Africans attending school had increased dramatically over the past 25 years. Dr Hartzenberg said that 100,000 African children reached school going age annually and that the secondary school population showed an 890% increase over 1965 figures. He expected that the number of full time African matriculant candidates would be 50,000 in 1980.

Enrolment figures for 1979 (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) were extracted from the Report of the Department of Education and Training.
Provisional enrolment figures for 1980 were supplied by the Department of Statistics (excluding the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda): 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub A</td>
<td></td>
<td>680 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub B</td>
<td></td>
<td>531 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>479 053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>389 118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Total secondary school enrolment in Bophuthatswana as at September 1980 was 76 746. The number of children attending primary school was not available.

Compulsory Education

In November the Minister of Education and Training announced that the government would introduce compulsory education for African children from the beginning of 1981. Dr Hartzenberg said that initially schools in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Saulsville, near Pretoria, would be affected from sub-standard A. Later in the month the Department of Education and Training announced that compulsory education would also be introduced in certain townships on the West Rand, the OFS and the Western Transvaal. Soweto community leaders postponed a decision on the introduction of compulsory education but in December it was announced that two trial areas in Soweto would have compulsory education introduced. The decision was taken after discussion with school committees in the townships.

Education would become compulsory progressively up to standard 5 or the age of 16 years.

Dr Hartzenberg said that other areas or townships would be considered as soon as circumstances permitted and that schools in further residential areas would be added every year. The department was convinced that compulsory education was a viable proposition in certain areas provided the communities concerned were prepared to accept both the principle and the concomitant responsibility. He 471 warned that problems could be encountered at a local level.

Examination Results

The results for the examinations written at the end of 1978 were extracted from the 1979 report of the Department of Education and Africans: Training and exclude the Transkei and Bophuthatswana:

| Higher Primary Certificate (full time pupils only) |
|------------------|------------------|
| Number of candidates | 204 346          |
| Number passed      | 144 868          |
% passed 70,9
junior Certificate (full time pupils only)
Number of candidates 94 122
Number passed 62 593
% passed 66,5
Matriculation (full time pupils only)
Number of candidates 9 804
Number passed 7 468
% passed 76,2
Pupils gaining Matriculation Exemption
Full time 3 236
Part time 513
Supplementary examination 57
Total 3 806
Pupils gaining School Leaving Certificate
Full time 4 232
Part time 3 558
Supplementary examination 418
Total 8 208

The total number of matriculation candidates who attained either a matriculation exemption or a school leaving certificate in the 1978 examinations (including the supplementary examination) was 12 014. The number of full time pupils who passed the examination with a matriculation exemption plus mathematics was 1 679. The number of part time and supplementary examination candidates who achieved this was not available.

Full results of the 1979 matriculation examinations were not available. However, the interim results released by Mr G J Rousseau, secretary for the Department of Education and Training, showed that 74,4% (13 709) of the 18 378 candidates had passed.12 Of these 4 993 (27,2%) had obtained matriculation exemption and 8 716 (47,4%) a school leaving certificate. The results which were available for schools in Soweto indicated that 70% of the matriculation candidates had passed of which 20% obtained matriculation exemption.

Results of the 1979 matriculation examination in Bophuthatswana were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Number of candidates</td>
<td>2 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans:</td>
<td>Matriculation exemption</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>School leaving certificates</td>
<td>1 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total passes</td>
<td>1 804</td>
<td>76,22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part time pupils
In May the Minister of Education and Training announced that examinations for part time pupils would not be held at the end of the year, but in May or June of 1981.13 Replying to a question in the assembly, Dr Hartzenberg said that the department had been forced to take this step to ease the work load of the examiners.54 The minister estimated that 140 000 part time students would be
affected by the decision, the effect of which, according to Mr Leepile Tuanyane, president of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association, would be to cause the students to lose a year's education."5

Student Organisations
See chapters on Administration of Security Legislation and African Politics.

Teachers
The numbers of teachers employed in schools for Africans (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) were extracted from the departmental report.56

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>71 884</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>72 864</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information regarding the remuneration of teachers excludes the Transkei and Bophuthatswana:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers in</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government schools</td>
<td>68 642</td>
<td>3 521</td>
<td>5,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>701</td>
<td>100,00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers according to grade of post (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Primary Secondary and Teacher Training Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal Single Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Head of Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Dept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>1 846</th>
<th>8 341</th>
<th></th>
<th>47 161</th>
<th>57 348</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and Teacher Training</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 028</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>12 851</td>
<td>14 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 846</td>
<td>9 398</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>60 355</td>
<td>71 884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 846</td>
<td>9 521</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>61 119</td>
<td>72 864</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualifications of Teachers
(excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana)
(a) Professionally qualified with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Std 6</th>
<th>Junior Certificate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technical Certificate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or Senior Certificate and Primary Teacher's Certificate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or Senior Certificate and Secondary Teacher's Certificate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete Degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teacher Upgrading
In July Mr G J Rousseau, Director-General of the Department of Education and Training, announced that the department was planning to launch a programme for the further in-service training of teachers in 1981. Mr Rousseau said that the programme's aim was to enable under-qualified teachers to improve their qualifications by means of correspondence courses and tutorials at study centres. Five subjects—pedagogics, two academic subjects and two method subjects, would be offered. The programme was described by Mr Rousseau as a trial one and the department planned to select about 600 teachers to take part in it.

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 1979:
- Directors/secretaries for education (homelands) 3
- Assistant secretaries/advisers for education (homelands) 7
- Chief inspectors, circuit inspectors and education planners 83
- Inspectors of schools 268
- School principals 11,247

Teachers' Associations
The African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA) held its annual conference in January. Addressing the conference the president, Mr R L Peteni, called for equal education opportunities for all races and criticised the overcrowding prevalent in African schools. The conference resolved that teachers' organisations should take part in decision-making on all educational matters; that
teacher/parent associations should be established at ATASA branches; that the Department of Education and Training should build teacher training colleges for arts and homecrafts up to post-primary level in all provinces; that the department should train special teachers for remedial work in all schools; that African teachers be granted tax rebates on the same basis as their white counterparts; and that technikons should be opened to all races.

In April it was reported that the Soweto branch of AZAPO was linked up with the Teachers' Action Committee.59 The chairman of the Teachers' Action Committee, which emerged during the 1976 uprising by black school children, was Mr Curtis Nkondo, the suspended president of AZAPO.

Criticism of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (TUATA) came to the fore in May. The association's critics accused it of little or no activity, irregular and infrequent meetings and holding elections where the candidates were not known.60 The association denied the allegations.

Teachers' Salaries and Conditions of Service
Salary scales for African teachers according to scale average of all post levels and categories were 76% of those of white teachers.

Mr G J Rousseau, Director-General of the Department of Education and Training, said that the conditions of service of all teachers employed by the department were the same as those of all other teachers in regard to the appointment and dismissal of teachers, holiday, sick and study leave entitlements, a 100% housing subsidy, pension and the method of calculating the teacher's service bonus.

Commenting on the announcement, Mr Leepile Taunyane, president of TUATA, said his organisation would like to see parity in salary scales for white and black teachers. Mr Taunyane said: "We are all just talking but we do not know what the scales are. All we want at this stage is parity in salaries".61

In June regulations governing the employment of teachers who are citizens of the 'independent' homelands were issued by the Johannesburg region of the Department of Education and Training. The departmental circular, 'Employment of teachers from independent countries: work permits', stated that teachers who are citizens of independent countries are required to obtain and submit work permits.62 This applied to teachers who were already employed as well as teachers seeking employment.

The instruction was widely criticised. Mr Taunyane said that the circular would both hamper the free movement of teachers and affect the staffing of schools. Mr T W Kambule, an educationist, said that the circular would "again lead to confrontation"6 and Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies said that the demand that teachers obtain work permits could be applied to other professions as well.

The Director-General of the Department of Education and Training said that the ruling applied not only to teachers but to all citizens of the independent homelands.
Mr Rousseau said that only those teachers employed after the territories had become independent were required to obtain work permits by August 31.

Student Teachers

Enrolment of Africans for teacher training courses in 1979 was as follows (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):

Course
Pre-primary Primary Junior Secondary Senior Secondary Art
Homecraft Woodwork Trade teacher Total 475

School Education Africans: Teachers
Number
34 12 065 1 587
550
35 70
8 7
14 356

Examination Results 1978 (excluding the Transkei only)
Primary Teacher's Certificate
Number of candidates Number passed % passed
6 116 5 793 94,72

Junior Secondary Teacher's Certificate
Number of candidates Number passed % passed
85 83 97,65
11
7
63,64

Instructor's Certificate in Technical Training
Number of candidates 30
Number passed 20
% passed 66,66

Diploma in Special Education
Number of candidates Number passed % passed
7 5 71,43

Total number of candidates 6 978
Total number passed 6 631
% passed 95,03
The following degrees and diplomas in education were awarded to students at the universities for Africans in 1978:

University
- Fort Hare
- The North Zululand

Degrees
- 14
- 15
- 17

Diplomas
- 23
- 60
- 61

Total
- 37
- 75
- 78

Total
- 46
- 144
- 190

The following number of students, enrolled at universities for Africans, were engaged in studies in the education faculties of the universities concerned:

**STD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>DEd</th>
<th>MEd</th>
<th>BEd</th>
<th>BPaed</th>
<th>UED (post grad)</th>
<th>UED (non-grad)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zululand Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SSTD, HSTD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>LIJ I</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zululand Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teacher Training Colleges

There were the following teacher training institutions Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana): 677

School Education Africans: Teachers in the 'White' area

- Ciskei: 5
- QwaQwa: 3
Lebowa 4
Gazankulu 1
Venda 2
KwaZulu 5
KaNgwane 1
Total 27

In addition there teachers.
were three in-service
training centres for
Adult Education

According to the departmental report there were 84 adult education centres in
operation in 1979. Divided by region the figures were as follows:
Northern Transvaal 17
Southern Transvaal 21
Johannesburg 9
Orange Free State 11
Natal 14
Cape Province 12

These centres employed 3 052 teachers whose qualifications were as follows:
(a) Professionally qualified with Std 8 or lower
Std 10
Incomplete degree
Degree
Number 1 013
914 343 391
33,19 29,95 11,24 12,81
Total 2 661 87,19

478

School Education Africans: Curricula
Number %
(b) No professional qualifications but:
Std 8 or lower
Std 10
Incomplete degree
Degree
3,11
3,96 3,31 2,42
Total 391 12,81
Total 3 052 100,00

Enrolment in courses provided by the centres was as follows:
Course
Preparatory Course I (Std 3-4) Course II (Std 5)
Number 3 825 3 867 6 256
7,53
There were in addition 73 night schools employing 546 teachers with a total enrolment of 9,105. The schools, teachers and pupils were distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Night Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Literacy</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'White' Lebowa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>Higher</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>555</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>337</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>932</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>1,686</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>420</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>2,012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Curricula</th>
<th>Medium of Instruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The decision not to implement the provision of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979 which provided for education to be given in the official language of the parents' choice provoked sharp criticism. Professor Sibusise Nyembezi, a leading African educationist, criticised the department's decision to make the changes only if parents made representation on the issue. Professor Nyembezi said that the department knew that parents opposed education in the mother tongue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A survey by Professor John Simpson, director of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Cape Town, revealed that urban Africans wanted their children to be taught in English from their first day at school.67 Professor Simpson said that this desire stemmed from the difficulties experienced by Africans when they were forced to study and express themselves in English at a later stage in their school lives.

Homeland Education System

In November 1978 1 500 KwaZulu educationists met to discuss the Inkatha syllabus prepared by the Natal African Teachers' Union, the Inspectors' Association and academics from the University of Zululand who were Inkatha members. The conference resolved that Inkatha be introduced as a school subject to all schools which fell under its administration.

The Inkatha programme was introduced to all schools under the administration of KwaZulu in 1979. It is taught as a compulsory although non-examinable part of the school curriculum for one hour a week at all levels. Details of the general aims of the syllabus and specific aims for each year of schooling were outlined in the SAIRR Information Sheet No 4/80 (Natal Region), from which the following summary of course content is taken.

Course content is divided into seven units:

1. Inkatha
   The following are dealt with at varying levels of complexity: history of the movement; aims and achievements; the need for the movement; organisational structure; the significance of the constitution; discipline and conduct of Inkatha members; role of leaders and led; role of the Youth Brigade; purpose of conferences and rallies; the meaning of national cultural liberation; leadership effectiveness and training; the planning of meetings and rallies by the Youth Brigade.

2. The History of Black Africa
   The concept of race; rulers and nation-builders in black Africa before the advent of white rule; colonisation; the struggle for liberation from white rule; liberation movements such as the OAU, Pan Africanism, African Nationalism and the role of the Zulu people; role of educational, religious and other organisations in the struggle for liberation; the significance of the black American's struggle; the struggle in SA - the land question, riots, liberalism, racial discrimination, the homelands and the future.

3. African Culture
   African customs; the oral tradition; the concepts of the cultural renaissance in music, traditions and 479
   School Education
   Africans: Homelands of the family; beliefs; the need to re-orient some traditional values; the multi-cultural character of SA.

4. Modern Life Styles
   The characteristics, needs and problems of rural and urban life
Africans: styles; the relevance of communalism and ubuntu in modern Homelands life; dealing with the problems of modern life; the problems of housing, education, unemployment, social problems and disunity; African economic development and the need for African business enterprise; the role of organisations in the building of national unity.

5 Environment Studies
The importance of good health and how it is achieved; ecology and nature conservation; the dangers of smoking, drugs and alcohol; sex education; the role of the different age groups in African society; the responsibilities of a citizen to family, nation and country; the qualities of good leadership, the leader's responsibility to the people and the importance of communication and commitment; problems in African development; the significance of the 'green revolution'; the planning of community projects; the importance of and amenities for recreation.

6 Religious Studies
African religion in relation to national solidarity; Christianity in relation to nation building and its impact on African lifestyles; the compatibility of Christianity and African religions; the possibility of the indigenisation of religion; the unifying role of religion; the significance of African and modern religious rituals; the role of church organisations in dealing with social problems; the importance of church leaders such as Martin Luther King; the role of the church in the national cultural liberation struggle - the WCC, SACC, IDAMASA.

7 Practicals
Singing and dance; self-help projects; the importance of community projects and the need for group participation; competitions, exhibitions, and other contributions related to the National Cultural Liberation Movement; roadwork and selfdefence; the purpose of youth camps and conferences; practical involvement in community projects and voluntary service; training in leadership, speech making, committee and meeting procedure and debate.

In January it was announced that the KwaZulu administration would supply free text books to KwaZulu schools from next year. Allegations of corruption in Natal's African school system prompted KwaZulu's Minister of Education, Mr Oscar Dhlomo, to appoint a commission of enquiry. It was alleged that some principals and members of school councils accepted bribes from pupils desperate to obtain places at overcrowded schools in rural areas.

In May Mr Dhlomo announced that it was intended to bring the KwaZulu system of education more into line with that of Natal. As a result of negotiations with the Natal Provincial Department of Education it was agreed that KwaZulu pupils should in future write the Natal Senior Certificate.

Reports that teachers in QwaQwa were resigning in large numbers following the resignation of three inspectors who were dissatisfied with their salaries were denied by the territory's Minister of Education, Mr R R Mopedi. Mr Mopedi said that the inspectors had resigned over the pay dispute because they were the victims of the ignorance and short-sightedness of his predecessor, Mr J R Ngake.
In April the office of the Transkei’s Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, reportedly issued a directive ordering a return to Bantu education. The move was criticised both inside and outside the territory. Speaking in the Transkeian assembly, Mr Cromwell Diko, TNIP MP for Tabankulu, said Afrikaans had been introduced by Broederbond Afrikaners for ulterior political motives. There was also widespread opposition to the move from teachers and pupils. In June it was announced that Afrikaans would no longer be taught in schools.

In July Mr P N Tshaka, president of the Transkei Teachers' Association, welcomed the administration's acceptance of the report of a commission of enquiry into the Transkei's education as a significant parting of the ways with Bantu education. Mr Tshaka called on teachers to become more involved in designing curricula relevant to the needs of the territory, which was still relying on the syllabi of the Cape Education Department.

Reports indicated that schools in the Ciskei were seriously overcrowded. At the Ndevana settlement camps there were only 18 classrooms for more than 3000 children while schools in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha had more applicants than places.

In June a circular issued by the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party calling on all civil servants including teachers to donate money for the erection of a memorial hall at Ntaba Kandoda, the territory's shrine, angered teachers. They believed that it was an attempt on the part of the party to force them into party politics. Explaining the circular, the Secretary for Education for the Ciskei said that the memorial hall was a 'national' issue and the circular had been sent to all schools for that reason. A number of teachers said that they had donated money because they feared victimisation.

COLOURED SCHOOL EDUCATION

Legislation

Coloured Persons Education Amendment Act No 15

The act amends the definition of a nursery school and empowers the financing of the erection, establishment and maintenance of nursery schools for coloured children from state funds.

School Education Coloured:

Pupils

A nursery school is defined as a school for the education of coloured children over the age of three but who have not attained the age at which regular attendance at school is compulsory. It includes a class attached to an ordinary school in which coloured persons receive education in the year preceding the year in which regular school attendance is compulsory.

Schools

The number of schools for coloured pupils in the Republic in 1980 was as follows.

Primary and Secondary Schools

State schools 770
State-aided schools 1 190
Private schools 12
Vocational schools/Schools of industry 2
Technical college and institutes 8
Special schools 25
Total 2 007
Pre-primary Schools
State State-control led 11
Subsidised 85
Private 15
Total 111

In addition there were 39 creches and one after-school centre. Replying to a question in the assembly the minister said that there was a backlog of 1 828 classrooms as at March 1980. He estimated that it would cost R32m to eliminate this but was unable to say when this would be done.

The Secretary for Coloured Affairs said in September that the current backlog of classrooms was 10 608. He estimated that it would cost R1 75 32m to eliminate the backlog and that provided the necessary funds were made available the backlog could be eliminated in five years. The reason for the substantial difference in the estimates of the minister and those of the department's secretary was not known.

Physical conditions in schools for coloured persons angered students. According to a report in the Cape Times many of the classrooms lacked window panes, and had broken desks and ripped ceilings. The Minister of Public Works stated in May that approximately R1 055m was required to repair schools which had been damaged by vandals. He said that his department had to spend between R200 and R1 000 a month to repair the damage at some schools for coloured children in the Peninsula. To attempt to alleviate the backlog of classrooms the Department of Public Works budgeted R27 5m for the building of primary and secondary schools for coloured pupils.

Commenting on the shortage of classrooms and the poor condition of some schools, Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Professional Teachers' Association, said that the acute accommodation shortage and the double shift class system in black schools were the direct result of government policies and the Group Areas Act. Mr Sonn said that schools for blacks were inferior and treated with contempt by the communities they were meant to serve.

In order to alleviate overcrowding at schools the Administration of Coloured Affairs asked the Provincial Education Department in the Cape for details of white schools which were unused and which might be hired. Mr A de V Kempen, commissioner of Coloured Affairs, said that he knew of two cases, one in Salt River, Cape Town, and the other in Durban, where this had already been done. (See chapter on School and University Boycotts.)

Double Sessions
The number of schools, pupils and teachers involved in double sessions in schools for coloured pupils (which work in the same way as the platoon system in schools for Indians and Africans) in 1979 in the Republic was as follows:79

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes affected</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
<th>Number of teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classrooms School Education Coloured:
Pupils
Total
1 808 579 0 739 1 808

In 1980 1 826 classes and an estimated 60 000 pupils were involved in double session/platoon system instruction.80 The Director of Coloured Education, Mr A I Arendse said in July that the current school building programme would bring meaningful relief to the necessity for the double session system. Mr Arendse said that the department wished to eliminate double sessions but that they were necessary at present because of the rapid increase in the numbers of coloured children attending school.

Pupils
Enrolment in the Republic
The number of pupils enrolled at school for 1979 and 1980 was as follows:81
coloured persons in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Sub A</th>
<th>Sub B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adaptation classes

| Total Primary | 613 231 | 82,55 | 611 743 | 81,16 |
| Number       | 115 862 | 104 112 | 97 234 | 85 846 | 78 245 | 68 920 | 58 468 | 4 544 |

| Number       | 111 576 | 103 220 | 98 047 | 87 004 | 80 186 | 70 986 | 60 724 |
| Number       | 15,60   | 14,01   | 13,09  | 11,56  | 10,53  | 9,28   | 7,87   |
| 14,80        | 13,69   | 13,01   | 11,54  | 10,64  | 9,42   | 8,06   |
484 1979 1980
Standard Number % Number %
6 45 475 6,12 46435 6,16
School 7 37 409 5,04 38 702 5,13
Education- 8 23 645 3,18 24 502 3,25
Coloured: 9 14 709 1,98 18 206 2,42
10 8428 1,13 9 303 1,23
Teachers Unclassified 32 - 5
Total 129 698 17,45 137 153 18,19
The number of pupils of other race groups attending schools for coloured persons in 1980 was supplied by the Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations:82
African 1 352
Indian 2 094
Total 3 446
Repeating to a question in the assembly, the minister said that as at January 1, education for coloured children was compulsory up to the age of 16 or standard 8.83
Examination Results
The minister supplied the following information on 1979 examination results:84
Junior Certificate
Number of candidates 21 988
Number passed 18567
% passed 84,44
Senior Certificate
Number %
Number of candidates 7 654
Number obtaining matriculation exemption 2 456 32,09
Number obtaining school leaving certificate 4 323 56,48
Total passed 6 779 88,57
Teachers
The minister gave information in the assembly about the qualifications of coloured teachers as at February 1:85
Number %
(a) Professionally qualified with:
A university degree 1 251 4,78
Matriculation or equivalent 7 239 27,64
Junior Certificate or equivalent 15 384 58,75
Other (e.g. technical) 187 0,71
Total 24 061 91,88
(b) No professional qualifications but:
A university degree
Matriculation or equivalent
Technical or vocational qualifications
Less than matriculation
In 1979 there were 1 194 white teachers coloured pupils in the Republic. The minister stated in the assembly vacancies for teachers as at February 1, 1980.

School Education: Coloured:

Teachers employed in schools for that there were 542

Teachers' Salaries

The minister declined to give information relating to teachers' salaries. However, Die Burger 87 published details of the old and new salary scales for male and female coloured and Indian teachers. These scales are too detailed for inclusion but may be obtained from the Institute's Publications Department.

Coloured school teachers were dissatisfied with the new scales because parity with white teachers had not been introduced. The Upington branch of the Cape Professional Teachers' Association presented a petition to Mr Marais Steyn, then Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, condemning the increases granted to teachers in the 'AA' category as "an insult to stalwarts, even if they had inferior qualifications". The educational levels of some of the other categories are as follows:

Category A - Junior certificate plus three years; Category B - Senior certificate plus two years;
Category C - Senior certificate plus three years;
Category D - Senior certificate plus a degree or two Higher Primary teacher certificates

Coloured persons holding senior posts

Information about coloured persons holding senior posts was supplied by the Secretary for Coloured Relations:

Inspector of Education
Assistant or Subject Inspector
Professors or Heads of Departments
University lecturers
Lecturers at technikons and technical colleges
Principals of schools educational

51 37
2
47 89 1 950

Student Teachers
The minister gave information in the assembly on the amounts allocated to teacher training, excluding university training, in the financial years 1975-76 to 1979-80.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>R4 088 826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>R4 585 819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>R4 867 770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>R4 973 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>R6 486 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The amount for the 1979-80 financial year is a preliminary figure.)

An estimated amount of R7 250 000 was allocated for the current financial year.

Enrolments of student teachers as at December 31, 1979 and the number of teachers who:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Junior Primary Teacher's Certificate</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Teacher's Diploma</td>
<td>929 274 536</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary Specialist Certificate</td>
<td>32 87</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Secondary Teacher's Diploma</td>
<td>18 82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Teacher's Diploma (nongraduate)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Teacher's Diploma (graduate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaption Classes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's Diploma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Teachers Diploma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Teachers Diploma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate Degrees in Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualified Total 1979</td>
<td>2 363 727 2 712</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>32 87</td>
<td>18 217</td>
<td>10 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were 154 adult for Coloured Affairs stated marv level classes and 6 level classes during the year.
education centres in 1980. The Secretary that 2 914 adults attended part-time
3528 adults attended part-time secondary
INDIAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
Policy
In July the government reassumed powers to control the admission of pupils to
Indian schools, close schools and punish pupils at state and state-aided schools for
Indians." These powers, originally in the hands of the Minister of Indian Affairs
in terms of the Indian Education Act No 61 of 1965, had been delegated to the SA
Indian Council as at January 2, 1976. The minister said that one of the reasons for
his reassumption of these powers was the unrest in Indian schools during the year
(see chapter on School and University Boycotts).

Schools
The number of schools for Indians in the Republic in 1980 was as
follows:92
Primary and Secondary
State schools State-aided schools Special schools Private schools
259 129
487
School EducationIndian:
Pupils
Total 398
Pre-primary
State State-control led 1
Subsidised 3
Private 5
Total 9
There were no creches or after-school centres for Indian children. According to
the department's report,' in March 1979 nine new secondary schools and 15 new
primary schools were under construction. Major additions to 16 secondary
schools and ten primary schools were also being undertaken. The department
expected that all these projects would be completed by June.
Platoon System
The platoon system continued to operate in Natal during 1979. Details were
extracted from the departmental report:
Number of schools Number of classes Number of teachers'94 Number of pupils
343 275 12 030
As expected' the figures for 1979 showed a slight increase over those for the
previous year. The number of schools, classes and pupils involved in the platoon
system increased by two, 25 and 451 respectively.
Pupils
Enrolment
School enrolment of Indian children in 1980 was as follows:"
Sub A 21 907
Sub B 23 134
10,09 10,65

488
School Education-Indian: Teachers
Standard
1
2
3
4
5 Special classes
Number
22 519 21 352 20 872 20 111 18 700 1 424
10,37 9,83 9,61 9,26 8,61 0,66
/Ux , II y -lasses -
Total Primary 150 019 69,08
6 17 299 7,97
7 16 401 7,55
8 15 303 7,05
9 10 623 4,89
10 7 525 3,47
Unclassified -
Total Secondary 67 151 30,92
Total 217 170 100,00

According to the department's report an estimated 27, 15% of the Indian population was at school in 1979. The estimate excluded the pupils undergoing secondary education at the M L Sultan Technikon.

Coloured children in Indian schools
In areas where there are no schools for colOured pupils, they may attend Indian schools. In 1979 the number of coloured children attending Indian schools was as follows:

Transvaal 629
Natal 468
Cape Province 280
Total 1 377

Examination Results
The results of the 1979 matriculation examination were supplied by the Director of Indian Education:

Number of candidates Matriculation exemption School leaving certificate
Number 5 229 1 595 2 954
30,50 56,49
Total passed 4 549 86,99
Teachers
In 1979 qualifications of teaching staff in schools and colleges of education were as follows:

(a) Professionally qualified with:
University degree
Std 10 or equivalent
Std 8 or equivalent
Number
19,20 60,01 1 1,36
Total 7 549 90,57
(b) No professional qualifications but:
University degree 65 0,78
Std 10 or equivalent 536 6,43
Std 8 or equivalent 158 1,90
Technical qualifications 27 0,32
Total 786 9,43
Total 8 335 100,00
In 1979 of the 8 335 members of the department's teaching staff (excluding the M L Sultan Technikon), 48 were whites and 24 were coloured. The staff was distributed by posts in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rectors</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy-rectors Heads of departments (colleges) Senior lecturers Lecturers Principals (all grades) Deputy principals (all grades) Heads of departments (all grades) Teachers</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School EducationIndian:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 20 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers of teachers employed in ordinary primary and secondary schools in 1980 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State schools</td>
<td>7 102 1 371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State-aided schools</td>
<td>8 593</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister declined to supply information relating to Indian teachers' salary scales in the assembly. However, Die Burger published the old and new salary scales for coloured and Indian teachers in April.
In July the Teachers' Association of South Africa, which represents 7 000 Indian teachers, held its annual congress in Durban. The conference was not attended by either the Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, or his deputy, Mr S P van den Heever, although the latter was scheduled to address the conference on the opening day. The association's secretary, Mr Dhama Nair, informed the conference that Mr Krog had told the association that the department would not be officially represented "because of a recent decision of some teachers at a meeting in Pietermaritzburg where calls were made for the resignation of the director and his deputy".03

The conference adopted resolutions that education should be free of racial discrimination; that teachers should be appointed on the basis of their experience and the needs of schools, instead of 'ethnicity or race, and that Afrikaans should be withdrawn as one of the compulsory languages taught in schools. Another resolution calling for the singing of the SA national anthem to be withdrawn from Indian schools was shelved as delegates were uncertain whether the anthem was compulsory or not.

In-service training of teachers
A further three courses involving 35 teachers were given by the department during the period July 1978 to June 1979. Since the introduction of the scheme in April 1977, a total of 11 courses involving 155 teachers have been held.'04

Student Teachers
Enrolment of student teachers at the two colleges of education and the University of Durban/Westville in 1979 was as follows:5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Springfield College of Education</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal College of Education</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Durban/Westville</td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The department welcomed the increase in the number of student teachers and repeated its belief that if the trend continued sufficient teachers would probably be trained over the next five years to meet the demand. The minister stated in the assembly""" that the department had spent the following amounts on teacher training in the financial years 1975-76 to 1979-80:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>069 091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>146 923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>332 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>650 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>833 003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He estimated that approximately R2 491 100 would be spent during the current year.
The department awarded 1,289 bursaries to trainee teachers in January 1979. This was 193 more than the previous year.

Examination Results
The numbers of student teachers who qualified at the end of 1978 and the courses for which they qualified were extracted from the department's report:

- Junior Primary Education Diploma: 92
- Senior Primary Education Diploma: 68
- Junior Secondary Education Diploma: 79
- B. Paed: 23
- University Higher Diploma in Education: 19
- University Diploma in Education (Junior Secondary): 42
- Lower Secondary Teacher's Diploma: 2
- University Diploma in Education (Senior Primary): 32

Total: 357

This represented an increase of 105 over the number who qualified at the end of 1977. In addition, 38 serving teachers improved their qualifications during 1978 by study for degrees or diplomas either full-time or through correspondence courses.

Special Education
According to the departmental report, the department subsidises six special schools. Enrolment at these schools in 1979 was as follows:

- School for the cerebral palsied: 65
- School for the blind: 96
- School for the deaf: 100
- Three training centres: 162

Total: 423

The department's report stated that remedial services were being expanded in ordinary primary schools and that the training of additional selected teachers had commenced at the University of Durban/Westville.

Adult Education
The department operated four adult education centres during 1979. Statistics for the number of students and teachers involved in these courses were extracted from the departmental report:

Centre
- Chatsworth High School
- Merebank High School
- ML Sultan
- Stanger High School
- Pietermaritzburg High School

Students
- 207
- 98
- 32
- 180
- 491

School Education Indian:
- Examinations
- Teachers
- 10
- 8
WHITE SCHOOL EDUCATION
School Education: White: Statistics
Statistics with regard to schools for whites in 1980 were as follows: 108
Primary and Secondary
Provincial schools
Provincial-aided schools
Private schools Special schools
2,300
71
Total 2,659
Pre-primary
Provincial schools
Provincially controlled schools
Subsidised schools
Private schools
Total
92,195 173,176 636
In addition in 1980 there were 269 creches, 32 post-school centres and 35 combined creches and post-school centres for whites.
Pupils
Enrolments 109
Enrolment by type of school (primary and secondary only):
Provincial Private
902,584 40,492
Total 943,076
Special 28,309
Total 971,385
Enrolment by standard:
Standard
Sub A Sub B
1
Special classes Auxiliary classes
Number
88,006 872,128 88,955 88,429 84,871 82,692 77,508 9,587 2,119
Total 609,379 63,53,492
492
9,17 9,09 9,27 9,22 8,85 8,62 8,08 1,00 0,22

Standard Number % 493
6 80,674 8,41
Examination Results
The minister stated in the assembly that 47 349 white pupils passed the matriculation or equivalent examination at the end of 1978. Of these 22 861 obtained a matriculation exemption. A total of 27 384 passed the examination with mathematics and 18 482 passed with physical science.

In December the Department of Statistics supplied different figures. According to their information 19 086 pupils obtained a matriculation exemption and 20 568 a school leaving certificate; the total number of passes was 39 654. In March 1978 52 383 pupils were in Standard 10. The minister probably supplied provisional figures. Results for 1979 were not available.

Teachers
The following numbers of teachers were employed in schools for white pupils during 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>47 087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial-aided</td>
<td>1 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2 924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>3 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54 521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister disclosed that there was a shortage of adequately trained physical science teachers in white schools. Replying to a question in the assembly, he said that the following percentages of teachers teaching physical science from Standard 8 to Standard 10 were not adequately trained:

- Cape Province: 20
- OFS: 47
- Natal: 21
- Transvaal: 48

The shortage of English-speaking teachers and fears that English education in the Transvaal would be adversely affected continued. There were low enrolment figures particularly of men at the Johannesburg College of Education. Mr Jack Ballard, secretary of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, said that "the shortage of English-
before budget day and threatened to strike or work to rule by refusing to take part in extra-mural activities if their demands were not met. 115

The increases awarded to teachers, an average of 13.4% for males and 12.7% for females, were rejected. Mr Peter Mundell, president of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, said that the new scales would not solve the critical teacher shortage in the country. A spokesman for the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations described the increases as unacceptable.

Plans to protest against the increases were put off until the end of May to await a government decision to appoint a commission of enquiry into the position of education and the teaching profession.

The Secretary of the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations said that if the government did not agree to appoint a commission of enquiry, teachers might form themselves into a trade union.

The council announced that it wanted its proposed commission of enquiry to:

1. assess the changing educational needs of the country;
2. assess new educational challenges;
3. estimate the cost of revised educational needs;
4. define and redefine, if necessary, both the long and short term educational goals; and
5. define the teacher's role in education.

Towards the end of April, a document purporting to contain details of the new scales was leaked to the press. The document alleged that teachers had been given bigger pay rises than they had requested.16 The Federal Council of Teachers' Associations and the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging rejected the document as "misleading" and claimed that the document had been issued so as "to discredit teachers' justified pay demands".

Details of old and new salary scales in the document were as follows:17
School EducationWhite: Teachers
The Minister of National Education, then Mr Janson, stated that the document had not been prepared or distributed by his department and neither he nor his officials had any knowledge of who had done so. This assurance was accepted by the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations in May. The council requested the Prime Minister to investigate the document.

Replying to a question in the assembly, the Prime Minister said that the Commission for Administration "found that the amounts and percentages which have been made known were, despite minor deviations and differences in interpretation, substantially correct". Mr Botha said that nobody had been consulted before the document had been compiled and distributed and categorically denied any connection between the Office of the Prime Minister and the document, other than the fact that his press secretary had released it.

In May, following a meeting between Mr Janson and the council, a statement issued called on "all concerned who had the interests of education at heart to entrust the further handling of the whole matter to the hands of the minister and the federal council".

In June Mr Janson announced that the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) would conduct an investigation into education in SA. The federal council immediately expressed regret that the government had not seen fit to appoint a full presidential commission of enquiry. Commenting on the proposed enquiry, Mr Peter Mundell said that although the terms of reference of the HSRC enquiry were "wide ranging and very adequate", he doubted whether the HSRC had sufficient statutory powers to get to the bottom of the educational problems.

The HSRC enquiry was also criticised by the newly formed National Education Union of South Africa. It issued a statement condemning the "investigation by a totally unrepresentative body" as a delaying tactic. The Prime Minister later announced that a sub-committee of the enquiry, some of the members of which would be black, would investigate the question of a unitary education system for SA.

A statement issued by the chairman of the Transvaalse Onderwyservereniging, Professor H 0 Maree, said that the association believed that the three pillars of education - the home, the church and the school - should be central to any investigation and that it favoured the status quo in educational control. Professor Maree warned that his organisation might not support the HSRC enquiry.

Amid threats of strike action or go-slows by teachers, talks between Mr Janson and the federal council were resumed in July. The federal council
demanded that if teachers' salary scales could not be adjusted until April 1981, the increases be backdated to April 1980. It also called for the appointment of a presidential commission of enquiry to replace the HSRC investigation. In July plans for a protest week by teachers during which they would curtail their extramural activities were given support by the Transvaal Teachers' Association. In an effort to defuse the situation the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, conceded that teachers had reason to be dissatisfied with their salary increases and that the federal council had reason for its "militant stance". He said that the HSRC had been asked to complete its report within 12 months and requested teachers to co-operate in a friendly manner both with the HSRC and the government. In spite of Mr Botha's intervention, the Transvaal Teachers' Association decided to go ahead with its plans for a go-slow from August 25-29. Mr Peter Mundell, the association's president, said that he had been favourably impressed by the Prime Minister's statement, but he believed that the go-slow would still be beneficial in that teachers could use the time to discuss their problems." Teachers were warned that they could contravene the SA Teachers' Council's professional code if they took part in the proposed go-slow. In August the Transvaal Teachers' Association cancelled the go-slow. In September the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging announced a plan to establish a non-racial teachers' body to negotiate with the government on the question of teachers' salaries. Although the appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of National Education raised hopes that a solution would be found, the crisis over the shortage of teachers continued. Reports indicated that an increasing number of teachers were leaving the profession to join private enterprise and that the number of applications for student teachers' bursaries and grants was the lowest for a number of years.

Student Teachers

According to the Department of Statistics the following numbers of student teachers were enrolled at teacher training colleges during 1980. (Figures for enrolment at universities were not available.) 1979 figures are given for comparative purposes:

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<th>Men</th>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
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<td>1979</td>
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<tr>
<th>School Education</th>
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There were 1 7 colleges of education for whites in 1980.
A conference, the theme of which was Curriculum and Community, was held at the University of the Witwatersrand in July. Delegates to the conference stressed the need for the school curriculum to be relevant to the needs of the community which it was serving. Workshops to discuss various innovations in the existing curriculum and methods of teaching were held and Dr J S Hill of the Transvaal Education Department, delivered a paper outlining the administrative structures for curriculum change.

A follow-up conference, Curriculum Innovation in South Africa, was planned for January 1981 at the University of Cape Town.

African Languages in White Schools

According to the Transvaal Education Department approximately 5 000 high school students were studying an African language. Professor J H Jooste, Director of Education in the Transvaal, said that

"The policy of using white teachers to teach African languages was criticised by Professor N Boyce, rector of the Johannesburg College of Education, and Dr F Auerbach, a noted South African educationist. Professor Boyce and Dr Auerbach said that the best person to teach a language was the person who spoke that language at home. Professor Jooste did not elaborate on the Transvaal Education Department's reasons for not considering using African teachers to teach African languages. At the end of November it was announced that an African language would be taught in all schools for whites in the Transvaal."

References

' Information supplied by the Secretary of Statistics, December 4
2 Department of Education and Training, Annual Report RP 101/1979
1 Estimates of Expenditure to be defrayed from the State Revenue Account RP 2/1980 and RP 4/1980
4 Ibid
5 Ibid
6 Information supplied by the Director of Indian Education, August 19
7 Ibid
8 Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the period July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979 RP 113/1979
9 Ibid
10 Information supplied by the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, September 17
11 Hansard 8, Q col 522 12 Department of Statistics, op cit 13 Hansard 4 Q cols 185-6 '4 Respectively Hansard 3 Q col 103; Hansard 2 Q col 42; Hansard 4 Q col 187; Hansard 2 Q col 96
The Minister stated in the Assembly that this figure excluded expenditure on the acquisition of sites as the figure relating only to the acquisition of sites for educational institutions was not available. Hansard 4 Q col 187


32 Ibid

33 Financial Mail, April 11 34 Ibid


Education

500 Education

See section on School Education for coloured persons, Teachers' Salaries Natal Mercury, July 2 RP 113/1979, op cit Ibid
SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY BOYCOTTS
Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from June 16, 1976, to February 28, 1977 (Cillie Commission)
The report dealt with the events leading up to June 16, 1976, and the course of the uprising and made findings relating to its causes. The following section summarises the commission's findings in respect of educational issues and the activities of student movements as causes of the uprising. For further details see the chapters on Group Areas and Housing, African Homelands, Police, and Population.
The commission found that the outbreak of rioting on June 16, 1976, was caused by a combination of the following factors: "The application of the policy on the medium of instruction, which gave rise to misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the people of Soweto; the scholars' planned and organised resistance to the policy on the medium of instruction; the ineffectual official handling of the resistance; and the inability of departmental officials and police to foresee the imminent rioting and to take counter-measures".
On the more general level it found that there was considerable dissatisfaction with Bantu education among the African community. This dissatisfaction was found to be well-founded at times but not at others. Scholars were found to be opposed to the entire system of education although they did not know why. Except for the question of the medium of instruction and free and compulsory education "Bantu education was not a cause of the riots. It was, to a certain degree, a cause of dissatisfaction; this dissatisfaction was to some extent stirred up and exploited by those bent on creating disturbances".
In connection with the activities of student movements, the commission found that the SA Students' Movement (SASM) played a supportive role in relation to scholars boycotting school over the language medium issue and that the movement had organised a meeting which resolved to stage a mass demonstration on June 16, 1976.3 The report stated that it was at this meeting that an Action Committee, later named the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), was elected to organise and plan the demonstration.4
The commission found that the SSRC was, in addition to other factors, responsible for the organisation of the resistance and the march. It also found that the SSRC was largely responsible for the fact that the riots did not abate sooner.

Dealing with the actions of the Comrades, the student organisation in Cape Town, the commission found that it had been responsible for keeping the disturbances going in the Peninsula through its activities against shebeens and the consumption of liquor and its declaration that the Christmas period was to be one of mourning. Its actions on Christmas day were found to be the real and direct cause of the attack by the migrant workers on the permanent residents of Nyanga. The Comrades was also held responsible for the failure to bring about peace between the residents and the migrants on at least one occasion. It was also found responsible for the arson at five schools on January 10, 1977.6 The commission did not find any evidence to suggest that there had been a link between the Comrades and either the SASM or the SSRC.

On the question of salary scales, the commission found that discriminatory salaries had been a contributory factor to the riots.7

School and University Boycotts during the Year

Dissatisfaction on the part of black school and university students with their education system became a major issue again. Boycotts started in African secondary schools in Cape Town, spread first to coloured secondary schools and later to primary schools in Cape Town and then spread countrywide. Although the initial grievances which were articulated concerned mainly the standard and quality of education offered to blacks, it became apparent with the passage of time that as in 1976 the students and pupils were not only challenging the education system but also the political system.

As in 1976 police responded by attempting to break up demonstrations through the use of dogs, baton charges and teargas. When these methods failed they resorted to firearms. Large numbers of people were also detained in attempts to deprive the boycotting pupils and students of leaders. Police action was more restrained, at least before the end of May, than in the 1976 uprising.

Government response was also similar to that of 1976. Ministers spoke of agitators being behind the pupils’ action and threatened to expel students and pupils who did not return to classes. Later recognition was given to the claim that students had legitimate grievances.

Student and pupil response to repressive government measures was characterised by an intensification of the boycotts and a clarification of the issues on which they faced each other.

When the government began to make concessions to coloured school pupils, e.g. undertaking to repair schools damaged in 1976 and to supply text books, the Committee of 81 accepted the bona fides of the government and called off the boycott. African scholars especially in the Western and Eastern Cape and students at the University of Fort Hare and the North continued their boycott. Observers such as Professor Michael Whisson, head of the Anthropology department at Rhodes University, pointed out that the Eastern Cape
had a long history of political activism and that the school boycotts were yet another manifestation of this.
During the course of 1976-78, African scholars had been given promises similar to those made to the coloured boycotters. Resulting changes, such as the introduction of a new Education and Training Act, had been widely regarded as unsatisfactory. Possibly for this reason African scholars displayed less interest in negotiation than their coloured counterparts. The African boycott also demonstrated that pupils had become disenchanted with the leaders of the homelands. Despite two years of the Inkatha syllabus (see section on Education in the Homelands), KwaMashu pupils defied Chief Buthelezi’s instruction to return to school. Similarly the outbreaks in other homelands revealed a high level of disillusionment over the rewards of their self-governing or independent status.

The Course of the Boycotts

In February African pupils at Fezeka High School in Guguletu, Cape Town, presented the principal with a list of their grievances. These mainly concerned conditions connected with the particular school, e.g. the enforced homework period of two hours per day, the bad conduct of a teacher and the lack of student representation when issues which affected students were decided; pupils also complained of compulsory school fees and uniforms and the shortage of text books which were supposed to be issued free to all students.8

The principal informed students that he had considered their grievances and demands but rejected them. Dissatisfied pupils boycotted classes until February 21 when, following a meeting between staff, parents and pupils which partially resolved the dispute, pupils returned to classes.

According to reports the Department of Education and Training was not involved in the negotiations. However departmental officials were reportedly concerned because they felt too much had been conceded.

On March 20 coloured pupils at two schools in Hanover Park, Mountview and Crystal, dissatisfied with conditions in their schools, held a mass meeting attended by approximately 600 pupils and parents. Three white teachers at the schools also attended. Pupils complained of the poor physical condition of the buildings. Other grievances were similar to those expressed by pupils at Fezeka High but in addition there were complaints of:

1 teachers’ drunkenness, lack of qualifications and unreliability;
2 the presence of non-parents on school committees; and
3 that one of the principals had summoned the Special Branch after he had found 'SWAPO' written on a blackboard.

When, a week later, the three white teachers who attended the meeting were dismissed with 24 hours notice pupils reacted angrily. Class boycotts were called for and the re-instatement of the teachers demanded.

Earlier in the month the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) had called for a boycott of Soweto schools to protest against the requirement that scholars pay school fees and wear uniforms. The boycott

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Causes of Boycotts
Course of Boycotts

failed following the intervention of the Department of Education and Training's regional office in Johannesburg. Two Port Elizabeth schools staged walkouts over local school issues and elsewhere in the country sporadic boycotts and boycott attempts took place.

By the end of March pupils at Mountview and Crystal High Schools, believing that the dismissal of the three teachers indicated that their demands were unheeded, boycotted classes. The Crystal High School Committee issued a statement repudiating the pupils' complaints and accusing teachers of wasting "valuable teaching time by subverting the minds of pupils with politics and ideologies to bring about chaos and instability in SA".

The legitimacy of at least some of the pupils' complaints was confirmed on April 1 when the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, Mr A P de V Kempen, issued a statement undertaking to see that the Department of Public Works repaired schools badly damaged in 1976 on a priority basis within the following few weeks.

At a meeting of representatives of 19 schools in Cape Town on April 5 demands were made for the reinstatement of the dismissed teachers, a pay rise for teachers generally and the delivery of the text books which pupils were supposed to receive free. Placards bearing these demands were attached to the fence outside the Coloured Education offices in Wynberg. Other posters attached to the fence bore slogans such as: 'Down with Tribal Education', 'Racist education divides students' and 'Educate for Social Change'.

Observers noted that the slogans indicated a shift away from purely local grievances to a more general opposition to the education system for blacks in SA. A subsequent meeting in April attended by representatives of 20 schools and educational institutions from all over the Peninsula resolved to boycott classes unless the authorities had responded in a positive and concrete manner in order to redress grievances by the end of the month.

Several schools began to stay away from classes on April 14, turning what had been a sporadic boycott into a more general one. Pupils began to march around some schools and an unexplained fire broke out at Epping High School, Cape Town. Pupils chanted slogans such as "Down with gutter education" and "Don't force us to supply cheap labour for capitalism".

Following a briefing by the Deputy-Minister of Coloured Relations on the role of the proposed Coloured Persons' Council (see section on Political Affairs: Coloured Population Group), the Coloured Education Council resigned. Replying to a question in the assembly, the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, said that the council had disbanded itself to allow the proposed Coloured Persons' Council to make its own recommendations on the constitution of the Education Council.

By the end of the week it was estimated that approximately 25 000 pupils were boycotting schools. The boycott had also spread to the Johannesburg area where pupils from schools for coloured people and Indians joined the protest.
On April 19 a meeting of the representatives of 61 secondary and tertiary educational institutions took place in Cape Town to plan further action. This group became known as the Committee of 61, later the Committee of 81 after the number of schools involved increased. It decided to organise a full boycott for the following week, emphasised the demand for student representation and prepared a full list of demands similar to those announced earlier. To minimise the possibility of police action against the pupils the Committee of 61 recommended that pupils should assemble inside the school grounds but refuse to attend classes. They were to receive alternate education. The call for a boycott of classes was almost totally successful in Cape Town. The boycott also spread to Durban, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and to country towns in the Western Cape. It grew in Johannesburg. African pupils were drawn into the boycott in all the centres except Johannesburg. Police took action for the first time on April 22. Despite the instruction of the Committee of 61 to remain in the school grounds, a peaceful march by about 6000 pupils took place in Cape Town. It was broken up by the police using batons and teargas. In Bosmont, Johannesburg, pupils staged a mass rally involving approximately 5000 pupils on which the police kept a close watch but took no other action. Following the police action in Cape Town a mass community meeting in Lotus River, Cape Town, expressed unanimous support for the boycott. An estimated 100 000 pupils were taking part in the boycott at this stage. Following threats by the Minister of Coloured Relations to expel pupils if they did not return to school, the Department of Coloured Relations issued instructions to school committees throughout the country to state, by April 25, whether they supported the closure of the schools in the face of continuing boycotts. The minister also threatened to dismiss teachers who supported the pupils. On April 23 there were marches in Johannesburg and Durban, the latter involving about 6 000 children. Police using teargas and batons broke up these demonstrations. In Cape Town pupils remained inside their school grounds and some marches around the schools were staged. A spate of community meetings was held in Cape Town. On April 23 a meeting in Bellville expressed total support for the boycott and this had been echoed by the end of the week by meetings in Athlone, Paarl, Stellenbosch and Mitchells Plain. The minister alleged that agitators were behind the boycotts but this was widely disputed and he came under repeated attack for his failure to act to redress the pupils' grievances. In reply to a question in the assembly the Minister of National Education, Mr Punt Janson, on behalf of Mr Steyn, said that these were: 1 the failure of the authorities to repair damaged schools and complaints over the upkeep of schools; 2 the shortage of qualified teachers and complaints about the standard of education; 3 injudicious application of corporal punishment; 4 compulsory wearing of school uniforms; 5 disparities in the salaries of coloured and white teachers;
Course of Boycotts

6 payment of school fees for school funds; and
7 complaints of a shortage of text books.

In an attempt to stem the boycotts police action was stepped up. A number of pupils, students and adults were detained. (See chapter on Security for full details of detentions.) Towards the end of the month the Prime Minister intervened. After talks with the Union of Teachers' Associations of SA (representing coloured teachers), he announced that he accepted that coloured pupils had justifiable grievances and said that he wanted equal education for all race groups "as soon as possible within SA's economic means". Finally he suggested that an inquiry into the desirability of a single education system for all races might be instituted. It was stressed that improving the quality of education was a long-term project.

The boycotts continued to spread. Violence broke out in Bloemfontein's African township and in KwaMashu, Durban, where pupils who had been boycotting school for some time defied an instruction from Chief Buthelezi to return to school. Pupils clashed with Inkatha members and police were required to intervene. (See also section on Inkatha in chapter on African Politics.)

The boycotts also spread to the Universities of Fort Hare, the Western Cape and the North. Students staged demonstrations against unequal education which were broken up by police. Students at the University of the Western Cape boycotted examinations and dentistry graduates boycotted their graduation in a demonstration of solidarity with the pupils.

Despite the growing involvement of African pupils and students, Soweto pupils continued to attend school. Black educationists said that although African pupils supported the aims of the boycott they were unlikely to take to the streets in support of it because some of the pupils had seen real bloodshed in 1976. The Johannesburg region of the Department of Education and Training had also adopted a different approach to some of the issues (e.g. school fees and uniforms).

New demands were announced by Indian pupils on the Witwatersrand on May 6. They stated that they would continue their boycott unless the Minister of Coloured Relations and Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, was removed from office and all pupils and members of the parents action committee were released. On May 8 the Minister of Police confirmed that 21 people had been detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act 1966 in connection with the school boycott.

The following day it was announced that Peninsula high schools would receive all their outstanding textbooks within three weeks. Principals were instructed to detail their requirements on new forms and to submit them by May 14. This meant that principals had two working days in which to submit their requisitions. It was also announced in early May that the Attorney-General of the Transvaal had decided not to prosecute 711 school children arrested after police had baton charged them inside their school grounds on April 29.
Following these announcements, the Committee of 81 issued a statement on May 12 that the boycott would end on May 19. However the committee warned that it would begin again unless the authorities met their short term demands within three weeks. These were listed as:

1. The supply of textbooks;
2. The release of all held in connection with the boycotts;  
3. The establishment of SRC’s at schools; and  
4. The closing of the pay gap for teachers.

Although the boycott of coloured and Indian schools had been temporarily abandoned, African pupils and students continued theirs. By mid-May, pupils in KwaMashu (Durban), Zwelitsha, (King Williamstown), Port Elizabeth, Cradock and Grahamstown were boycotting classes. The boycott of lectures by students at the University of Fort Hare which began on May 6 led to the indefinite closure of the university on May 20. Students at Fort Hare stated that their grievances were:

1. The inferior quality of education in general;
2. The type of syllabus offered in ethnic institutions; and  
3. Inadequate facilities.

They demanded immediate scrapping of the present system of ethnic education, as it was devised to subject the recipients to perpetual subjugation;

2. Unconditional opening of all educational institutions to people of all races;
3. An immediate improvement in the working conditions of teachers so as to make the teaching profession attractive;
4. Free and compulsory education for every child of school-going age up to and including high school.

Police stood by while the students left the campus after the rector closed the university.

Police were also called to intervene on the campus of the University of Zululand. Students had requested Chief Buthelezi not to turn the graduation ceremony on May 23 into an Inkatha rally and to dissuade his followers from attending in Inkatha uniform. Chief Buthelezi ignored the request. When students attempted to prevent Inkatha members from entering the campus, police fired warning shots to disperse them. In June, Chief Buthelezi warned he would close the university if it did not serve the people.

This was the first occasion on which police used firearms to disperse crowds during the boycotts.

On May 24, coloured pupils disrupted Saturday morning shopping in Cape Town’s Golden Acre complex and in the city’s northern suburbs. Police broke up the demonstration using batons and dogs, which led to further disruption, and arrested 105 pupils. Discounting allegations of police brutality, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned that the government would maintain law and order and that people who were attempting to develop the schools situation into a political confrontation should realise that it was a question of “so far and no further”.

Following the police action, the boycott of coloured schools resumed. The boycott was also continued by students at the University.
Course of Boycotts

of the North where students defied an instruction to return to lectures or return home and continued a sit-in. A telegram was sent to the Minister of National Education, Mr Punt Janson, which called for the abolition of the ethnic education system.

On May 27 it was reported that following a police crackdown at least 56 people had been detained in the previous 24 hours, bringing the total number who were reportedly detained in connection with the boycotts to 111. Student and pupil boycotts intensified as a result of the detentions and were at that stage occurring in all four provinces and a number of the homelands.

On May 28 students at the University of Durban-Westville announced that they would boycott examinations unless the University of Fort Hare was re-opened and students re-admitted unconditionally. The students' announcement came less than three weeks after they had called off their boycott of lectures which had taken place in sympathy with the coloured and Indian schools boycott which was begun on April 22.

In an effort to prevent future boycotts the rector, Professor S P Olivier, informed parents that students would have to sign an agreement to abide by the new rulings of the university's council. These included an undertaking to return to the university from June 18 to July 4 and from July 21 for the whole of the second semester. A group of lecturers opposed the conditions laid down by Professor Olivier.

Violence broke out on June 18. The university's administration block was stoned. Riot police were reported to have baton charged and used teargas to disperse a gathering of about 200 students before the stoning.

Towards the end of June an appeal was made to students by a local Committee of 10 and the Students' Co-ordinating Committee, who appealed to students to return to lectures on June 30. Most of the students complied.

On May 28 the first deaths as a result of police action were reported. Two people, one a 15 year old boy, Bernard Fortuin, were killed when police opened fire on stone-throwing pupils in Elsies River, Cape Town. Six others were wounded in the incident.

Pupils were angered by the shootings. By the end of the month there was a total stay-away from schools in Cape Town. In Port Elizabeth the number of educational institutions affected by the boycott had risen to 50 while boycotts in Grahamstown, East London, Durban, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and the Reef continued. The University of Fort Hare remained closed and students at the University of the North began leaving the campus, which resulted in its closure.

On June 2 the Minister of Coloured Relations in an attempt to defuse the situation, announced that his department would take immediate steps to meet the pupils' grievances, for example by supplying further textbooks. Three days later the Committee of 81 agreed in principle that the boycott should end. The agreement was subject to ratification by the pupils themselves. Some commentators interpreted this decision as meaning the committee was ready to
call off the boycott. This was denied in a statement issued on June 7. Pupils and students were called upon to continue action to reinforce

the awareness of the general public through issues such as the meat workers strike, the attack on Sasol, detentions and violence, the bus boycott and the commemoration of June 16.

The boycotts continued to spread throughout the country. In the Transkei the Matanzima administration declared a state of emergency. Nine students were expelled from the university and six others, including President Matanzima's daughter, were rusticated. Boycotts also took place in QwaQwa.

On June 6 the Minister of Police stated that 156 persons had been detained under the provisions of Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act 1966.

In June the Department of Coloured Relations issued an instruction to the rectors of eight training colleges in the Peninsula to expel all students who did not attend classes on June 9. The rectors resisted the demand for two days after which the department announced the students' expulsion. Approximately 3,000 students at the training colleges staged a mass walk-out to protest against the announcement on June 12.

Following the Prime Minister's warning on June 14 that he was determined to maintain law and order, the government imposed a ban on meetings of more than 10 people in several areas of the country (see chapter on Security).

The approaching mid-year holidays moved the focus of attention away from schools but pupils continued to play a major role in the unrest which followed.

(For details see section on Police Conduct in chapter on Administration of Justice, Police and Prisons.)

In the second half of June the Department of Indian Affairs issued a warning that it would expel all pupils who had not returned to school within a stipulated period. A court action in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court by a parent of one child prevented the department from fulfilling its threat.

The future of the school boycott remained unclear while pupils were on holiday. African pupils were to return to school on July 7. Pupils in the Eastern Cape resumed the boycott of classes. According to the inspector of the Port Elizabeth circuit at least 20 primary and secondary schools in Port Elizabeth, three in Grahamstown, seven in Uitenhage, and two in Somerset East were affected.

School attendance at other African schools was also poor.

Violence broke out at Onverwacht, near ThabaNchu, in July after approximately 600 pupils boycotted classes.2 A woman was shot, a policeman stabbed, a shop and vehicles were burnt and two other shops looted. African scholars also continued their boycott in Bloemfontein. Most African schools in other areas were full.

In July it was announced that police would use quirts (whip-like rods) to disperse students rather than batons which could injure people more seriously. They were used for the first time to disperse about 300 pupils in Bathurst near Grahamstown.

Pupils in Port Elizabeth said that the boycott would continue until September 2 when the restriction on public gatherings was to have expired.
The continued school boycott in African schools in the Cape prompted the Department of Education and Training to undertake to improve educational facilities in the Eastern Cape. Police stated that they would not enter school premises unless the law was being broken. However, Mr G J Rousseau, director-general of Education and Training, warned that if unrest in schools continued the department's building programme could be upset and teachers might be moved to schools in other areas.

On July 11 the Committee of 81 stated that coloured pupils would return to schools when they re-opened if all pupils were re-instated unconditionally, school buildings were repaired, independent SRC's were recognised, and all detainees were released. The committee described these demands as short-term ones. During July the government attempted to defuse the situation by issuing a pamphlet, posted to residents of coloured areas, entitled 'Our Aim - Education for All'. The pamphlet acknowledged that reasons for dissatisfaction existed and outlined government plans to overcome these.

On July 14 the Committee of 81 requested pupils to return to school the next day to discuss the future of the boycott. Reports on the following day indicated that between 75% and 100% of coloured pupils obeyed the call. Schools voted overwhelmingly in favour of ending the boycott and on July 17 the Committee of 81 decided to end it. People detained in connection with the boycott were gradually released from detention during the remainder of July, August and September.

Pupils in African schools in the Western and Eastern Cape and at the University of Fort Hare boycotted classes throughout July and the boycott spread to Sovenga in Lebowa. Approximately 700 pupils who demanded the abolition of Bantu education and an integrated education system were baton charged in Zwelitsha while earlier, in Port Elizabeth, police dispersed pupils inside the grounds of two schools with teargas. In Grahamstown police dispersed a crowd of approximately 1 000 pupils with batons, teargas and firearms. A woman was shot and killed during the unrest. Although police initially denied responsibility for the death and opened a murder docket, they admitted in August that she had been killed by police gunfire.

The boycott also continued at high schools in KwaMashu. A principal at one of the affected schools said in July that almost none of the KwaMashu schools were operating. He blamed the stay-away on the boycott and intimidation. Pupils said that they were protesting against Bantu education, overcrowding, the lack of fully qualified science, mathematics and English teachers, poor laboratory equipment and the lack of facilities.

The Eastern Cape remained the centre of the boycott. In Zwelitsha 58 pupils were injured when police baton charged demonstrating pupils and police action to
combat stoning in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch resulted in the wounding of a 16 year old youth, Mboyesile Qoqo. Violence broke out in Grahamstown following the funeral of Boyboy Nobiba (16) who had been killed in earlier disturbances on July 27. Damage to six schools which were set alight was estimated to be in excess of R500 000. During the violence two men were killed by the police and one was stoned to death.

The boycott spread to Soweto and KaNgwane at the end of July. Pupils at Soweto's Morris Isaacson High School began to boycott classes following the detention of a fellow student. The boycott spread to the Mapetla Secondary School' where pupils stoned a school inspector's car, injuring the school's principal. Following the example of the Western Cape where schools for Africans were closed when pupils refused to return to classes, the regional director of Education and Training, Mr Jaap Strydom, closed the schools. Pupils who wished to attend school were required to re-register and were placed in other schools. Mr Strydom said that the schools had been closed temporarily and that the Morris Isaacson would re-open in January 1981.

Some University of Fort Hare students returned to the campus when the university re-opened in July. However they continued their boycott of lectures in support of their demands. According to the university's public relations officer, Mr N Holliday, of the 2 700 students at the university at the beginning of the year, 1 000 had not returned to the campus and a further 1 500 had been ordered to leave the campus because they had refused to attend lectures. Approximately 90% of the students did so. They issued a statement in which they undertook not to return until their demands for equal education were met and rejecting an enquiry into the Republic's education system to be conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (see section on White Education) "as this did no less than prolong the agony of the black man". At the end of July a spokesman for the university said that 1 320 students (48%) attended lectures on July 28, the deadline set by the university authorities for registration.

Students at the University of the North did not return to lectures when the university re-opened in July. Reports two days before the deadline for registration indicated that they were not registering for the second semester.

The boycott by African pupils in the Eastern and Western Cape continued throughout August.

In the Eastern Cape a meeting of approximately 8 000 boycotting pupils from schools in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch areas was held. Replying to an earlier request to meet the Port Elizabeth parents committee to discuss the boycott and how to end it Dr Hartzenberg, Minister of Education and Training, had said that he was prepared to meet with recognised elected bodies such as the community council and school committees which had been elected by the parents of the children involved. The reply was criticised at the meeting as frivolous "because the Port Elizabeth parents' committee had been elected by the parents of the children involved in the boycott".3'

A student spokesman said that pupils would end the boycott if their short-term demands were met. These were:
1 removal of the requirement that black students obtain permits to attend white schools;
2 the equal distribution of free school books to all schools irrespective of race; and
3 the release of those who had been detained.

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He acknowledged that the government was not able to change the country's education system overnight but said that it could meet the pupils' short term demands. The pupils' long term demands remained the abolition of Bantu education and equal wages for teachers. There was further violence in the Eastern Cape, Bloemfontein and Empangeni. In the Eastern Cape a number of incidents of arson occurred and police opened fire using birdshot at Fort Beaufort after a confrontation with stone-throwing youths. Police spokesmen said that the boycotts had spread to smaller Eastern Cape towns like Fort Beaufort because 'trouble-makers' were moving from town to town. In Empangeni, Natal students from the Dlangezwa High School reportedly tried to burn down the house of a teacher. Mr James Ndlovu, KwaZulu's assistant-secretary for Education and Culture, said that those behind the attempted arson attack and alleged incidents of intimidation of scholars at the school were a group of pupils who had been the ringleaders of the recent disturbances who had not been re-admitted when the school re-opened after the holiday. According to Mr Ndlovu these pupils had formed themselves into a gang which called itself the 'Gestapo', and were apparently attempting to encourage a stay-away from school to support their case.

Towards the end of the month the Reverend James Haya, chairman of the Port Elizabeth parents' committee, said that representatives of African pupils in Port Elizabeth had decided to call off their boycott. The Reverend Haya made the announcement soon after he had received an invitation to meet the Minister of Education and Training. Mr Haya said that the decision had been taken after negotiations between the committee and the Port Elizabeth Students' Council. Mr Norris M. Singapi, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, supported Mr Haya's efforts to end the boycott and appealed to scholars to return to school, after eight hours of talks with Dr Hartzenberg.

Pupils criticised Mr Singapi's role in trying to end the boycott. A joint statement issued by the Port Elizabeth Students' Council and COSAS said Mr Singapi had no mandate from either the students or their parents to negotiate on their behalf. Towards the end of the month it was announced that the teachers who had been transferred to other areas during early August would return to Port Elizabeth.
At the end of the month it was reported that there had been a violent confrontation between police and pupils boycotting school in support of a bus boycott in Seshgo, Lebowa. The clashes continued throughout the rest of the month.

At the beginning of September, Port Elizabeth pupils announced that they would return to school but not attend classes. The pupils said that they would give the government until September 15 to meet their short-term demands. These were:

1. the release of all detained pupils and students throughout the country;
2. the unconditional reinstatement of all expelled and suspended pupils and students;
3. the return of transferred teachers to their previous schools;
4. adequate school facilities and sufficient free text books with immediate effect;
5. the election of a committee of education experts who had the interests of pupils at heart to channel pupils' grievances regularly to the government;
6. the appointment of a commission of competent educationists recognised by the black community to look into the education system and to prescribe a system for all races which would be relevant to SA society;
7. prefects and pupils' representatives on school committees to be elected independently by the pupils and not by the school principals and staff.

Long term demands were:

1. universal and free education;
2. per capita subsidies for education to be the same for all population groups;
3. equal salaries for teachers of all races.

Despite the call to return to school, most Eastern Cape pupils did not go back and those who did return refused to attend classes in line with the decision at the meeting.

The African school boycott was also continued in the Western Cape. Parents were reportedly divided on the desirability of its continuation. A call was made by the Regional Committee, a pupil body which co-ordinated the school boycott by African pupils in the Western Cape, for the resignation of all school committees in Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa as a gesture of solidarity with the boycotting pupils.

On September 3 the Minister of Education and Training announced that pupils had until September 8 to resume normal classes at school. Dr Hartzenberg said the government had decided to close African schools in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown and Cape Town because few pupils were attending and those who were at school had no intention of studying. He said that pupils would be required to re-register at schools in order to be readmitted on September 8.

The decision to close the schools was criticised by various people. The Reverend James Haya, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Parents' Committee, said Dr Hartzenberg's announcement had come as a shock. The Reverend D Soga, a
member of the committee, said it was an "unfortunate and disappointing development" and that it "cut across and undermined the efforts by parents to resolve the issue".36

Shortly afterwards the Ciskei Education Department issued an ultimatum to pupils in the homeland who were boycotting school to return to classes by September 12. Dr Hartzenberg also threatened to close the schools in Manguang, Bloemfontein's African township, and in Kimberley if pupils had not returned to school by September 8.

By the time the deadline for re-registration had passed, 41% of all African pupils in Cape Town and 33% of those in Grahamstown had registered.7 According to Mr P J Scheepers, regional inspector

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of the Department of Education and Training, practically none of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage's African pupils had re-registered.

Residents' houses in a white suburb of Kimberley were damaged while students were attempting to escape from the police after a march." Police arrested 112 pupils, 68 of whom were girls, on charges of public violence. Incidents of arson continued throughout the rest of the month. Violence broke out in Manguang, Bloemfontein. According to reports pupils stoned cars after clashes with other pupils who were returning to school.

Dr Hartzenberg announced on September 9 that all African schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage had been closed indefinitely. Commenting the Reverend James Haya said it was a pity that the government had not been more patient. Mr Sipho Majambozi, the pupils' Cape representative, said: "It's a pity this unreasonable move came at this time because we were still looking forward to the September 15 deadline for our demands to be met by the government". " Dr Hartzenberg said that the decision had been taken following the negative reaction of "certain individuals and pseudo-committees" to the positive steps taken by his department to normalise the situation in schools.4" His statement said he and his officials had repeatedly held discussions with representatives of legally constituted bodies, viz community councils and school committees. The alleged grievances were discussed and they were told that the department was already engaged in programmes relevant to the matters raised. When the representatives attempted to report back to the parents they were obstructed and their lives endangered. He warned that if the situation in Kimberley did not return to normal by September 12, schools there would be closed indefinitely as well.

Stonings and the boycott continued in Bloemfontein and spread to Welkom. Violence also broke out in Cape Town on September 11. A youth was killed and four others injured when police opened fire to disperse stone throwers. Earlier several vehicles, including six buses and a police vehicle had been damaged by stone throwing youths, a car belonging to the principal of Fezeka High School was gutted by fire and the house of Mr P Tukulu, principal of Sizamile Secondary School, was damaged by fire.
Earlier the Parents' Action Committee representing the parents of pupils in Cape Town's African townships called on the government to accept the pupils' demands by September 15. The statement said that the directive to parents instructing them to force their children to go back to school showed "absolutely no change in attitude on the part of officialdom in its approach to the problem".

Detentions by police, in an effort to stop the boycotts, continued during the month. Two members of the Parents' Action Committee in Cape Town, Mr Joseph Ndiki and Ms Nozipho Ngele, and another Cape Town resident, Mr Bofo Bam, were detained on September 10. The Parents' Action Committee deplored the detentions and said that they would only add to the dissatisfaction and frustration and would lead to further violence. In the Eastern Cape police were reported to have detained 13 people including Mr Duma Lamani, president of the Port Elizabeth Students' Committee. A police spokesman said that 13 people had been detained in connection with allegations of intimidation and other charges.

Violence also broke out at Bochum in Lebowa and the Sada relocation camp in the Ciskei. A police spokesman said that 56 pupils had been arrested by Lebowa police in connection with the burning down of a house belonging to Mr Moffat Makgatho, the principal of Mmalebogo High School. The homelands secretary of education stated that several schools had been closed down because of boycotts of classes by pupils. At Sada, in the Ciskei, police opened fire on a group of approximately 800 school pupils who having refused to attend classes, began stoning police. As a result of the stoning a student police constable died. Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, said that one pupil had been killed by police gunfire. He refused to say how many had been injured. However pupils said that the police had killed three pupils, between the ages of 11 and 12 years and injured another 50. Brigadier Sebe said that 'troublemakers' from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Cape Town had been responsible for the outbreak and that he had been forced to ask for the help of the SA Police because his men had not been able to cope with the situation.

By the middle of the month the death toll in the Ciskei had risen to four. The latest death was that of the headmaster of a school in the Alice district, a Mr Jara, who was stoned to death by pupils. Commenting, Chief Lennox Sebe, chief minister of the Ciskei, said: "People must now realise that we are no longer dealing with students but with terrorists who have no consideration for human life. It has never happened in the history of the Ciskei that school children would go and kill their principal as brutally as Mr Jara was killed. I am convinced these children will kill their own parents".

Students also reportedly continued their boycotts at Seshgo in Lebowa, and in QwaQwa; at 36 schools in KwaZulu and at the Mapetla High School in Soweto. Towards the end of the month the Department of Education and Training warned pupils at Mapetla High School that if they did not return to classes, the school would be closed indefinitely. Approximately 50% of pupils at the school had boycotted classes in protest at the dismissal of a teacher at the school.
The department announced on September 23 that three of Bloemfontein's five secondary schools for Africans were to be closed indefinitely because of the continuing boycott. By the end of September, 77 schools under the control of the department had been closed. Of these, 55 were in the Eastern and Western Cape, 18 in Kimberley and 3 in Bloemfontein. One high school in Soweto had been closed indefinitely. Approximately 58 000 pupils and 1 230 teachers were affected by the department's decision. Mr G Engelbrecht, of the Department of Education and Training, said that the number of pupils involved amounted to 3% of the total African school enrolment, the number of schools to 1% of all departmental schools and the number of teachers to 3% of the total. (Mr Engelbrecht did not include the number of schools closed in the homelands in his figures.) A number of schools in the homelands had also been closed

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indefinitely. The number was not known, as they fell under the education departments of the respective homelands.

At the end of the month police in the Ciskei staged a house-to-house search for boycotting pupils in Mdantsane. According to Brigadier Charles Sebe the search was also designed to discover pupils from other areas. Pupils from urban areas were detained under Proclamation R252, the territory's emergency regulations, until their parents came to fetch them. Brigadier Sebe said that pupils were warned of the dangers of not attending school by the police in the presence of their parents and that those detained would not be charged. Police in the territory also detained people assisting boycotting pupils, among them a lawyer, Mr Hintsa Siwisa, who had represented pupils who had been charged during the boycott. The boycott of classes continued during October. Black educationists warned that the stalemate over the boycotts could lead to widespread unrest. Mr Nick Mogatusi, of the Black Education and Research Project, said that the boycotts had created a situation which was definitely more explosive than the one in 1976.4”

Mr Mogatusi's assessment was supported by Professor Rodney Davenport, head of the history department at Rhodes University, and Mrs Val Viljoen, secretary of the Border region of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

It was reported that senior boycotting pupils in Port Elizabeth had disrupted classes at primary schools. According to the Department of Education and Training classes at all 33 primary schools in Port Elizabeth had been disrupted, affecting approximately 19 000 pupils. Senior pupils allegedly threatened primary school pupils with death if they returned to school the following day. The boycott of classes also spread to primary schools in the Western Cape during the month. The government had closed 80 schools by October 8. Most of these were in the Eastern and Western Cape, but 18 were in Kimberley. As a result of the intimidation of primary school pupils, 32 of the primary schools in Port Elizabeth and seven in Uitenhage were empty. By the end of the month 84 non-primary
schools under the department's control had been closed. Some estimates put the number of children affected by the closures at 80,000.

In mid-October African teachers threatened to resign if they were transferred as a result of the schools at which they taught being closed. Mr R L Peteni, president of the African Teachers' Association of SA, said that they did not wish to be transferred away from their families and homes. Mr Peteni said that his organisation had been told that any transfers of teachers would only be temporary until the situation in the schools returned to 'normal'. However, he stated that there had been no official confirmation of this from the Department of Education and Training.

The deputy chairman of the Port Elizabeth Students' Committee (PESCO) said in mid-October that his organisation believed that the government would re-open schools soon. PESCO believed that when the schools were re-opened they would be staffed by defence force trainees who were qualified teachers.

The government took various measures during the month to end the boycott. Police action continued following the reported disruption of primary school classes in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Police were reported to have detained more than 20 pupils in connection with the alleged intimidation of primary school pupils. By the end of the month 32 pupils had been convicted on charges of intimidation. In mid-October it was reported that a secret meeting involving senior officials of the Departments of Co-operation and Development and Manpower Utilisation, the Port Elizabeth administration board, the local head of the Security Police, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, the divisional commissioner, Brigadier E S J van Rensburg and representatives of the SA Defence Force was held at an army base in Port Elizabeth. No details of what was discussed were released but it was reported to have taken place in the light of the continued boycott of approximately 40 primary schools by pupils.

During the last week of the month, security police in a 'major crackdown', detained an undisclosed number of pupils in Port Elizabeth. Among those detained were the chairman of COSAS, Mr Tango Lamini, and members of PESCO. Two meetings to be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary of the SACC, in an attempt to resolve the boycott in the Eastern Cape were banned. The meetings had been arranged by the Port Elizabeth Black Parents' Committee. Bishop Tutu warned that black resentment would increase unless the government took positive steps to end the boycott. He said that while more money had been spent on the provision of better schools, salaries and buying more books, these did not meet the demands of pupils who wanted fundamental change in the education system.

Brigadier Sebe said at the end of October that 115 children had been detained in the Ciskei in connection with the school boycotts.

In early November the Department of Education and Training announced that primary school children in the Western Cape were not attending school. The department's spokesman said that 6,000 of the 11,000 pupils at lower primary school were not attending school because of intimidation. Principals, teachers and community workers in the area disagreed with the figures given by the
department. They said that attendance at most schools was well below 30% and at some schools there were no pupils. Community spokesmen said that even at schools where pupils were attending classes, no lessons were being taught in accordance with a request by senior pupils that pupils either did not attend school or were not given lessons.46

A departmental spokesman said he doubted if the comments of community spokesmen were correct. He said that teachers and principals would say that the situation was more serious than was actually the case because they feared reprisals from intimidators.

Violence broke out at the beginning of November after streets in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth were blockaded with burning car tyres. Police, who had reportedly expected the outbreak, were patrolling the township and opened fire killing four children and wounding 18. Commenting on the outbreak the local police commander said that the police experienced similar outbreaks every year when people

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celebrated Guy Fawkes day and that most of the participants were school children.4

On November 6 a six-hour night-time curfew was imposed on students at the University of Fort Hare. According to Mr N Holliday, the university's public relations officer, the curfew, which extended between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. would last until the university closure at the end of the term on December 12. Mr Holliday said that the curfew had been imposed to protect students who were writing examinations from intimidation. Approximately 1 200 of the 2 700 students who had registered at the beginning of the year were still attending the university. Mr Holliday was unable to state whether all 1 200 students would write their examinations.

In mid-November Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Minister of Education and Training, said that the department's development programmes had been seriously retarded in certain areas as a result of the unrest in schools. He said that it was the government's aim to provide equal education opportunities for all population groups and that the standard of education laid down by his department was identical to those of other education departments. He explained that "the same core syllabuses were used and black matriculants wrote the examinations of either the Department of National Education or the Joint Matriculation Board."4

Commentators accepted the validity of Dr Hartzenberg's statement. However, they pointed out that while in theory Africans received equal education, in practice they did not. This was so because relatively few African teachers had comparable qualifications to those of their white counterparts, the overcrowding that was prevalent in African schools which meant that teachers were able to devote far less time per child in African schools than in white schools, and facilities, such as science laboratories, which were common in white schools were
relatively rare in Africans' schools. These factors, they said, were among the most important reasons why Africans received an impoverished education relative to that of white children.

Dr Hartzenberg also announced that school health services were being introduced in schools in co-operation with the Department of Health. He said that the programme for the provision of free textbooks was completed and in future the department would concentrate on supplementing and replacing existing stocks. Dr Hartzenberg also announced the introduction of compulsory education in certain areas (see chapter on African School Education).

By mid-November the department had closed 77 secondary schools. This affected approximately 63,000 pupils. Approximately 2,000 matriculation candidates were affected by the boycott and did not write their examinations. This represented roughly 4.65% of the total number of matriculation candidates who had entered for the examination. The department also disbanded school committees in areas affected by the boycott. The department stated that the committees had been disbanded to permit new ones which would have a mandate from parents to negotiate with the department on educational matters, to be elected on November 30.5°

Commenting on the department's action a spokesman for the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) deplored the department's action. PEBCO called on parents not to participate in elections for the new committees. Some chairmen of school committees said they were surprised by the action and that they believed it was regrettable.

Conditions remained unchanged for the remainder of the school term. The future of the boycott of schools and the question of whether the government would re-open schools in the affected areas remained unclear. The introduction of compulsory education for Africans in certain areas of the country (see chapter on African School Education) prompted speculation that the government would use this as a means to reward pupils and parents who had not participated extensively in the boycotts. It was also pointed out that by introducing compulsory education, the government had shifted the control of the school population onto parents as non-attendance at school, in an area in which education had been declared compulsory, was a criminal offence. It was suggested that in this way the government had succeeded in enlisting the assistance of parents to prevent future school boycotts.1 Mr Gerhard Englebrecht,

spokesman for the Department of Education and Training, denied that this was the reason for the introduction of compulsory education. He said that the government was fulfilling an undertaking which it had given some time ago.

References


Ibid para 3.7
Ibid para 3.7.2
Ibid para 3.8.1 and 3.8.2
Ibid para 3.9.1 et seq
Ibid para 16.3
Race Relations News July 1980
See section on School Fees and School Unitoims
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Western Cape, RRCW 30/80.
Hansard 9 Q cols 594 5 12 Hansard 10 Q cols 657 9
Hansard 12 Q col 740
4 Star June 21
Cape Times July 17
Natal Mercury June 13
17 PostJune 19 and 27, July 1
cape Times july 17
Ibid
o Friend July 11
2 Dail Dispatch July 18
2 Evening Post July 18
2 Daily Dispatch July 12
Muslim News July 18 15 Citizen July 22 21 Ibid
27 Evening Post July 8 2' Natal Mercury July 11
Star july 26 and 28
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StarJuly 21
Sunday Post August 17 Post August 19 Rand Daily Mail August 22 Sunday Post August 24 Evening Post September 1 Evening Post, Eastern Province Herald
September 4 Burger September 9 Evening Post September 10 Eastern Province Herald September 10 Beeld September 11 Cape Times September 10 and 11
Citizen September 16 Star October 2 Post October 15 Rand Daily Mail November 6 Ibid
Rand Daily Mail November 7 Rand Daily Mail November 11 Rand Daily Mail November 14 Rand Daily Mail November 19 Star November 20

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
Introduction
The need for more skilled workers was emphasised on a number of occasions during the year. According to Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American, although 64% of all pupils receiving primary and secondary education were black, only 9% received technical training at a secondary level and 1.7% at a
tertiary level.' Professor Jan Sadie of the University of Stellenbosch estimated that there would be a shortage of 7 000 000 skilled workers by the end of 1981.2 (See section on Manpower in chapter on Employment.)

In March the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr S P Botha, appealed to employers to train more blacks for skilled occupations.3 Mr Botha said that it was not the state's responsibility to train workers as the state saw to the needs of schools, universities and technikons. The minister said that training was desperately needed because in the next 20 years 8 000 000 people would enter the labour market.

Earlier Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Minister of Education and Training, said that he was satisfied with the amount allocated to African technical training.4 Dr Hartzenberg said that the government planned to erect 12 new technical institutes for Africans in the 'white' areas of the country. He expected that this would be done within the next four to six years. There were at present two such institutes for Africans in the 'white' areas.

Difficulties relating to employers obtaining government approval for training schemes were highlighted during the year. Mr Meyer Kahn, managing director of OK Bazaars, said that employers were only granted tax concessions for training employees in respect of formalised training schemes and not 'on-the-job' schemes which accounted for most training.' According to Lynn Ward, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand's Business School, only six of the 96 schemes proposed between October 1979 and April 1980 had been granted approval under the In-Service Training Act No 95 of 1979.

In January government policy on the admission of students of other races to technikons reserved for whites was spelt out. The Director of the Witwatersrand Technikon, Mr C A J Borman, issued a statement which said that applicants of other race groups could be considered for admission to the technikon after they had obtained permission to attend it from the education department for the applicant's racial group. Having obtained this permission, the application was referred for the approval of the Department of National Education. If the department approved, it was then referred to the technikon's council for final approval.6 Commenting on the government's policy, Dr Alex Boraine, PFP MP for Pinelands, said it was "tortuous and racist" and should be scrapped. Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Minister of Education and Training, said that the conditions outlined in Mr Borman's statement applied to all higher education institutions.

Part II of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Labour Legislation (the Wiehahn Commission), and White Paper, was tabled in parliament during the year, containing a series of recommendations concerning artisan training. For details see section on Wiehahn Commission in the chapter on Trade Unions and Labour Relations.

African Technical Education
In 1979 the number of pupils enrolled in trade training courses in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concreting, bricklaying and plastering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tailoring Leatherwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plumbing, drainlaying and sheetmetalwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motorbody repairmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upholstery and motor trimming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Painting and glazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welding and metalwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motor mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electricians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watchmakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fitters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boilermakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination Results

The results of examinations in 1978 in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number of Candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concreting, bricklaying and plastering</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring Leatherwork</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing, drainlaying and sheetmetalwork</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorbody repairmen</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Passed</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>65.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>76.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>78.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66,20</td>
<td>69.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Course
Motor mechanics Upholstery and motor trimming Welding and metalwork
Carpentry, joinery and
Number of Candidates
203
58 171
Number
Passed
198
37 148
Passed 97,54 63,79 86,55
Cabinetmaking 251 213 84,86
Total 1 259 988 78,97
Enrolment for vocational training courses available for girls in the Republic
(excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) in 1979 was as follows:
Course
Dressmaking
Year of Study
2nd
36
Total
81
523
African Technical Education
Dressmaking (4 short courses) 142 142
Total 187 36 223
Examination Results
Results of the 1978 examinations (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) were as follows:
Number of Number %
Course Candidates Passed Passed
Assistants in pre-school institutions 38 37 97,37
Home management 6 6 100,00
Dressmaking (4 short courses) 144 122 84,72
Total 188 165 94,00
Technical and Commercial Secondary Courses
The number of schools offering technical courses and the enrolment in each
standard in 1979 was extracted from the Annual Report of the Department of
Education and Training (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):
Technical Courses: Schools Offering and Enrolment by Subject Number of
Schools Offering Junior Senior Subject
Building construction Electricians Woodworking theory Motor mechanics
Welding and metalwork Technical drawing Electrotechnics Bricklaying and
plastering Plumbing and sheetmetalwork Basic course
Level Level 6
African Technical Education

The departmental report stated that there was a growing interest among African pupils in technical education. It attributed this to the technical orientation programmes which were offered at departmental technical centres. During 1979 five additional workshops were erected at the Jabulani Technical High School in Soweto and the Buchule Technical High School began functioning in January 1979. The report stated that the department expected the technical high school at Lebowakgomo to start functioning in 1980.

Pupils are taught the two official languages, their mother tongue, mathematics, physical science and technical drawing as compulsory subjects. In addition they choose an appropriate technical subject which enables them to follow either electrical or electrotechnical engineering, mechanical engineering or civil engineering at a university or technikon.

Technical Orientation Subjects

The number of schools offering technical orientation subjects and the numbers of pupils enrolled in each standard in 1979 in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) was extracted from the department's annual report. (These courses were offered at departmental training centres which provided practical training in technical subjects to pupils from surrounding schools which did not have facilities for such training.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Subject</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Standard</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

524
Electronics Electricians work Woodwork and plasticwork Metalwork Bricklaying Welding Technical drawing

Schools Offering junior Senior Level Level 6
1 - 80
11 - 699
11 - 1198
10 - 1278
11 - 756
8 - 270
1 - 80

Enrolment by Standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>School Offering</th>
<th>Enrolment by Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural science</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>121 119 518 94 968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1 1594 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home economics</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5 1958 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housecraft</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>29 25 830 13 892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needlework and clothing</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>8 6019 4487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2 3873 2907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of schools offering practical subjects and the number of pupils enrolled in each standard in 1979 in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) was as follows:

Practical Subjects: Schools Offering and Enrolment by Standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>School Offering</th>
<th>Enrolment by Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural science</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>121 119 518 94 968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1 1594 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home economics</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5 1958 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8 6019 4487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2 3873 2907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enrolment by Standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Junior</th>
<th>Senior</th>
<th>Level 6</th>
<th>Level 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>837</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of schools offering practical subjects and the number of pupils enrolled in each standard in 1979 in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) was as follows:

Practical Subjects: Schools Offering and Enrolment by Standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>School Offering</th>
<th>Enrolment by Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural science</td>
<td>1516</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>8 6019 4487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2 3873 2907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enrolment by Standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Junior</th>
<th>Senior</th>
<th>Level 6</th>
<th>Level 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>202 1 387 8 011 3 011 1 979</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>073</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>069 171</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 122 290 903</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2 168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 5 328</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information about commercial secondary courses was extracted from the
departmental report and excludes statistics for the Transkei and Bophuthatswana:
Course Accountancy Business economics Commercial arithmetic Economics Typing
Schools Offering Junior Senior
211 53
70 44
-- 4
47 36 39 17
Enrolment by standard
6 7 8 9
12228 15 263 8549 2 184
- - 5 597 5 282
- - 318
- - 2745 2 656
2 072 1 302 442
Advanced Technical Training
Enrolment in 1979 for advanced technical training was as follows:
Course National diploma in public health Community health nursing science Dental therapy Medical laboratory technology: Intermediate certificate Water purification operators Engineering technicians Survey technicians Geology technicians Telecommunication technicians Construction assistants Trade inspectors
Year of Study
1st 2nd 3rd 4th Total
33 28 27 - 88
58 - - - 58
17 - - - 17
35 - - - 35
54 - - - 54
20 23 13 - 56
21 11 9 7 48
8 5 4 - 17
- 16 18 - 34
6 5 6 - 17
1 2 - - 3
Total 253 90 77 7 427
In 1979 there were two institutions for the advanced technical education of Africans. In July it was announced that the Mangosuthu Technikon in KwaZulu would open in 1981.
Examination Results
The results of the examinations written in 1978 were extracted from the departmental report:

Course
Public Health Physiotherapy Medical laboratory technology: Intermediate diploma Medical laboratory technology: National diploma Radiography Welfare officers Geology technicians Engineering technicians Telecommunication technicians Water purification operators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number of Candidates</th>
<th>Number of Passed</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance workers for water purification plants</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>79.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Inspectors of weights and measures</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Analytical chemistry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Orthopaedic orthotics and prosthetics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare at institutions and homes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat examiners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>38.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

526 Number of Number %

Course Candidates Passed Passed
Maintenance workers for water purification plants 24 19 79.17
African Inspectors of weights and measures 3 2 66.66
Technical Analytical chemistry 5 2 40.00
Education Orthopaedic orthotics and prosthetics 6 6 100.00
Childcare at institutions and homes 3 1 33.33
Meat examiners 1 1 100.00
Total 455 173 38.02

Departmental Technical Centres

During 1979 the department began to erect technical centres in Bloemfontein, Guguletu (Cape Town), Thabong (Welkom), Dobsonville (Soweto) and Kwa Thema (Springs). These centres had been operating from temporary premises since 1978. Additional workshops and classrooms were erected or were nearing completion at Imbali (Pietermaritzburg), Lamontville (Durban), New Brighton (Port Elizabeth), Mamelodi (Pretoria), Molapo and Orlando (Soweto) and Katehong (Germiston).

The departmental report stated that at the 14 existing centres the total average attendance of pupils was 17 118 per week. The Department of Public Works made provision in the 1980-81 financial year for the erection of technical centres at Kagiso (Krugersdorp), Diepkloof (Soweto), Daveyton (Benoni), Klerksdorp, Kimberley, Kroonstad and Witbank. In addition the administration of QwaQwa
decided to establish a technical centre at Witsieshoek and classes commenced during the year at the technical centre at Mdantsane, Ciskei.

Trade Testing
The department continued to be responsible in 1979 for conducting trade tests for the building worker's certificate for Africans as well as for full artisan status. The report stated that testing was maintained at the same high standard as that expected of tradesmen of other race groups. Details of the results of trade tests in 1978 were extracted from the report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tested for</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Tested</th>
<th>Successful</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full Artisan Status</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>31,81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building worker's certificate for Africans</td>
<td>12 819</td>
<td>8 411</td>
<td>65,61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crash courses</td>
<td>1 586</td>
<td>1 379</td>
<td>86,95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15 147</td>
<td>10 026</td>
<td>66,19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Industrial Training
Public in-service training courses
The eight public centres continued to provide job-directed courses for commerce, industry and agriculture during 1979. The number of trainees attending these courses increased from 7 014 in 1978 to 8 570 in 1979 of whom 811 received training at satellite centres. The departmental report stated that the support of commerce, industry and agriculture for the centres had improved and because of the resultant fuller utilisation of the facilities available African at the centres, extensions were being planned at many of them. Technical

During 1979, 36 syllabii and schemes of work which had been submitted for the approval of the Co-ordinating Council for the In- Education service Training of Black Employees, were recommended for approval by the Council's information bank committee.

Private in-service training centres and schemes
The two private centres continued to operate. The Sabie Training Centre of the SA Forestry Council expanded its activities to include a branch in Natal which served the Cape Province on a mobile basis. A total of 666 African employees received training in various forestry, sawmilling and general courses during 1979. The Luipaardsvlei Driver Training Centre of the Industrial Council of the Motor Transport Undertaking (Goods) trained 490 African employees in various categories of driving. In addition 46 driver instructors were trained.

Private in-service industrial training schemes continued to play a role in the training of African employees. During 1979 a number of applications for the recognition of private in-service training schemes, the majority of which were for the approval of additional courses at recognised schemes, were received by the department. During the year an additional 23 schemes were recognised which brought the total number of recognised schemes to 349.
The departmental report noted that companies continued to make better use of the training facilities offered at the public inservice training centres, particularly as far as basic courses of a general nature were concerned. The department, where necessary, advised companies to make use of existing courses at public inservice training centres instead of duplicating efforts and facilities.

Ad hoc border industrial schemes
During 1979 the department paid out R200 000 to subsidise the salaries of full time instructors at the 11 recognised ad hoc border industry training schemes. The departmental report stated that certain companies, having overcome their initial problems, on completion of the scheme had either withdrawn from it or opted for recognition as private in-service training schemes.

Ad hoc state industrial schools
Six such schools had been established in the homelands. The schools offer practical courses of 13 weeks duration in subjects such as bricklaying, plastering, carpentry and woodwork machining, plumbing and sheetmetalwork, welding and motor repair work. Provision is made at each school for 10 candidates per course per trimester, three of which are offered per year.

The six schools are situated at Kweltisong (Witsieshoek, QwaQwa), Ezakheni (Ladysmith, KwaZulu), Ntuza (Durban, Kwa-

528
Indian Technical Education
Zulu), Isithebe (Mandini, KwaZulu), Enseleni (Richards Bay, KwaZulu), Mveliso (Mdantsane, Ciskei). The Mdantsane Textile School, near East London, provided training for operators in the textile industry, offering courses in weaving, spinning, doffing and dressmaking.

The number of Africans who received training at each of the various schemes in 1978 and the total number trained between 1970 and 1978 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme Type</th>
<th>Trained During 1978</th>
<th>Total Number Trained 1970-78</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public in-service industrial training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private industrial training centres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained During 1978</td>
<td>1 582 2 636</td>
<td>8 385 11 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 145</td>
<td>2 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70 14</td>
<td>70 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 930</td>
<td>12 930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72 000</td>
<td>72 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>202 591</td>
<td>202 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84 377</td>
<td>237 791</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Training for Indians
Secondary technical education
The department does not operate exclusively technical secondary schools. Technical secondary education for Indians is provided by the department through four schools which offer a technical direction of study.11 Three schools in Natal and one in the Transvaal offer a technical direction of study for Indians.

Enrolment by standard in the technical study direction in 1980 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standards</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Clairwood Secondary M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg Secondary M L Sultan Stanger Secondary M H Joosub Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 7 9 10</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>233 363 423 388 297 1 804</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination results

Results of the ordinary and practical junior and senior certificate examinations conducted at schools which offered a technical direction in education were as follows:

**Junior Certificate (ordinary)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number of Candidates</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clairwood Secondary</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>219 95,22 93,46 96,69 85,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M L Sultan Stanger Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M H Joosub Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>549 517</td>
<td>94,17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indian Technical Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number of Candidates</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clairwood Secondary</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>116 84,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg Secondary</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>56 83,58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M L Sultan Stanger Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M H Joosub Secondary</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>32 71,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>204 81,93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Senior Certificate
School
Clairwood Secondary M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg Secondary
M L Sultan Stanger Secondary
School
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Matriculation Leaving Candidates Exemption Certificate</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18,80</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>58,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22,14</td>
<td>21,99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>67,18</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>61,78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Passes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>77,78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>89,31</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>83,77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M H Joosub Secondary</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>19,03</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Senior Certificate (practical)
School
Clairwood Secondary M L Sultan Pietermaritzburg Secondary
M L Sultan Stanger Secondary M H Joosub Secondary
Number of Candidates
108
Number Passed
69
Passed
63,89
86,84 | 79,38 | 68,75 |
Total | 259 | 190 | 73,36 |
The results of the exclusively technical courses were not available separately.

Indian Technical Education
M L Sultan Technikon
Training for Indians at a tertiary level continued to be provided by the M L Sultan Technikon in Durban. The Department of Indian Affairs provided subsidies of the following amounts in the relevant financial years:12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Year</th>
<th>Subsidy</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>2,659,912,41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Enrolment at the Technikon during 1979 was as follows:12
Enrolment by Division

L- 0 C-4tr
riu ~ f
Total enrolment was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Time</th>
<th>Part Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian Technical Education</td>
<td>2 104</td>
<td>5 990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical Education Examination Results and Diplomas and Certificates Awarded

The results of examinations written in 1979 and the number of diplomas and certificates awarded were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Wrote</th>
<th>Number Passed</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Certificates and Diplomas Awarded (1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Time</th>
<th>Part Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Commerce</td>
<td>9 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Cost Accounting</td>
<td>4 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Preliminary Certificate in Bus Ed</td>
<td>18 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Secretarial Certificate (General)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Public Administration</td>
<td>- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Art and Design/Clothing Design</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Art and Design/Textile Design</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Technical Certificate in Hairdressing (NTC I)</td>
<td>16 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Technical Certificate in Hairdressing (NTC II)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Technical Certificate in Hairdressing (NTC III)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmakers Certificates</td>
<td>- 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Dressmakers Certificates</td>
<td>- 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
National Diploma in Hotel Management 8
National Certificate in Hotel Reception 8
Tertiary Courses in Technology

Examination Results (1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% Wrote</th>
<th>Passed</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TI 881</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 428</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3 389</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4 154</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other 640</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 2 492</td>
<td>1 695</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

White technical education 533

According to the Annual Report of the Department of National Education, from the 1978-79 financial year the state's subsidisation of technikons was brought into line with that of universities. The White subsidy is calculated on a new cost basis dependent on the number Technical of students enrolled at the technikon.

Education

During 1979 all technikons were brought into line with regard to the minimum period of time required for the award of diplomas and certificates.13 The periods set down for diplomas and certificates was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Higher Diploma</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Technology</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Certificate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Higher Certificate</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The departmental report stated that an independent correspondence technikon would be established on April 1, 1980. It was formed out of the Department of External Studies at the Witwatersrand Technikon and the correspondence course for public servants offered by the Pretoria Technikon. In 1979 there were six technikons, 28 technical colleges and 36 technical institutes for whites. In addition the Department of National Education operated the Westlake Trade Training Centre for Adults. This represented an increase of one technikon, six technical colleges and one technical institute for whites over the number in existence in 1978.

The dispute over the decision of the Cape Technikon to occupy the site proposed for it in District Six continued during the year. Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Community Development said that the proposed site, of the new technikon was approximately 17 ha in extent. There were 220 houses on the site, housing 384 families which would have to be demolished to make way for the technikon.14 (For further details see chapter on Group Areas and Housing.)

The debate on the relative merits of university and technikon training continued during the year. Professor G R Bozzoli, former vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, said that the technician was the person most in demand as
his training was less costly and took less time."5 Dr Theo Shippey, director of the Cape Technikon, expressed the view that between 10% and 15% of students entering universities would probably be better off in technikons.16 Details of 1978 enrolments at institutions for technical and vocational training were extracted from the latest report of the Department of National Education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Technical Education Institution</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technikons</td>
<td>Technical Colleges</td>
<td>Technical Institutes</td>
<td>Training College for Nursery School Teachers Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Time</td>
<td>Part Time</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 773</td>
<td>19 381</td>
<td>38 154</td>
<td>14467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 156</td>
<td>35 857</td>
<td>74 013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers of directors, deputy-directors, heads of departments and other teaching staff at these institutions in 1978 were as follows:17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Personnel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technikons</td>
<td>Technical Colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directors, Deputy-directors and Heads of Departments</td>
<td>75 61 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 451 900 626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 526 961 648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training College</td>
<td>1 28 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>159 3 005 3 164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of adults who enrolled for, completed or left each course uncompleted at the Trade Training Centre for Adults at Westlake during the period May 1978 to April 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number Enrolled</th>
<th>Number left</th>
<th>Number Completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plating, boilermaking</td>
<td>Electrician Plumbing Motor/diesel mechanic Panelbeating Fitting and turning Carpentry</td>
<td>15 40 12 37 11 37</td>
<td>1 4 3 2 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The centre had a total teaching staff of 15. Examination Results
Examination results for the period 1979 were as follows:
Course
Electrical engineering Telecommunication Civil engineering and building Mining
Physical sciences Biological sciences Agriculture Supplementary health services
October 1978 to November
Diplomas Certificates
  7 49 418
  24 2
  62 1
  150
  30
  216
  312 235

Course
Engineering Other Commerce, management and administration Art
Teacher training NTC I NTC II NTC III
Diplomas
  569
  34
  400 193
Certificates
  725
  92
  2 263
- 3 843
- 4 131
- 3 349
535
Coloured Technical Education
Technical training for coloured persons
According to the Secretary for Coloured Affairs there were six technical secondary schools for coloured people in 1980. Enrolment as at March 31 was as follows:1"
Standard
Number
Total
The following number of students passed technical the secondary level in 1979:
Junior Certificate Senior Certificate
courses at
  1 043 602
The Secretary for Coloured Affairs stated that there were no vocational schools under the control of the department.

Technical Colleges

Five technical colleges continued to provide training up to NTC III level for apprentices. In addition some tertiary training was given at the colleges.

Enrolments at each college as at March were as follows:

Athlone Technical College
L C Johnson Technical College
Highveld Technical College
RC Elliot Technical College
Bethelsdorp Technical College
Total
1 502

Results of the NTC I, NTC II and NTC III examinations in 1979 and April 1980 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examination</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>April 1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NTC I</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTC II</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured NTC III</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical Education

Advanced technical education

Technical training at a tertiary level was provided at the Peninsula Technikon. In 1980 enrolments totalled 1 213.

The Minister of Coloured Relations supplied information about students who passed courses offered at the technikon at the end of 1979:19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Diploma/Certificate Awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Public Health</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Secretarial Diploma in Commerce</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Teachers' Diploma (Workshop)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in Public Administration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diploma in State Accounts and Finance</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Certificate in Housing Management</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Certificate for Builders' Foremen</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Certificate for Technicians</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Higher Certificate for Technicians</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References

Financial Mail July 18
2 Ibid

Rand Daily Mail March 31
1 Ibid

Sunday Times April 6

Rand Daily Mail January 31


8 Recent statistics concerning the Transkei and Bophuthatswana were unavailable at the time of going to press.

Natal Mercury July 23
10 Department of Education and Training, op cit Information supplied by the Director of Indian Education, August 19
4 Hansard 8 Q col 513
s Financial MailJuly 18
6 Financial MailJuly 19
17 Department of National Education, op cit 18 Information supplied by Secretary for Coloured Affairs September 17 "9 Hansard 4 Q col 267

UNIVERSITIES EXPENDITURE
Total expenditure by the state in respect of university training in 1978-79 was:
University
Unisa White African Coloured Indian Total
ROOO
21 523 178 855 29 988 6 385 8 147 244 898
Per capita expenditure
Per capita expenditure by the state on students at the various universities for 1979 was supplied by the ministers concerned:1
Unisa (correspondence) Universities for Africans
Western Cape Durban-Westville Ile Universities for Whites
Fort Hare The North (Turfloop) Zululand (Ngoye) Medunsa
Cape Town Natal
OFS
Port Elizabeth Potchefstroom Pretoria Rand Afrikaans Rhodes
Stellenbosch Witwatersrand
R
520
2 030 2 548 2 958 Not Calculated
1 985 Not Available 2 465 2 748 2 606 4 735 2 440 2 179 4 020 2 937 2 584 2
274
Capital expenditure
Capital expenditure on universities for the different race groups during the 1978-79 financial year was as follows:2
537
538
Universities: Students
Universities for Africans University of the Western Cape University of Durban-Westville Universities for Whites
R
12 380 157 887 553 517 428 Not Available
Staff
The number of lecturers at universities in 1980 was as follows:3
Staff complement
Salary scales for university staff were increased in April along with those of the rest of the public service. Although the increases were welcomed, academics criticised the increases for not being large enough. Professor D J J Botha, head of the economics department at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that even after the April increases academics’ salaries were well below their 1970 salaries in real terms.4 He called for the determination of university salaries to be divorced from the Public Service Commission and placed in the hands of a university committee empowered to negotiate directly with the Ministers of Education and Finance.

Students

Enrolment figures for 1980 were supplied by universities:

the registrars of the
University Cape Town Durban-Westville Fort Hare Medunsa Natal The North OFS
Port Elizabeth Potchefstroom Pretoria RAU
Rhodes
Stellenbosch
Transkei Unisa Western Cape Witwatersrand

White
9 334
76 26
7 547
28
8 320 2 938 6 687 16658 4 795 2 701 11 858
37 404
20
11 897

Coloured
846
36 4
2

NOT AVAILABLE
179
2 2
39
3
2 2
53 81

NOT AVAILABLE
10 687 3 963
169
Indian
230 756
656
6 2
4
82
4
5 144
152
643
Chinese
25 13 27
35
1
Zululand 1 2 -
Totals 120290 16068 11 679 392
African Total
71 10506
7 4 875
2 698 2 726
322
376 8 771
2 722 2 752
10 8 332
28 3 038
6 6 698
- 16 660
3 4 804
44 2 915
7 11 954 (3 classified 'other')
908
2 822 56 174
18 4 153
243 13 126
1 509 11 512
10564 160226

(Totals will differ because the breakdown by race was not available in respect of two institutions and three students were classified as 'other'.)
Approximately 200 students were registered at the University of Bophuthatswana.
(Statistics for the University of the Western Cape refer to figures as at April 1.)
The relevant ministers supplied information relating to the dropout and failure rate among first year students at the various universities in the country in 1979:5
University
Cape Town Durban-Westville Fort Hare Medunsa Natal
The North OFS
Port Elizabeth Potchefstroom Pretoria RAU
Rhodes
Stellenbosch Western Cape Witwatersrand Zululand

% drop out
1.2
11.8
3.1
21.7
7.3
15.2 13.5
5.4 6.2 7.5
21.6
2.0 4.0 6.2 5.5
10.6
539

Universities:
Student Organisations
% failed all students
24.8 14.5 19.1
0
20.0
7.4 2.3
12.4 10.8 12.0
1.3 8.2 3.0
26.9 17.4 34.0

Comprehensive information about degrees awarded by universities for whites was not available. The minister gave information regarding the degrees and diplomas awarded at the Universities of Fort Hare, The North, Zululand and Medunsa in 1979:

University
Fort Hare Medunsa The North Zululand

Degrees
313
248 215

Diplomas
46

Total 776 303
Student organisations

All three major student organisations continued to exist during the year. The Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) continued to represent the interests of black students and co-operated closely with black organisations such as the Writers' Association of SA. Leading figures in AZASO were detained by the security police during the year. The Congress of SA Students (COSAS), formed last year to represent the interests of pre-university students also continued its activities during the year.
The two major white student unions, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the Afrikaanse Studentebond

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Universities: Student Organisations
(ASB), continued to represent the majority of English and Afrikaans speaking students. In July the ASB divided and a group of 18 verligtes formed a new organisation, the Political Student Organisation (POLSTU).

Once more student publications were banned although few of the banned publications were student newspapers. Most were either special publications issued by NUSAS or the various universities. A new national student newspaper, SASPU National, was issued for the first time during the year. The paper replaced National Student which was banned in perpetuity last year.

A number of students were detained during the year as was NUSAS president, Mr Andrew Boraine, son of the PFP MP for Pinelands, Dr Alex Boraine.7

NUSAS
During the year NUSAS issued a number of publications, some of which were banned. The revelation that a number of government agents, among them Captain Craig Williamson, had infiltrated NUSAS during the 1960's resurrected the period when the now banned SA Students' Organisation had been formed.

Commenting on the revelations Mr Gibson Thula, Inkatha publicity secretary, said that blacks had suspected that the security police had infiltrated NUSAS and this suspicion had formed part of the reason for blacks forming their own organisations.'

In February, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Police, attacked NUSAS. Speaking in the no confidence debate in parliament Mr le Grange said that all the last four NUSAS presidents - Mr Karel Tip, Mr Michael Stent, Mr Nicholas Haysom and Mr Auret van Heerden - had been either members of the ANC or had had links with it.9 Mr le Grange also alleged that some of the eight NUSAS officials banned in 1973 had also had links with the ANC. The four past presidents rejected the charges as absurd and Mr Tip pointed out that he had been acquitted of similar charges immediately following his period of office as NUSAS president.

In March Mr Andrew Boraine, the current president, said that students had both a right and a duty to be critical of their society. However it was not the prerogative of students alone to be critical. It was the responsibility and duty of all SA citizens to criticise both their society and themselves in order to bring about a democratic SA.

The ban on public gatherings imposed on June 14 forced the organisers to make changes in the theme of the NUSAS winter conference and close it to the public. NUSAS president, Andrew Boraine, was detained by security police in June. At the end of June he was held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. In August following his release he called for the immediate release of all other detainees as "detentions could only lead to further confrontation and conflict". He said detention had not changed his views and he did not think that detention should halt the type of work in which NUSAS was involved.
In July the interim NUSAS president, Mr Norman Maniom, said that the organisation would not attend the Congress of the ASB unless it condemned the detention of Mr Boraine and others.

ASB

Early in the year there were reports that right-wing members of the student body were dissatisfied with the verligte trend apparent in the organisation particularly during the presidency of Mr Theuhs Eloff in the previous year. At its annual congress in July at the University of Potchefstroom an exclusively right-wing executive was elected for the forthcoming year. Verligte student leaders alleged there had been a Pretoria-led right-wing 'coup'.

The congress adopted resolutions calling for coloured and Indian participation and rejecting African seats in the proposed President's Council; the implementation of the Prime Minister's rationalisation and 12-point plan and the upholding of homogeneity and differentiation. Motions calling for the inclusion of a bill of rights in the country's new constitution and supporting the principle of black school boycotts were defeated. When the congress was addressed by Inkatha Youth Brigade leader, Mr Musa Mzike, the first occasion that Inkatha had been invited to attend an ASB congress, a walkout was staged by extreme right wingers. Mr Mzike said that Inkatha's presence at the congress had been a historic occasion and told delegates that blacks were no longer prepared to accept the paternalistic hand-outs of the white government. The ASB hoped for continuing dialogue with Inkatha.

The ASB's move to the right alienated verligte delegates from Potchefstroom University, the University of the OFS and the Rand Afrikaans University. Following the election of the new executive a number of delegates left the ASB congress and a Committee of 18 was formed to organise a new student body, the Political Student Organisation (POLSTU).

The new ASB president, Mr Nelus Niemandt, said that the division was unfortunate because the ASB could cater for all shades of political opinion from the far right to the far left. He said that there was an obvious dichotomy in the ASB but that it was important to have it because of the political debate it generated. Commenting on the course the congress had taken Mr Theuns Eloff, former president of the ASB, said that it was an under-statement to describe the congress as nationalist - "it is more right wing than that". Mr Eloff said that his election as president of the ASB had been a fluke. He said he had been the fourth or fifth person asked to accept the post and that he had been elected for his administrative ability, not his political views. "

POLSTU

In July a new student body was formed following the division in the ASB ranks. Prominent among the leaders of the breakaway were Mr Theuns Eloff, Mr Jan Louis du Plooy, chairman of Potchefstroom University's SRC, Mr Leon de Beer, a law student at the University of the OFS, Mr Josef Kruger of Potchefstroom University, Mr Wynand

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Universities:
Student Organisations

542

Universities: Student Organisations

Brytenbach of the University of the OFS, Mr Albie de Swardt, immediate past vice-president of the ASB, and two members of the Rand Afrikaans University's SRC."

The new organisation acknowledged the immediate right of all people in SA, either born here, naturalised or those who had accepted permanent residence, to a common SA citizenship, equal economic and social opportunities, an equal political decisionmaking right and free association".

To achieve these aims the organisation rejected violence and advocated peaceful and speedy change through negotiation. The organisation's sole qualification for membership was announced as Christianity and a loyalty to SA and it was specifically stated that it was non-racial.

The split and the formation of POLSTU was lauded by Die Transvaler. Commenting, the paper said that it seemed to be "exactly what students needed"14 and suggested that POLSTU might generate more political energy than the whole ASB congress.

The new organisation soon faced problems. Although Mr Eloff and Mr du Plooy were from Potchefstroom University students there rejected the organisation at a mass meeting in August. An attempt to gain the adoption of a motion expressing support for POLSTU by the Rand Afrikaans University's SRC also failed." The motion's proposers withdrew it after it had been debated for some time. POLSTU organisers hoped to gain support for the organisation from the University of the OFS, Potchefstroom University, the Rand Afrikaans University and Stellenbosch University.

In August a number of student leaders at Stellenbosch University announced their support for POLSTU. At the beginning of September POLSTU held a congress attended by students of all races, and by English-speaking student representatives (see section on Individual Universities).

AZASO

AZASO held its first public meetings during the year. [he organisation's president, Mr Tom Nkoane, called upon students to identify themselves with the overall struggle for liberation in SA. He said that students could do this in many ways, one of which was to join hands with their parents in fighting increases in bus fares or rents. He criticised the present education system and said students should not disregard "the fact that the present education system fed to them was nothing other than slave education".1"

In March the branch at Turfloop (University of the North) rejected the presence of white students at universities for blacks. They said that this gave the impression that the education system had been modified when in fact it had not. The organisation called for the desegregation of education from primary level. Stating that they were not against whites as individuals, the organisation said that they had been forced to take their stand because of the abnormal circumstances in SA.
The organisation condemned the expulsion of students from black universities. Their statement claimed that it was a right not a privilege for students to attend a university. 17

In May the organisation condemned the banning of Mr Curtis Nkondo, suspended president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation. They said that at a time when there was a "nationwide call for the release of Nelson Mandela"8 and other political leaders, the return of exiles and the banished, and the unbanning of the banned", the SA 'regime' went against the current of this demand by banning Mr Nkondo.

The organisation co-operated closely with the Congress of SA Students (COSAS), the body formed last year to represent the interests of pre-tertiary level students. Meetings were often held jointly with COSAS to encourage a joint approach to the various issues.

EVENTS AT INDIVIDUAL UNIVERSITIES

African Universities

The boycotts of lectures, closure of universities and disturbances at the various universities for Africans are dealt with in the section on school and university boycotts. Such other events as occurred at individual universities for Africans during the year are outlined in this section.

Fort Hare

In March reports that students were forced to sleep in the common room because of overcrowding were denied by the university's dean of students, Mr H Nobe. Mr Nobe said that although the university's male hostels were full there was adequate accommodation for all male students and there were still vacancies in the female hostels. Mr Nobe said that the position would improve markedly in April when the new mens' hostel would be completed.

Student attitudes towards education at Fort Hare were revealed in a doctoral thesis by Dr Alan Penny, senior lecturer in the sociology of education at Rhodes University. Dr Penny found that students were ambivalent towards the university. He said that while they recognised that attendance gave them an opportunity to improve their status and qualifications thereby increasing their chances of economic reward, students also believed that the university was an instrument of political and ideological control since they were afraid to speak their minds, and believed that they were at Fort Hare because it was the only university they were allowed to attend."

Turfloop

In January it was announced that white post-graduate students would be admitted to the university under certain conditions.

The university celebrated its 21st anniversary during the year. The celebrations were marred by student dissatisfaction at the university authorities' refusal to re-admit five students for reasons other than academic ones. Students claimed that Messrs Tom Nkoana,
African Universities

Ngwako Ramathlodi, Iggy Mthebule, Oupa Ramachela and Benny Masehela were being victimised because of their involvement in student politics. Mr Nkoana was the president of AZASO and the four others were active members of the Black University Students' Organisation. Last year Mr Ramathlodi was successful in a supreme court action which reversed his expulsion by the university.

Students demonstrated against the decision, demanded the resignation of the rector, Professor William Kgware and the dean of students, Professor P C Mokgokong and proposed a boycott of classes which did not materialise.

The official opening of the university's new sports complex in May, the start of the anniversary celebrations, was marred by stone throwing leading to the abrupt cancellation of the remainder of the programme. Police were called and dispersed students. Following the disruption of the ceremony, which students had threatened to boycott, students returned to lectures. Most students stayed away from the university's graduation ceremony in May which was held in an open air stadium and guarded by police. Students reportedly stood outside the fence surrounding the stadium and shouted insults at those attending.

In June the university's rector, Professor William Kgware, resigned because of ill health. Professor Kgware's resignation triggered off a dispute over his successor. The Black Academic Staff Association demanded that the new rector to be appointed should once again be a black person and sent a telegram to the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, to that effect. African academics at the university threatened to resign en masse if a black rector was not appointed. Replying to the telegram Dr Hartzenberg said that he had noted and appreciated the point of view expressed in the telegram. He pointed out that it was the responsibility of the university's council and senate to appoint a new rector.

Later in the month it was announced that Professor Pothinus Mokgokong had been appointed the new rector of Turfloop, subject to the approval of Dr Hartzenberg. Professor Mokgokong was appointed after Professor J C Steenkamp, the university's Registrar (Academic) and Professor P W du Plessis, Dean of the Faculty of Law, withdrew their candidature before the council meeting. Professor Mokgokong's appointment was welcomed. Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of 10, expressed the hope that Professor Mokgokong would be seen to be in control of the university and not a figurehead.

Students at Turfloop called on Professor Mokgokong to permit the establishment of a Students' Representative Council. They said that an SRC would improve relations between students and the university's administration.

In July it was announced that supplementary examinations would not be held at the university because of the disruption of classes due to the boycott. The decision was necessitated when students failed to write the first semester examinations which had to be re-scheduled for November thus forcing the re-scheduling of the second semester examinations for January 1981.
In April the Transkei's president, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, officially opened the first phase-costing R5m of the university's new campus. According to the university's principal, Professor B de V van der Merwe, the next phase would cost an estimated R40m.

Speaking at the university's graduation ceremony at which 34 students including one white graduated, Chief Matanzima, the university's chancellor, described it as "a centre of learning and a monument to patriotism determined to build a nation". The university was to be opened to all races. In June it was announced that work on Phase II of the university had been halted indefinitely on the instructions of the SA government.

The university attracted a number of respected SA academics who were either unable to teach in SA or had experienced difficulties there. Professor Wolfgang Thomas who was deported from SA in 1977 and Professor Gerhard T6temeyer, who was expelled from the National Party when he insisted that SWAPO should be included in any negotiations on the future of Namibia, took up posts at the university. The reports also stated that Professor Absalom Vilakazi, who left SA in 1957 to teach in the USA and was virtually prevented from returning to SA when the SA government refused to grant visas to his family, would soon join the university.

**Bophuthatswana**

The university opened in April. It was planned that it would be decentralised with a college of technology, emphasising advanced technical education for industry, mining and commerce at GaRankuwa; a college of agriculture at Taung and a college of health sciences, including nursing. The university offered degree and diploma courses in law, education, administration and management. It planned to provide orientation programmes to bridge the gap between school and university. Its headquarters are in Mmabatho.

Sir Albert Robinson, the chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments and Rustenburg Platinum, was appointed the university's first chancellor. Dr K B Hartshorne, chairman of the council, said that the university was the first of its kind in Southern Africa.

Earlier in the year it was announced that Dr Anton Rupert would sponsor the first chair of Afrikaans at the university. Dr Rupert said that he had made the offer in gratitude for the decision of the Bophuthatswana administration to recognise Afrikaans as an official language.

**University of the Western Cape**

In March it was announced that the university was installing the PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching Operations) system of computer-based education which if effected would put it ahead of other SA universities and revolutionise educational and learning systems in the Republic. It was estimated that the system would cost R264 000 a year for the first three years of its operation. The developers, Control Data Corporation, undertook to contribute R146 000 p.a. towards the cost of the system.

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African Universities
White Universities
University of Durban- Westville
In January students initiated moves to establish an SRC on the campus once again. The university had been without an SRC since 1972 following the expulsion of four SRC members by the rector, Professor S P Olivier. In March it was announced that the university council had accepted the constitution drawn up by the SRC's constitutional committee. The constitution, similar to the one rejected by Professor Olivier in 1972, permitted students to control the content of student publications free of censorship by the university administration, and allowed students to make press statements and invite guest speakers of their choice to address student meetings.
In April Professor Olivier announced that the university hoped to become fully autonomous in 1981 when it celebrated the 21st anniversary of its founding. He said that autonomy would, he hoped, "eradicate the unfortunate idea held by some that the university is a government institution, instrumental in effecting government policy". The council's move was condemned by students. It was reported that the move was perceived as "blatantly political and a form of strategy to win local and international support". Fears were also expressed that autonomy would mean higher student fees, a withdrawal of government subsidies and control of the university falling into the hands of the elite and wealthy.
In June the senate decided that the university should be open to all races. Commenting on the decision Mr Nico Nel, public relations officer, said that because Durban-Westville was a state university the government had the final say on the question and that the university's council also had to approve the recommendation."

Universities for Whites
Cape Town
In January it was reported that the university's student newspaper, Varsity, which was banned last year, had received financial support from the discredited International University Exchange Fund. (See chapter on Security.) The report was denied by SRC president, Mr Tony Weaver, who threatened legal action if the newspapers, Transvaler and Citizen, which published the report, did not publish apologies.
UCT students continued to be active in support of free collective bargaining and a unitary, non-racial education system. In May it was reported that students had donated money to assist striking meat workers' families and approximately 4 000 students symbolically boycotted lectures on April 30 in support of boycotting coloured scholars in Cape Town.
Students were also active in support of the call for the release of Nelson Mandela. Following an appeal by Mr Mandela's daughter UCT students signed a petition calling for Mr Mandela's release and later collected signatures for the petition in Cape Town. Students who were distributing pamphlets in connection with the campaign were detained by security police and charged under the Publications Act.27
In April the university SRC denied an allegation reported by the SABC that students were actively organising and fomenting the coloured school boycott. The SRC stated that while UCT students supported the pupils in their struggle for a new education system, they realised that they had not "experienced the oppressive conditions which the school students" were fighting and it would therefore be inappropriate for them to attempt to lead or organise any boycott. "

In June the university council condemned bannings and detention without trial. Commenting on the detention of Mr Andrew Boraine and two other UCT students the vice-chancellor, Sir Richard Luyt, said that detentions without trial were becoming so commonplace as to be almost part of the SA way of life. He said that "no university, and particularly no university community, should merely accept such a development without question and protest".2 Sir Richard Luyt resigned at the end of the year. He was replaced by Dr Stuart Saunders.

Natal

In March youth organisers of the New Republic Party complained that the university SRC forced them to cover the name of the political party during a voter registration drive on the campus. Explaining the SRC's action Mr John Clarke, the SRC vice-president, said that political parties were banned in terms of a recent SRC motion from canvassing for support on the campus. The SRC had passed the motion because of the increasing number of black students on the campus who were all deprived of the franchise by law.

Students were divided on the call for the release of Mandela. A meeting in support of the call addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary of the SA Council of Churches, was disrupted when the public address system failed, allegedly due to sabotage by right-wing students, who shouted abuse and threw tomatoes at students who had gathered in support of the call. Despite the interruptions the meeting went ahead. A similar meeting in support of Mr Mandela's release which was to have been held on the university's Pietermaritzburg campus was cancelled 45 minutes before it was due to begin after a Pietermaritzburg magistrate, Mr R J Liebenberg, banned the meeting under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

At the end of May a student group decided to start a publication to make whites more aware of the social and political injustices that existed in SA. The decision was taken, according to Mr Chris Swart SRC president, because students could not stage protest marches and an earlier boycott in support of the coloured and Indian school boycott had achieved nothing. The group arranged student bus trips to black areas to see conditions there and also ran a tutoring scheme for blacks.

OFS

In May swastikas and right-wing political slogans were daubed on buildings and windows on the university campus. The slogans

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White Universities

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White Universities
such as "Kaffirboeties vote for the National Party" and "PW (referring to the Prime Minister) and his matric politics" were later removed. Sources blamed students who were said to be supporters of the right wing Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

A controversy over a letter sent to members of the university convocation, claiming that two candidates for election to the university council had the support of the Broederbond, caused the delay of the elections until June. When the elections were held the men, Mr Jan van Zyl, SABC Director of News, and Dominee D H Botes of the NGK, both of whom were prominent members of the Broederbond, failed to gain seats on the council. Professor Danie Strauss, Professor of the Department of Political Science and a prominent member of the Broederbond, later confirmed he had drafted the letter which had been addressed with official university stickers.

In May the founding of the university was attacked by Professor David Welsh, head of the Department of Comparative African Government and Law at the University of Cape Town. Professor Welsh said that political not educational motives had been responsible. The purpose had been to counteract the influence of the liberal, Englishspeaking Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape. He also said he had 'cast-iron' evidence that politics played a part in the appointment of staff and that the university had established stringent political tests for prospective staff. Professor Welsh said that the university's financial problems, which had earlier caused the threatened closure of two departments and the dismissal of 14 lecturers, were the result of gross misplanning and mismanagement by both the government and the university's economic adviser and that because it was politically motivated the university had not been financially viable from the start.

Professor Welsh's statements were denied by the Minister of National Education, Mr Punt Janson.

Pretoria

In January it was announced that the university would allow coloured and Indian students to study veterinary science. There is only one veterinary science department in SA. However the rector, Professor Eddie Hamman, said that this did not mean that the university would change its policy of not admitting students of other races.

Two students classified as coloured were admitted to the department of veterinary science. Soon after their admission the Pretoria department of transport, which supplies a bus to the university, refused to permit the two students to travel on the same bus as their fellow students to Onderstepoort for practical classes and private transport had to be arranged. The students were also not permitted to take part in any extra-mural activities at the university.

Rand Afrikaans

The debate over whether the university should retain its automatic affiliation to the Afrikaanse Studentebond continued during the year. In February a referendum was held which decided to retain links with the ASB by 979 votes to 791 in a 51,08% poll.
The debate on the desirability of Section 16 of the Immorality Act was also resumed. A commission was appointed by the SRC to investigate the question. A minority of the commission (three of its members) recommended that the section should be repealed and compared it to the Nazi law for the 'Protection of German Blood and Honour'. The remaining four members recommended that Section 16 be broadened to outlaw immorality between all persons but warned that circumspection was required because various groups would be affected by the revision.

In June a third year BA student, Mr Carl Niehuys, was suspended after he had put up posters on the campus calling for the release of Mandela, and supporting the coloured school boycott. A week after his suspension Mr Niehuys was called up for military service. A Defence Force spokesman said that the university had apparently notified the SADF that Mr Niehuys was then eligible. This was confirmed by the university's rector, Professor J P de Lange.

Rhodes
The university introduced an honours degree in the teaching of English as a second language at the beginning of the year. The course was designed with a special focus on the problems of black students.

A dispute broke out at the beginning of the year when an employee of the National Intelligence Services, Miss Alta Rossouw, was allowed to enrol for a course in political studies. Professor Terrence Beard, head of the department, said that while he did not consider Miss Rossouw a threat to the department he was concerned that students would feel that they were not able to express themselves freely in class. Professor Beard said that his department's and the university's main worry were the spies that they did not know about.

The problem of campus spies came to the fore again later in the year. According to three students they had been approached and asked to spy and report on the activities of their fellow students. In return their university fees would have been paid. Commenting on the report the vice-chancellor, Dr Derek Henderson, said that anyone who did not accept that there were informers on the campus was being naive.

In May Miss Mercia Wilsworth, an anthropologist at the university's Institute for Social and Economic Research, said she had resigned over the proposed employment of an alleged police informer. Commenting on the resignation Professor Geoff Opland, the head of the Institute, denied she was leaving because of any controversy.

Rhodes remained unaffiliated to NUSAS. A referendum on the campus revealed in an 80% poll that opinion was split on the issue with 60 more students opposed to re-affiliation than those in favour of it. A feature of the opposition to re-affiliation was that it was led by PFP youth organisers on the campus, not as in the past by more right wing students. According to Miss Margie Henderson, daughter of the vice-chancellor Dr Derek Henderson and PFP youth organiser, there were two basic objections to NUSAS. These were that despite the student body's claims it was not representative of student opinion and was intolerant of liberal opinion. Dr Alex Boraine, PFP
White Universities

550 MP for Pinelands and father of NUSAS president Mr Andrew Boraine, addressed a meeting on the campus in favour of re-affiliation. In June Dr Henderson said that the university would welcome White more black students. He said that at present 7% of the students at Universities Rhodes were black. The university had not discussed any upper limit for the number of black students. The Senate condemned the detention of a journalism lecturer, Mr Guy Berger, and some students in August.

Stellenbosch
A dispute arose following an interview in which the SRC president, Mr Hilgard Bell, described the government’s constitutional proposals as "immoral" and "a load of bull".31 Mr Bell wrote to the Prime Minister after the latter had cancelled a speaking engagement at the university, apologising for the tone of his criticism and pointing out that he had not intended to make a personal attack on Mr Botha.

Three members of the SRC resigned over Mr Bell's statement and an SRC motion that National Party policy had no moral justification. Shortly before a student body meeting, at which more than 3 000 students overwhelmingly voted in favour of the SRC disbanding, a further two SRC members resigned. Mr Bell was not given an opportunity to reply to the charges levelled against him. Although voted out of office procedural matters kept Mr Bell's SRC as a caretaker administration until after the mid-year vacation.

In May the Prime Minister was criticised in the university's newspaper, Die Matie. An editorial said that Mr Botha's speech to Stellenbosch students gave them nothing apart from "a few insults and an evasive answer". Commenting on the growth of liberal opinion at the university Mr Chris Heymans, a junior lecturer in the Department of Political Science, said that the number of students who were prepared to question and publicly challenge the political system had increased.32

Witwatersrand
The disclosure that government spies had infiltrated the university's 1973-74 SRC raised a storm of protest on the campus. Students and academic staff condemned the infiltration and calls were made for the university to withdraw the degrees the spies had received. At the university's graduation ceremony the vice-chancellor, Professor D J du Plessis, attacked the placing of police spies on campuses. He said the university's open policy had made it vulnerable to informers.

In March students supported the call to release Mandela and other political prisoners. Students were also asked to participate in a dial-for-release campaign, telephoning Mr Mandela on Robben Island or state officials in an effort to get through to Mr Mandela.

At the beginning of the year the university inaugurated a special tutorial scheme designed to assist students whose home languages were neither English nor
Afrikaans. One of the main reasons was the expected increase in the number of black students in the near future. Mr Stanley Kahn, chief tutor, said that the programme aimed to provide students with the academic support they needed to overcome difficulties either because English was not their home language or due to a poor educational background.

In September students elected a new SRC. A 'radical' alliance won the majority of seats and elected Mr Sammy Adelman president. Mr Adelman's election was criticised by Mr Tony Leon, the 'liberal' candidate who said that the 'radicals' had won on non-political grounds and were attempting to force their views on the majority of students. Mr Adelman denied the allegations and said that he had been elected by the majority of the SRC which in turn had been elected by the majority of students. He said Mr Leon was typical of so-called liberals who were irrelevant in current SA political debate. Mr Leon said that Mr Adelman had clearly indicated that 'radicals' denied 'liberals' a role in SA politics and that because of this he would investigate the possibility of establishing links with POLSTU.

Academic Isolation

In February the Royal Institute of British Architects withdrew its recognition of the degree in architecture offered by the University of Pretoria because of that university's racial admission policies. This meant that in future students who qualify at Pretoria will not be exempt from Parts 1 and 2 of the institute's examinations. The qualifications of the schools of architecture at the Universities of Cape Town, Natal, the Witwatersrand and the OFS would still be recognised subject to the schools continuing to take practical steps towards greater progress for black students.

The British Association of University Teachers, which represents 31 000 university academic staff, decided in May to re-inforce its academic boycott of SA. In terms of the decision the remaining academic links between British and SA universities and academic staff would eventually be totally severed. Originally it had been proposed that only links with Afrikaans language universities and academic staff should be severed but delegates argued that the whole higher education system in SA was based on apartheid.

References

1 Hansard 8 Q cols 493 and 546, Hansard 3 Q col 134
3 Star, June 10.
Hansard 8 Q cols 471-2, Hansard 7 Q cols 393 and 418, Hansard 5 Q cols 299-300
6 Hansard 14 Q cols 799-800.
7 See section on detentions in chapter on Security
8 Post January 29
9 Rapport, Sunday Tribune July 20
a BeeldJuly 22
### BURSARIES AND SCHOLARSHIPS

#### African Students

The following bursaries were awarded by the Department of Education and Training in 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary school bursaries</strong></td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical pupils (secondary)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students at teacher training colleges and universities</td>
<td>2 093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University students (not trainee teachers)</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The departmental report stated that approximately 50% of African university students were in receipt of bursaries or loans.

According to the Director-General of Education and Training the number of secondary school pupils in receipt of bursaries in 1979 was 724 and the total value of these was R64 050.2 The discrepancy between this information and that contained in the department's annual report was not explained.

#### Coloured Students

The Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations provided the following bursaries to coloured students in 1979 and 1980 (the number of bursaries awarded for university study excludes trainee teachers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher training</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The value of bursaries awarded varied according to the institution attended by the bursar. Students at the Universities of the Western Cape and Durban-Westville were awarded R650 per year. Students at 'open' universities, e.g. the University of
Cape Town, received R1 000 per year. Students at teacher training colleges received either R420 or R325 per year.

Indian Students
The Department of Indian Affairs awarded the following bursaries for teacher training in 1979 and 1980:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Bursaries</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1 381</td>
<td>R 699 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1 606</td>
<td>R 816 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Privately Sponsored Bursaries
The number of bursary funds listed by the Education Information Centre of the SAIRR in 1980 and the courses for which they were awarded was as follows:
- Primary Education Forms I-III
- Forms IV and V
- University Study Teaching
- Primary Teacher's Certificate
- Post-Matriculation Diploma
- Technical and Vocational Training:
- Pre-Matriculation
- Post-Matriculation Nursing
- Commercial and Secretarial Courses:
- Pre-Matriculation
- Post-Matriculation
- Correspondence Studies:
- Pre-Matriculation
- Post-Matriculation

Lists of bursaries are available on request. The Education Information Centre stated that there were more private bursary schemes in operation than the ones they listed but details were not made available to them because of the small number of bursaries offered by these agencies.

Information relating to bursaries made available to African students by individuals and non-departmental bodies in 1979 (excluding university students) was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bursary awarded for</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Value - R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1 268 1 801</td>
<td>4 832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary</td>
<td>995 278 134</td>
<td>69 139 68 779 31 814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Secondary</td>
<td>5 301</td>
<td>5 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Technical</td>
<td>4476</td>
<td>179 865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td>554</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bursaries

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 in 1979 and 1980 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Johannesburg</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>East London</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bursary for</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Teacher</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Technical</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number 1979 1980
210 181 26 19 80 44 349 280
26 25 52 46 22 30 306 264
88 115
9 8
12 9 92 91

(Figures given in last year's Survey were inadvertently stated to be in respect of 1979 when they were in respect of 1978.)

References
2 Information supplied by the Director-General of Education and Training, August 25
3 Information supplied by the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, December
4 Information supplied by the Secretary for Indian Affairs, October 6
555

Bursaries

HEALTH
Legislation
The dispute over doctors' fees reported last year led to the passage of the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Amendment Act No 43. The act reduces the SA Medical and Dental Council's power to set fees, and provides that fees will not come into effect until they have been approved by the minister, who is required to notify the council's registrar of his decision within three months. The tariff of fees thus decided and published is binding on all members subject to the provisions of the Medical Schemes Act No 72 of 1967. If the minister refers a determination of fees back to the council, it is required to submit to the minister a determination of fees or tariffs acceptable to him. If this does not occur, the minister is empowered to determine fees or tariffs himself. The act also provides that psychologists who qualified at universities outside SA may practise in the Republic without undergoing any further examination. Persons who are normally resident outside the Republic may register with the SA
Medical and Dental Council so as to enable them to undergo training in the Republic.

Medical Schemes Amendment Act No 42
The act regulates the binding force of tariffs and fees by requiring that medical practitioners in private practice give the registrar at least one month's written notice in the quarter previous to that in which the service was rendered, of their intention to contract out of medical aid schemes' tariffs of fees. The provision applies only in so far as the minister, in consultation with the institutions and bodies stipulated, has not provided otherwise by regulation. This proviso raises the possibility that the minister may make regulations to prevent contracting out.

The act was criticised by Dr Andreas Wassenaar, chairman of Sanlam. Dr Wassenaar said that it would cause another exodus of doctors, and described the act as "ultra socialistic". The NRP opposed both acts in parliament. Their spokesmen argued that the legislation went against the principles of free enterprise and the laws of supply and demand. The official opposition supported both acts.

Policy

In January the Minister of Health, Dr L A P A Munnik, said that the government did not intend to introduce a national health scheme in SA. After the report of the Medical and Hospitals Costs Health Commission chaired by Mr Jan Haak, a former cabinet minister, had been submitted he intended to rationalise health services across a broad front. Dr Munnik restated the government's attitude in March when he said that a socialised health service was not government policy.

In May the president of the Medical Association of SA, Dr H D Chomse, called for the introduction of a comprehensive consolidated and streamlined health services system for all regardless of sociological or ethnic boundaries in SA. Dr Chomse's appeal was supported by Professor H Stein, assistant dean of the University of the Witwatersrand's medical faculty, and Dr C van den Heever, acting superintendent of Baragwanath Hospital.

The Department of Health continued its attempts "to maintain a balance between providing primary health care for all and the need to maintain and extend tertiary health care, particularly with regard to research facilities". Supporting this statement the department's secretary, Dr Johan de Beer pointed out that during the current financial year the department planned to spend 20% of its budget on prevention and health promotion. He said that five years ago the figure was well below 10%.

Dr Tim Wilson, director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Community Health Centres, stressed the need for a better distribution of resources. Commenting on figures released by the World Bank which showed that SA had one physician per 1 970 people, Dr Wilson said that "the geographical distribution of doctors within a country was as important as the distribution of doctors per capita".

Dr Wilson said that in 1962 SA's doctor-patient ratio varied
between 1:600 in Durban and 1:40 000 in some homeland areas and that the current situation was reportedly unchanged. He also stressed that the World Bank figures showing that SA has one hospital bed for every 150 people could be misleading. Pointing out that Baragwanath hospital had 2 500 beds for an estimated Soweto population of 1.5 million people, Dr Wilson said that these figures produced a ratio of one bed to every 600 people.

The socio-economic basis of a population's health was pointed out by Mr Grey Wells, author of Health, Healing and Society, and Professor Michael Savage of the University of Cape Town's Department of Sociology. Mr Wells stated that the health of the poor whites of the 1930's was more like that of poor blacks than of whites today, and that blacks who had obtained a high standard of living had health patterns similar to whites. Professor Savage said it was well known that TB declined in a population when malnutrition and inadequate housing were overcome; rheumatic fever declined when poverty and inadequate housing were effectively attacked, while typhus declined when sanitation and inadequate water supplies improved.

According to a report in the Citizen, the Republic's international isolation in the health field was reduced during the year. The report stated that the secretary-general of the World Medical Association, Dr Andre Wynen, asked the Medical Association of SA to rejoin the world body. The Republic resigned its membership in 1976, Health along with other Western nations, on the grounds that politics had taken the place of world health concern at its meetings. Dr Wynen said that this was no longer the case.

Commission of Enquiry

In April the Minister of Health announced the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into Health Services in the Republic. Replying to a question in the Assembly, the minister said Mr G W G Browne, former Secretary for Finance, would head the commission which would consist of Professor H S Breytenbach, head of clinical dental training at Stellenbosch university, Mr W M C Davidson, managing director of a group of medical aid schemes, Dr J N du Piessis, deputy director of the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr P J Klopper, a specialist physician, Ms H M Lessing, a member of the SA Consumer Council, Professor N S Louw, Professor of Gynaecology and Obstetrics at Stellenbosch University, Professor G Marais, director of the Management School at Unisa, Professor F P Retief, rector of Medunsa, Mr J J van der Spuy, president of the Transvaal Municipal Association, and Mr D J de Villiers, chairman of the Central Council for Medical Schemes.

The terms of reference of the commission were to enquire into the extent and cost structure of health services in the Republic. Explaining the government's aims, the Minister of Industries and of Commerce and Consumer Affairs, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, said that the government wanted to improve and rationalise the Republic's health services. Four main sections of enquiry - hospital and public health services, pharmaceutical services, medical schemes, and health services professional matters - were the focus of the
commission's preliminary investigations.9
In November the Minister of Health, Dr L A P A Munnik, outlined the
government's health policy. Dr Munnik said there would be six levels of service
in the structure of the new National Health Service Facilities. These were the
provision of the basic subsistence needs, health education, primary health care,
the community hospital, the original hospital and the academic hospital. He said
there were four requirements for a basic level of minimum health. These were
safe drinking water, sufficient food for human existence, sewerage and waste
disposal and adequate housing. A feature of the plan was a switch away from
'disease palaces' (hospitals) to primary health care, in terms of which the public'
would be served by teams
of highly trained nurses. (See 1979 Survey p 562.)
Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Statistics said that during
the calendar year 1978 the following percentages of the GNP and amounts were
allocated to health in SA and the homelands:1°

Republic Homelands
Amount-Rm
877,7
89,1
% GNP
2,27 0,23
Total 966,8 2,50

Tuberculosis
The number of newly diagnosed TB cases in 1979 was 44 998. This figure
excludes the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Sufferers were distributed
throughout the country in the following way:

Diseases
(a) 'White' Area
Cape Province
Natal
OFS
Transvaal
15 907 4 436 3 046 15 299
Total 38 688
(b) Homelands
Ciskei
Gazankulu
KwaZulu Lebowa
Qwaqwa
Kangwane
Total
1 499 290 2 464 1 236 169 652
6 310
Total 44 998
The minister gave information in the Assembly about the numbers of each racial group diagnosed as suffering from TB in 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>35094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the department's report, the incidence of TB per 100 000 population (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) was 185.45. During 1979 1697 persons died from TB in the Republic.

The department continued its attempts (described in last year's Survey, pp 563-4), to lower the risk of infection to below the internationally acceptable limit. It also continued its planned immunisation campaign.

The number of beds available to TB sufferers in 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hospital</th>
<th>State SANTA</th>
<th>Local Authorities</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of beds</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakdown not available</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>2538</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4442</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>2813</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This represented an increase of 148 over the number of beds available in 1978.

The minister said that the cost per day of hospitalised TB sufferers was R12.52 during the 1978-79 financial year and estimated that the cost per out-patient visit was R2.50.6

Malnutrition

Replying to a question in the Assembly, the minister said that during the 1979-80 financial year an estimated 930 white and 38 000 African children who were at risk of suffering from protein energy malnutrition benefited from the subsidised skim milk powder scheme introduced that year. Reports indicated that this scheme was not being utilised to full capacity. It also did not apply in the homelands. He further said that it was estimated that there were approximately 100 000 pellagra cases in SA during the same period. Earlier the minister said that kwashiorkor would not be made a notifiable disease in SA again. He said that notifications of the disease from a variety of sources were generally unreliable due to different interpretations of the diagnostic criteria in the field. The
Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions began a controlled survey during the year to establish the extent of kwashiorkor and other manifestations of malnutrition. The survey would not include the homelands, but the department would work closely with the recently formed Regional Health Organisation for Southern Africa in which the homeland administrations were represented. Reports in the press indicated a high rate of malnutrition countrywide. Doctors at Edendale Hospital, Pietermaritzburg, said in March that at least 40 children in the Pietermaritzburg area died of kwashiorkor or marasmus every month. Commenting on the report, Professor Ali Moosa, head of the paediatric department at the University of Natal, said that 45% of the paediatric admissions at King Edward Hospital in Durban over the past 16 years had suffered from severe malnutrition. Of these 24% had died. Professor Moosa said that there was also evidence of chronic malnutrition among African children which was not serious enough to cause them to suffer from kwashiorkor or marasmus but which resulted in their being both physically and mentally stunted.9

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, and Dr Selma Browde, PFP member of the Johannesburg City Council, said in May that 50 000 SA children would probably die directly or indirectly of malnutrition in the rural areas of SA and a further 100 000 children's lives were at risk.2 According to Mr Victor Allen, co-ordinator of an organisation to combat the causes of rural poverty, the doctors had obtained their figures from replies to enquiries sent to mission hospitals and clinics throughout SA. Mr Allen said that in the drought-stricken areas of the Republic up to 30% of the black population could die of malnutrition during the year. The Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik, discounted the claims made by Drs Motlana and Browde and accused them of having political motives and of "only trying to place us in a very bad light in the eyes of the rest of the country and the world".21

Two research projects conducted by the Tongaat and Districts Indian Child Welfare Society and Community Centre under the supervision of the University of Natal's paediatric department, revealed that in the greater Tongaat area more than 60% of Indian children Diseases were malnourished and 70% of Indian households averaging five people were living below the Household Effective Level (HSL)." A survey carried out by the Ciskei Health Department revealed similar conditions. According to the survey about half of the two and three year old children in the Ciskei were malnourished and more than one in ten suffered from diseases such as kwashiorkor and marasmus.23 A survey conducted by Rhodes University academics and officials of the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions, on black schoolchildren between the ages of six and seven in the Albany area revealed that urban black children in the area were more at risk of malnutrition than children at farm schools.24 Speaking at a symposium organised to discuss the problem of malnutrition in the Ciskei, Dr Trudi Thomas, a paediatrician, said that greater employment would go
a long way to solving the problem. Professor Jill Nattrass, associate professor of economics at the University of Natal, supported Dr Thomas's statement. Malnutrition was a glaring symptom of rural poverty which she described as SA's biggest problem.

The drought in Natal, KwaZulu and the Ciskei aggravated and drew public attention to a chronic problem. Various experts pointed to some of the underlying causal factors - overpopulation, resettlement, influx control, unemployment and inflation meant that people were unable to subsist on the land or gain a cash income sufficient to buy food.

In August the SA Institute of Race Relations launched a national campaign to combat malnutrition. Initially concentrated on two areas in KwaZulu, one in the Northern Transvaal and one in the OFS, the campaign aimed to provide both food and fodder. An initial figure of R2.5m was to be raised to assist rural dwellers in these areas combat malnutrition and the effects of the drought. The campaign concentrated on self-help schemes.

Other Diseases

The spread of rabies in Natal caused concern during the year. Spokesmen said that this had resulted from the cessation of operations by the Mozambican veterinary service after Portuguese veterinarians had fled the country following the takeover of power by Frelimo in 1974.27 Fears that the disease would spread to the Witwatersrand were expressed in August with the return of Transvaal holidaymakers. The disease remained concentrated in Natal with an increasing number of cases being reported. In September it was reported that approximately 100 dogs a day were being destroyed in the Durban area alone.

By March 30 cases of typhoid had been reported in Inanda in Natal. For the corresponding period in 1979 a total of eight cases were reported. In order to bring the disease under control, the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions introduced a massive inoculation programme and prepared plans to supply the area with 562 piped, purified water. The government was criticised for failing to act earlier by a former health inspector for the area, Mr Gert Swart. Mr Swart said that he had suggested in 1979 that an immunisation programme should be introduced but that nothing had been done.28

Health

The regional director of state health in Natal, Dr Johan van Rensburg, would not comment on Mr Swart's allegations but said that the problem was that his department had to establish who the local authority was and it was doing this. According to the minister 30 673 people were inoculated after 12 cases of typhoid in the Inanda area had been reported.29

In October cholera broke out in the Eastern Transvaal. By the beginning of November 279 cases had been reported. Department of Health officials said the disease had been brought under control. Inoculation was started in Northern Natal. It was believed that the disease had spread from Mozambique. In mid-November cases were reported in a peri-urban area of Johannesburg.
By mid-December 695 cases of cholera had been reported. In June Dr B Richard, Johannesburg's Medical Officer of Health, warned that poliomyelitis cases were being reported on the Witwatersrand again. Dr Richard warned that unless infants were immunised before the summer more cases could be expected. The number of reported cases of specific notifiable diseases during 197830 and 1979" was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leprosy</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaria</td>
<td>7 109</td>
<td>1 771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poliomyelitis</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid</td>
<td>3 542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mental Health

The minister stated that it was his department's policy to phase out mental institutions run by private organisations. In order to accomplish this the Treasury had approved additional funds in the current financial year to expedite the erection of 540 beds in the Eastern Cape area.

During the 1979-84 period the Department of Public Works plans to build the following institutions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Estimated</th>
<th>Tender Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soweto</td>
<td>100 beds</td>
<td>June 1984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>600 beds (additional)</td>
<td>March 1983</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>90 beds (additional)</td>
<td>July 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>700 beds</td>
<td>September 1984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>1 080 beds</td>
<td>September 1984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In future mental institutions will include a separate complex for the rehabilitation of the mentally retarded.

The minister stated that the following improvements had been made to existing mental institutions in respect of all races:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Race Improvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umgeni Waterfall Care and Rehabilitation Town Hill</td>
<td>White 300 beds replaced by new accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Napier</td>
<td>White 320 beds replaced by new accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witrand Care and Rehabilitation Centre Westfort Hospital</td>
<td>Coloured/ 180 beds for whites converted Asian for Coloured and Asian occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cullinan Care and Rehabilitation Centre Oranje Care and Rehabilitation Centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelspoort Training and Rehabilitation Centre Dr A J Stals Care and Rehabilitation Centre Valkenberg Hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race Improvement</td>
<td>White 500 beds replaced by new accommodation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
African 400 leprosy beds converted for
Africans to alleviate overcrowding at Weskoppies.
White 400 TB beds converted
for whites
White 560 additional beds
Coloured 60 beds replaced by
new accommodation Coloured 180 additional beds
Coloured 180 beds in prefabricated accommodation pending the completion of a
2 400 bed hospital at
Michells Plain.
The minister gave information relating to the number of mental
patients in each race group as at December 31
State Institutions Hired Accommodation Licensed Homes
White
7 286 643 879
Coloured
2 342 480 134
Asian
163 397
African
4 700 5 540
Total
14 491 7 060 1 013
Total 8 808 2 956 560 10 240 22 564
The total cost to the state these categories was as follows:
State Institutions
Hired Accommodation
Licensed Homes
Total
in respect of institutions in each of
R
29 921 578 6 151 009 729 042
36 801 629
Electric Shock Treatment
The minister was unable to provide information relating to the number of patients
who received electric shock treatment as the file of every patient would have to be
checked to obtain this data.
Explaining the use of electric convulsive therapy, he said that it was
internationally accepted in medical science as a form of treatment for psychiatric
conditions. In state or state-controlled institutions it was only applied where the
use of psychotrophic drugs had either failed or was contra-indicated and was only
carried out by a
563
Mental Health
medical practitioner on the prescription of another medical practitioner. As is the case with all forms of medical treatment, the use of electric convulsive therapy is entered into the patient's file.

Health Services

Family Planning

In 1979 there was one family planning adviser women. Personnel associated with family planning as follows:

Doctors: Full time
Part time Nurses: Full time
Part time Liaison Officers Advisers
Total

for every 4 000 were distributed
1 813

The number of women accepting contraception at Programme Clinic Services was as follows (average per month for the second quarter of 1979):

White Coloured Asian African Total
24 140 55 260 11 290 156 330 247 020

(The figure for white women excludes those women accepting contraception from private practitioners and the figure for African women includes women from 'independent' homelands attending clinics.)

The number of women protected through clinic services and sterilisations in 1978 and 1979 was as follows:

1978: 1979:
990 410 1 112 574

The monthly average numbers of sterilisations performed at department and provincial hospitals were extracted from the department's report:

564

Health Services

Men Women Total 565
White 140 604 744
Coloured 15 542 557
Asian 9 250 259 Health
African 15 571 586 Services
Total 179 1 967 2 146

The percentage of women who were at risk and received protection was 49%. Statistics in respect of each race group were extracted from the department's report:

White 14
Coloured 57
Asian 51
African 47

The report states that the percentage of white women protected is likely to be far higher because of the utilisation of private services. The percentage of African women is calculated in terms of the 'residual', not the total SA population.
The debate over the use of the three-month Depo Provera injection as a form of contraception was resumed during the year. Doctors disagreed on whether its use could cause permanent infertility. The debate arose after the use of the contraceptive was banned in the US and doctors in Bangladesh placed 7,000 women who had been injected with the drug under observation for cancer. According to Dr Ellin Hammar, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Family Planning Association, the charges against Depo Provera were grossly exaggerated. She said that tests on monkeys and dogs, during which both developed cancer and some monkeys suffered a shrinking of the womb, indicated low tolerance levels and were not applicable to women. She denied that Depo Provera caused cancer of the cervix and said that this was caused by factors such as starting sexual intercourse early and frequently changing partners.

Statistics provided by Dr Hammar in respect of two family planning clinics in Johannesburg for the first four months of the year show that 56 white women and 836 African women received the injection. According to doctors Depo Provera is widely used in the Republic's rural areas when contraception is given to black women.

Abortion
The numbers of operations carried out during the first 11 months of 1979 for the removal of the residue of pregnancy were extracted from the department's annual report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hospitals</th>
<th>December 1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Replaying to a question in the Assembly, the minister gave information relating to the number of cases in which treatment was reported in connection with the removal of the residue of pregnancy in the following months:
The statistics reflected the position as at May 21 and the minister warned that they were subject to updating.

The departmental report stated that during the same period 423 legal abortions were performed as follows:

- White: 304
- Coloured: 82
- Asian: 8
- African: 51

The discrepancy in addition was not explained.

The growing number of women admitted to hospital after incomplete and associated abortions, the majority of which would have been due to illegal abortions, according to the Abortion Action Reform Group, together with the declining number of legal abortions performed, prompted the Abortion Action Reform Group to resume the campaign for the reform of SA's abortion laws. The group argued that not only would the number of illegal abortions probably decrease if abortion was made easier to obtain, but the illegitimacy rate (47% of live births in coloureds and an estimated 60% in Africans) and the high infant mortality rate would do so too.

Replying to a question in the assembly, the minister said that he would welcome motivated representations on the question of appointing a commission of enquiry into the reform of the Abortion and Sterilisation Act No 2 of 1975.

Hospital Services

In July it was announced that the old Johannesburg General Hospital previously for whites would be made available for the use of African out- and in-patients and the old Non-European Hospital was to be converted to a hospital for Indians. Severe overcrowding was reported at Baragwanath Hospital, with some wards designed for 40 patients, having as many as 125 in them. Dr H A Grove, director of hospital services in the Transvaal, said that the province was taking both short and long-term measures to ease the congestion.

In October the Minister of Co-operation and Development announced that ten day hospitals costing between R1m and R2m each would be built in Soweto. These would reduce the overcrowding at Baragwanath.

The minister gave information in the assembly on the number of beds available for each race group in the Republic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Beds (Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>39 454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>5 059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2 051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58 080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>33 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137 810</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He also gave information relating to the number of beds available in general hospitals only in the various areas of the Republic:
Cape Province 20 625  
Natal 17 916  
Orange Free State 6 780  
Transvaal 35 189  
Homelands 17 594  
Total 98 104  

Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development stated that as at December 31, 1979, 13 private hospitals had applied for and been granted permits to admit all races. Of these ten were in the Transvaal and three in the Cape Province. The minister declined to name the hospitals which had been granted the permits because applications were confidential.

The number of beds available to leprosy sufferers were extracted from the department's report:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minister said he was unable to give the national average per capita expenditure on out- and in-patients of all race groups as not all the Provincial Administrations kept separate statistics in this regard.

Medical Personnel

Doctors

There were 14 966 medical practitioners and 3 732 medical specialists registered with the SA Medical and Dental Council as at December 31, 1979. District surgeons continued to play a vital role in the provision of health services to the country's population.

According to the minister, district surgeons treated an estimated seven million patients in 1979.

The number of district surgeons employed in 1979 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Time</th>
<th>Part Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of vacancies for district surgeons in each province was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Full Time</th>
<th>Part Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Secondment of Medical and Para-medical staff

The numbers of doctors, dentists, nurses, para-medical personnel, pharmacists and health inspectors seconded to health administrations in the homelands were extracted from the Department of Health Report for 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Lebowa</th>
<th>Gazankulu</th>
<th>Venda</th>
<th>Ciskei</th>
<th>QwaZulu</th>
<th>Bophuthatswana</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Smith, Mitchell and Co</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical and Dental</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing Staff</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ParaMedical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Inspectors Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2127</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 373 persons in professions associated with health services left SA in the period December 1978 to November 1979. These were distributed in the following way:

Medical doctors Dentists
Pharmacists Professional nurses Other nursing personnel Optometrists and opticians Physiotherapists etc Radiographers Osteopaths, chiropractors etc Total
569
Doctors

570 Doctors' Salaries
The minister gave information relating to the salary scales of doctors employed in state and provincial hospital services:49 Doctors
Salary - R per annum
Rank White Indian African
Chief Specialist/ Professor 21 300 21 300 21 300
Principal Specialist 19 500 19 500 19 500
Senior Specialist 18 000 18 000 18 000
Principal Medical Officer 18 000 18 000 18000
Specialist 17 400 17 400 17400
Senior Medical Officer 17 400 17 400 17 400
Medical Officer 10 320 - 9480 - 8 64016800 16800 15 600
Parity has been attained in all quoted grades except for that of Medical Officer. The salary scales of interns were not given.
Legislation affecting the salary scales of doctors in private practice was passed during the year (see section on Legislation).
Ethical Conduct in the Biko Case
In April the SA Medical and Dental Council conducted a preliminary hearing into the conduct of Drs Lang, Tucker and Hirsch, the three Port Elizabeth doctors who treated Mr Steve Biko while he was in the custody of the Special Branch in Port Elizabeth. Following the meeting the committee, the members of which were Professor Hennie Snyman, Professor Frans Geldenhuys, Dr Howard Botha, Dr Pieter Schutte and Mr Dan de Villiers (four of whom were government appointed members of the Medical and Dental Council and all of whom were members of the Broederbond), found that the doctors were not guilty of disgraceful conduct.
Both the release of the findings of the preliminary investigation and the findings themselves were severely criticised. Dr Jonathan Gluckman, the pathologist appointed by the Biko family to attend the post mortem, said that he was "staggered that the findings had been made public" as the recommendations still had to be submitted to the full council for ratification. Dr Selma Browde, PFP Johannesburg city councillor, was astonished at the decision and said that the finding had struck "a blow at the image of the medical profession in SA" and put its standing in jeopardy. Mr Eugene Roelofse, 'Ombudsman' of the SACC, who originally lodged the complaint with the council, said that he found it strange that after twoand-a-half years and a Supreme Court action, the council with no new evidence, was "suddenly willing to drop the whole thing".51
The Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik, refused to convene a special meeting of the council to review the findings of the preliminary investigation." Replying to a question in parliament, Dr Munnik said that he had no intention of interfering with the council's disciplinary functions.
The findings of the preliminary investigation had international repercussions. Pressure was renewed for an end to medical reciprocity agreements with SA. Should this pressure succeed, SA medical qualifications would not be recognised in certain countries and SA doctors would not be allowed to practise in Australia, Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands and New Zealand without writing a qualifying examination.3

Doctors

Students and staff at the Universities of Cape Town's and the Witwatersrand's medical schools sharply criticised the findings of the preliminary investigation. The Medical and Dental Council reviewed the finding of the preliminary investigation on June 18, and accepted it by 18 votes to nine. According to a report in the Sunday Express 12 of the 18 members who voted in favour of accepting the findings were government or quasi-government appointed members.5 Two members left the meeting before the vote was taken and two members did not vote. Dr Isadore Gordon recused himself because he was one of the assessors at the Biko inquest and Dr Julius Bremer told his colleagues he did not have enough information at his disposal to make a firm decision.

The council’s decision to uphold the findings of the preliminary investigation was widely criticised. Professor Frances Ames of the University of Cape Town's medical school said that the Supreme Court would be asked to review the council’s findings. A spokesman for the Association for Social Awareness in Medicine said the Association would support any move to take the matter to the Supreme Court and said that the council "with its preponderance of government-appointed members, was not representative of ordinary medical practitioners". Other suggested action to protest against the council’s decision was a refusal to pay affiliation fees and a request to the SA Medical Association to investigate the conduct of Dr Tucker.

In July Dr B T Naidoo, the only black member of the council, resigned in protest at its decision. Dr Naidoo said that by his action he intended "to disassociate myself and those of my colleagues whom I represent from this action of the SA Medical and Dental Council".7 Dr Naidoo's term of office was due to expire the following month.

A report in July revealed that the Committee of Preliminary Investigation used the complaint by Mr Eugene Roelofse, the inquest magistrate's judgement and two reports specially prepared for the enquiry to reach their decision.8 The two reports were prepared by Dr M V J van Vuuren, an alleged member of the Broederbond and Dr W M Guldenpfennig, a part-time army neurologist. Dr Guldenpfennig found that Dr Lang did not appear to have "acted as one would have expected of an experienced general practitioner" and that Dr Tucker "did not exhibit sufficient medical curiosity in examining the patient, and did not show adequate care in obtaining full relevant information when he last saw the patient". He said Dr Hirsch "did not adequately conduct himself as could be expected of a specialist physician". Dr van Vuuren concluded that Drs Lang and Tucker acted in a manner which could reasonably be expected of them. Mr N Prinsloo, registrar of the council, declined to say how the two doctors were chosen to prepare the
reports. The boards of the medical faculties of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town dissociated themselves from the council's decision.

572 Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice said that as far as the Department of Justice was concerned, state assistance to the three doctors had consisted of the State Attorney instructing counsel to appear on their behalf at the inquest proceedings. This was done at the request of the Department of Health.9 In September the Medical Association of SA reviewed the treatment given to Mr Biko by the two doctors, Drs Lang and Tucker, who were members of the Association. They supported the SAMDC's decision. However they urged that the council give urgent attention to the following questions:

(1) whether the medical care received by Mr Biko conformed with the guidelines determined by the World Medical Association on the treatment of prisoners; (2) whether the nursing and clinical services available to doctors in Mr Biko's case met the desired standards; (3) whether under existing laws and regulations medical practitioners responsible for the treatment of prisoners were allowed complete clinical independence and unfettered access to their patients under optimal clinical and security conditions and whether the present state of affairs in this regard did not leave much to be desired and (4) whether, if the required intensive medical and nursing care had been available to Mr Biko (with the necessary security provisions), "the subsequent unfortunate course of events" could not have been avoided.6° Mr Eugene Roelofse warned that despite the findings of the Medical Association the matter would not end there. He said that action was contemplated "which would make some people wide-eyed with astonishment". Following the Association's finding, doctors in the Transvaal were called upon to resign from the Association to protest its decision. The principal-designate of the University of Cape Town, Professor Stuart J Saunders, resigned from the Association over its findings and called on it to conduct a full and open enquiry into the conduct of the doctors. Professor D J du Plessis, principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, said that he wished to give the Medical Association the opportunity to renew its decision before deciding whether he would resign. In October the Association confirmed its findings. Concern was expressed at the apparent powers of the security police to limit the clinical independence of doctors treating detainees. The Association requested a meeting with the ministers to review the situation. Many of the Association's members were not satisfied with the decision. It was suggested that an ethical committee should be established to enquire into and report on the conduct of doctors in future.

Medical Students
Enrolment of undergraduate students in 1980 and the numbers that qualified at the end of 1979 were supplied by the registrars of the universities concerned:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>1 492</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1 666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medunsa</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>1 180</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>1 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>1 215</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>1 051</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>1 180</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>1 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 492</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>6 661</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of National Education gave information the estimated per capita cost of training a medical student:61

University
Cape Natal OFS Pretoria Stellenbosch Witwatersrand
Per capita - R
3 863
5 672 3 237 3 214 3 676 3 322

The Minister of Education and Training said that per capita expenditure on students at Medunsa was not readily available because of the institution's integrated nature - consisting of a medical faculty, training hospital and paramedic courses.6"

Commenting on reports by the SA Labour and Development Research Unit and the SA Medical Scholarship Trust concerning discrepancies in medical care between blacks and whites, Professor P Tobias, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand, said a radical educational equalisation programme was necessary. Even when Medunsa began producing graduates, far fewer African than White doctors would be produced each year. "The figures are even more revealing if one considers the number of doctors in relation to the population of each ethnic group." He suggested an affirmative action programme to bridge the gap for illprepared but potentially capable candidates from African schools, and the repeal of restrictive clauses requiring ministerial consent for admission to the five predominantly white medical schools (excluding Natal and Medunsa). In 1978 only 29% of such applications had been granted.
Dentists and Dental Students

According to the Medical and Dental Council there were 2,509 dentists registered in SA as at December 31, 1979.

Enrolment figures for undergraduate dental students in 1980 and the numbers who qualified at the end of 1979 were supplied by the registrars of the universities concerned:

Qualified 1979 165
95 43 54
238
182
relating to

University
Pretoria Stellenbosch Western Cape Witwatersrand

Enrolment
White Coloured Indian 359
289 - -
Chinese African Total 359
- - 289
- - 90
6 6 317

Total 942 35 66 6 6 1055 159

The shortage of black dentists was highlighted by Professor James Gilliland, deputy director-general of the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions. Professor Gilliland said that at present there were only 50 black dentists and dental therapists whereas there was an estimated need of about 881 to perform basic curative services in SA. The announcement that Medunsa was to open a dental faculty was welcomed by Professor Gilliland who said that 25 dentists and 75 dental therapists would be trained there each year.

In July the Dental Association of SA admitted to discriminatory practices against black patients. The admission was made after a report appeared in the press in which an African woman described how she had been told when trying to make an appointment with several dentists: "Sorry, we do not make appointments for you people. You can come in anytime. The doctor will see you when he is free".

Commenting on the report Dr Andre Ferreira, vice-president of the Dental Association, said that the association was aware of these problems and was trying to eliminate them. He said that the association fully supported the appeal by Dr L A P A Munnik, Minister of Health, Welfare and Pensions, to provide a full service for all races.

The Association was committed to eradicating discriminatory practices against black patients and improving dental services for blacks. The minister gave information in the Assembly relating to the salary scales of dentists employed in state and provincial hospitals: 5 R per annum.
Rank
Principal Dentist Senior Dentist Dentist
White 18 000
17 400
10 320-16 800
Coloured and
Indian 18 000
17 400
9 480-16 800
African 18 000
17 400
8 460-15 600

Nurses
The SA Nursing Council provided details of the number of registered nursing personnel and student pupil nurses as at December 31, 1979:
Registered Nurses
29 113
3 796
897
20 715
Student Pupil Nurses
8 721 2 630
700
8519
Total 54 521 20 570
Qualified 1979
-61
41 14 43
White Coloured Indian African

The minister gave information relating to the number of registered nurses who had resigned in the last five years:66
Year Number Health
1975 186
1976 204
1977 236
1978 160
1979 254

The figures relate to nurses who have ceased to be registered with the SA Nursing Council and do not include the number of nurses who have resigned from state or provincial employment to undertake private nursing.

Nurses' Salaries
The minister declined to give information in the Assembly relating to the latest salary scales for nurses. Despite the salary increase which nurses received when the budget was announced, there was still dissatisfaction in the profession over salaries. Nurses at Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town were said to be bitter
and disillusioned at the new salary scales while nurses at Addington Hospital in Durban complained that because of the secrecy regarding salary scales and adjustment methods they were unaware of what the new scales were.69 Nurses' salary scales are still discriminatory on grounds of race. Replying to a question in the Assembly,7” the minister said that the estimated cost of introducing parity in nurses' salary scales during the 1980-81 financial year would be R45 546 906 in respect of African nurses and R5 662 868 in respect of coloured and Indian nurses. Dr Munnik said that no fixed timetable for the narrowing and elimination of the wage gap had been accepted by the government and it was, therefore, impossible to say when parity would be achieved.

References
See last year's Survey p 573
2 Sunday Times June 15
Respectively Hansard 9 cols 4298-4304 and Hansard 9 cols 4335-4337 Financial Mail May 30
Ibid
6 Ibid
Citizen February 20
8 Hansard 14 Q cols 799-800
9 Government Notice 563, Government Gazette Vol 182 No 7176, August 15 10 Hansard 4 Q cols 183-4
Hansard 10 Q col 631
12 Hansard 4 Q cols 223-4
13 Report of the Dept of Health 1979 14 Hansard 4 Q col 204
6 Hansard 10 Q col 631
I? Hansard 14 Q cols 769-70
8 Hansard 11 Q col 682
19 Natal Witness March 18

5276 Rand Daily Mail May 14
21 Rand Daily Mail May 28 22 Natal Post May 24 23 Indaba June 27 Health
24 Eastern Province Herald June 21
2” Daily Dispatch July 18 26 Sunday Tribune June 29 17 Star March 26 211
5 Sunday Express June 22 ’6 Rand Daily Mail June 19 Sunday Tribune July 17 ’8
Sunday Express July 27 ’ Hansard 17 Q col 896 June 13 Rand Daily Mail
September 15 Hansard 8 Q cols 491-2 62 Hansard 8 Q col 546 Star June 27
SOCIAL WELFARE
Legislation
Fund Raising Amendment Act No 41
The Act amended the Fund Raising Act No 107 of 1978 to allow an appeal against a directive issued by the Director of Fund Raising in terms of Section 7 (9) (a) of the principal act, that temporary permit holders may no longer appear in person before the appeal committee but may be represented by an advocate or attorney or may submit written statements or arguments in support of the appeal. It deleted the word 'knowingly' from Section 27 of the original act. Section 27 now reads:
"Any person who, in any way, participates in the management or control of a fund-raising organisation or registered branch of an authorised or other organisation which contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of this act, shall, if such contravention or failure is an offence in terms of said act, be guilty of an offence."
The act further provided for the extension of the objects of the board of the SA Defence Force Fund and for penalties for offences under various sections. The official opposition opposed the bill. Mr Alf Widman, PFP spokesman, said that by the deletion of the word 'knowingly' the new section made it possible for a person to commit an offence under the act without mens rea. He said that the principles of the Companies Act should apply to offences committed by organisations as it provided for the prosecution of directors of companies on behalf of the companies themselves.
Replying to Mr Widman's objections, the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, Dr L A P A Munnik, said that the section had been amended on the advice of the government's legal advisers. He said that organisations contravening the act could not do so knowingly.
The act was passed without amendment with the official opposition dissenting.
Policy
State policy remained that although the government had a responsibility towards the country's citizens, welfare care was primarily the community's responsibility. Explaining this policy in respect of the aged, Mr J H Visagie, NP MP for Nigel, said during the debate on the Social Welfare and Pensions vote that in the government's declaration of policy in early 1968 emphasis was placed on three aspects.
Social Welfare Expenditure
The first was the network of supportive services by church and other welfare organisations so as to enable the elderly to continue as members of the community. Secondly, there was the need to provide special housing for the aged
who were in need of special care and finally there was institutionalised care for the aged. Mr Visagie said that it was impossible for all aged persons to be accommodated in state homes and that the community would have to become more involved than it was at present. He said that although community involvement was currently high the expected increase in the numbers of elderly persons necessitated more community rather than state involvement.

Expenditure

Replying to a question in the assembly, the Minister of Statistics said that during the calendar year 1978 a total of R5 881m, representing 1.52% of the GNP for that year, was spent on social welfare services in the Republic. The figures included expenditure by the so-called independent homelands.

Total expenditure (excluding expenditure in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) on social welfare services for the various race groups during the 1978-79 tary for Statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Total ('white' area only)</th>
<th>Homelands (excluding the Transkei and Bophuthatswana)</th>
<th>Financial year was supplied by the Secretary for Statistics:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age pensions</td>
<td>142 572</td>
<td>787 25 441 15 881 12 188</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions for the blind</td>
<td>883 27 417 4 542</td>
<td>30 142 25 065</td>
<td>ROOO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability pensions</td>
<td>1 907</td>
<td>74 793 12 009 301 804 114 967</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War veterans' pensions</td>
<td>45 292</td>
<td>8 684 117 7 862 140</td>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War pensions and gratuities</td>
<td>1 162</td>
<td>11 877 1 126</td>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance grants and foster parents' grants</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>29 806</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other welfare services</td>
<td>1 287</td>
<td>45 292 1 162 105 1 287 2 223 69 976</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>301 804 114 967 29 806 138 976</td>
<td>- - - 69 000</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Secretary for the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions stated that the department spent R5 517 140 on child welfare services for whites during the
1978-79 financial year.' During the same period the Department of Coloured Affairs spent R36 953 108.6 and the Department of Co-operation and Development spent R1 969 741 on services for children in the 'white' area of the Republic.

1978
White
1 033
Children in Childrens' Homes
Coloured Indian
592 1 257
African
620

The following number of children were placed in registered adoption in 1979 in terms of the Children's Act:8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>2 769</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following number of children were placed in foster care in 1979 in terms of the Children's Act:9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 109</td>
<td>15 266</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Police gave information in the assembly on the number of reported cases of assaults on infants by parents during the period July 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979:0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reported Serious</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resulted in Death</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The incidence of abandoned children in the black community created concern during the year. According to the Johannesburg Welfare Society it had dealt with 120 cases in the first six months of the year in the Johannesburg area alone.1" The figure for the whole of 1979 was 175. The society said the causes included the stresses of urban life and the absence of the traditional extended family.12

Another major cause identified was the lack of money due to low wages and inflation which eroded the already low standard of living of blacks.

The Aged

In February it was reported that the first home for aged Africans in SA's urban areas would accommodate 100 people.13 The erection of the home represented a departure from government policy on the care of aged Africans. Prior to
permission being granted last year, government policy had been that the relatives of aged Africans should care for them in the homelands. It was estimated that the construction of the home would cost R1m. Once completed the home would be run by the Soweto Council for the Aged who were being consulted on the planning of the building. The Secretary for Coloured Affairs stated that expenditure by the Department of Coloured Affairs on services for the aged during 1978-79 totalled R45 190 193. Expenditure by the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions on care of aged whites totalled R9 794 464 during the same period.

580
Social Pensions
As from October 1 maximum social pensions were increased by R12 (12,37%) for whites, R8 (12,9%) for coloured people and Indians, Pensions and R5,50 (20%) for Africans."5
Comparison between the maximum monthly pensions payable as at December 1979 and December 1980 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White and Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>R97,00</td>
<td>R54,00</td>
<td>R27,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>R109,00</td>
<td>R62,00</td>
<td>R33,00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Growth of Gap: +1,21% +1,93%

The Minister of Finance announced that the free asset limit set in terms of the means test had been raised to R10 200 and the maximum annual earnings in terms of the means test had been raised from R984 to R1 392. He also announced that a bonus would be paid to pensioners in May amounting to R30 for whites, R24 for coloured people and Indians and R18 for Africans.

Civil pensions were also increased during the year. The percentage increases were based on when the civil pensioner retired. Those who retired before April 1, 1969 received a 20% increase, those who retired between April 1, 1969 and June 30, 1973 received a 15% increase and those who retired after June 30, 1973 received a 10% increase. Senator Horwood said that the minimum increase per month for whites would be R30, for coloured people and Indians R20 and for Africans R17.

Opening the National Party's Natal Provincial Congress, Senator Horwood announced that pensioners would receive a further bonus in November.16 The bonus would cost the state R23,7m. White pensioners received R30, coloured people and Indians R24 and African pensioners R18.

The following number of persons were in receipt of pensions in 1979:17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pension</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Age</td>
<td>139 761</td>
<td>84 719</td>
<td>1 6615</td>
<td>196 699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>1 637</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>4 849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability</td>
<td>25 356</td>
<td>51 481</td>
<td>14 842</td>
<td>84 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Veterans</td>
<td>13 603</td>
<td>7 725</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was widespread dissatisfaction over the new pensions. Spokesmen for the black community criticised the increases and said that they were discriminatory. Mr Shimane Kumalo, a social worker, said that in spite of the increases, pensions for Africans were still below the poverty datum line and pensioners would still starve. The Reverend S Tema of the NGK in Africa said Africans were "sick and tired of these discriminatory reflections by a parliament" in which they had no say and that the increases granted in the budget had humiliated and dehumanised pensioners.1"

White pensioners were equally dissatisfied with pensions they received. In April the PFP began a nationwide 'Better Deal for Pensioners' campaign,19 which was launched following a public meeting attended by 300 white pensioners. Commenting on the campaign Mr Pensions Miley Richards, chairman of the Coloured Management Committee for Johannesburg, said that although social pensions for whites were pitiful the position of coloured and Indian pensioners was far worse and that of Africans worst of all.

The campaign organisers collected signatures from the public for two petitions. One, addressed to the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, called on him to introduce a national contributory pension scheme, abolish the means test for social and war veteran pensioners, couple both social and war veteran pensions to the cost of living index, and take steps to equalise the pensions paid to the different race groups. The second petition was addressed to the Minister of Community Development and called on him to limit to 10% per year, all future rent increases in rent-controlled flats, to postpone beyond April 1981 the section in the Sectional Title Amendment Act which permits landlords to evict tenants if they want to sell the flat under sectional title, and to freeze for a year the decontrolling of rent-controlled buildings and to institute a survey to consider all aspects of decontrolling.2

A total of 31 555 people signed the petitions which were presented to the minister in June.21 Dr Munnik rejected the call contained in the petition and accused the official opposition of "using pensioners as political footballs for party political ends".

Dr Munnik said that he was investigating a system in which pensions would be related directly to the expenses of individuals, regardless of race. To illustrate his point he said that an independent survey by the Human Sciences Research Council had shown that whites spent an average R55 per month on housing while the corresponding figures for coloured people and Indians and Africans was R14-R16 per month and R8 per month respectively.2 During the debate on the Social Welfare and Pensions vote Dr Munnik asked whether an African "who spends R8 on housing has to receive the same pension as the white person who spends R55 on housing?" and committed the government, not to introduce parity in pensions, but to pay each person a pension based on his needs.23

In May Mr David Thebehal, chairman of the Soweto Community Council, announced that from July 1 pensioners in Soweto would not be required to pay rents for the houses of which they were the registered tenants.24 (See section on Housing in chapter on the Urban African.)
Alcoholism and Drug Addiction

Concern at the growing abuse of drugs, principally marijuana and alcohol, grew during the year. Miss Jenny Frost, superintendent of Phoenix House Rehabilitation Centre, said that approximately 80% of the inmates of Phoenix House started smoking marijuana between the ages of 12 and 16 years while they attended school and that a survey to establish the extent of drug abuse in schools was necessary.5 The last such survey, which had been conducted five years ago by

582

Alcohol and Drugs

the Human Sciences Research Council, had found that 19% of people between the ages of 16 and 21 years abused drugs regularly, while 49,8% had experimented with marijuana and 50,7% had tried other drugs as well.26 Mr Chris van der Burgh, who conducted the 1975 survey into drug abuse among school children, said that it was urgent for the HSRC to conduct another investigation into the problem as he believed the situation had worsened since his original survey.

Statistics released in July27 showed that South Africans were consuming large quantities of alcohol. SA's drinking population consumed slightly more alcohol per head than its British counterparts whose consumption had reportedly alarmed British officials. Reports stated that there had been a significant increase in the number of young and elderly people who were abusing alcohol. Dr Sylvan de Miranda, director and head of clinical services for the SA National Council to Combat Alcoholism, said that the abuse of alcohol by white males was largely among people who were involved in high pressure or 'situational' occupations such as commercial travellers. White women were drinking more because of social expectations and greater emancipation and elderly whites turned to alcohol because of loneliness, boredom or fear. Dr de Miranda said that alcohol abuse among youth and blacks stemmed from too large an exposure to alcohol in too short a time. Others disagreed with Dr de Miranda, stating that the abuse of alcohol by the black population was due to the intolerable pressures placed on blacks by the society in which they lived.

The Minister of Health, Dr L A P A Munnik, warned that he might be forced to take steps to reduce the alcohol content of liquor and beer. Dr Munnik's call for the formation of a national strategy to combat alcoholism was supported by SA Breweries and Mr C H Wenmann, chief director of the SA National Council to Combat Alcoholism.

The Minister of Statistics gave information relating to the number of persons convicted of offences in connection with drugs and dependence producing substances and the number committed to rehabilitation centres during the period July 1, 1977 to June 30, 1978:28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Convicted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured</td>
<td>1 991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fined or Imprisoned
or
Imprisoned
419
1 412
98
Sent to a Rehabilitation Centre
15 7
African 13 534 5 490 4
Total 20386 7419 26
The number of state-run rehabilitation centres for alcohol and drug abusers was extracted from the various departmental reports:

African 583
(in 'white'
White Coloured Indian area)
Number of centres - 1 - 1 Alcohol
Maximum accommodation 512 232 150-160 and
Drugs
There were also 18 subsidised private rehabilitation centres of which 17 were for whites and one for coloureds. There were apparently no rehabilitation centres for Indians in SA. Replying to a question in the assembly29 the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, said that during the 1979-80 financial year no state funds had been allocated for the establishment of rehabilitation institutions for Indians addicted to alcohol or drugs and nothing had been spent for that purpose. The Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs does not refer to any rehabilitation centres for Indians.
Social Workers
There was a serious shortage of social workers in Natal during the year. Heads of social welfare organisations said that the main reasons were poor salaries and the lack of future prospects in the profession.30 Salary scales for social workers were given as follows:
White R5 070-R7 080 p.a.
Indian R4 395-R5 745 p.a.
Mr J J Jonker, administrative official in the Department of Cooperation and Development, declined to reveal the salary scale for African social workers. Replying to a question in the assembly, the Minister of Indian Affairs confirmed that 13 social workers employed by his department had resigned because of disparity in salaries with their white colleagues and alleged denial of professional status.31 He gave the following information relating to the percentage of white social workers' salaries received by Indians:32
Grade 1970 1975 1980
Social Worker 66,04 72,55 80,46
Senior Social Worker 85,40 86,25 95,75
Principal Social Worker 82,30 80,45 87,65
Chief Social Worker - - 93,65
It is probable that coloured social workers are on the same salary scale as their Indian counterparts.

References
Hansard 8 col 3609
2 Hansard 8 col 3618
3 Hansard 15 col 7310
4 Hansard 4 Q col 185-6
1 Information supplied by the Secretary for Health, Welfare and Pensions, October 20
6 Information supplied by the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, September 15

SPORT
General
In spite of right wing opposition the government pushed ahead with its policies of 'deracialising' sport. An official inquiry conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council recommended wide-ranging changes to racially discriminatory laws governing sport. This resulted in a slow resumption of sporting ties with some countries, especially after reports by the British Council of Sport, the International Cricket Conference and a French parliamentary commission on the situation regarding SA sport. Thus for the first time in years there has been a reversal of the trend towards isolating SA in sport, particularly in rugby. In spite of this, however, a number of SA sportspeople, notably in cricket, soccer, golf and tennis, decided to play outside the country because of the international isolation of SA port.

There was little change if any in relations between those bodies affiliated to the SA Council of Sport (SACOS), which is affiliated to the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa and which advocates an international boycott of SA sport, and other sports bodies. African and third World countries continued vehemently to oppose the international readmittance of SA sport and most countries and their internal bodies tended to follow their lead.
There was a spate of racial incidents primarily because local authorities, which control most sport facilities, have either barred black sportspeople or imposed controversial conditions on the playing of non-racial sport. Although the government maintains that sport is not governed by racial laws, these localised incidents have resulted in widespread publicity and have served to create the impression that there have been no substantial changes in government policy. As the government is very unlikely to take action against local authorities for these incidents, it seems likely that they will continue.

Government Policy
In February the Minister of Sport, Mr P Janson, gave a mandate to the Human Sciences Research Council to investigate the structure of SA sport, giving priority to the SA Games, the question of soccer stadiums and the effect that certain discriminatory legislation, namely the Group Areas Act, the Liquor Act and the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, had on the control and conduct of sport. More than 600 people were invited to participate in the investigation. The recommendations of the first report are documented below.

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Government Policy
In reply to a question in parliament as to whether he intended to amend the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act in order to facilitate the attendance by all races at sports meetings within urban black residential areas, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation said that the entrance tickets to such sporting events would be regarded as adequate to enable non-Africans to enter such areas, provided the relevant administration board and the SA Police were informed in advance about the event and that the admission tickets were purchased beforehand. As far as the players were concerned, their club membership tickets would be regarded as adequate to enable them to enter these areas.' This was criticised by some sportsmen as merely replacing one form of permit with another.

In reply to a question in parliament as to whether he was contemplating any legislative or administrative steps to exempt sports activities from the provisions of the Group Areas Act, the minister said that legislative steps were a matter for the departments administering the Group Areas Act and the regulations issued in terms of the act. Administrative steps for doing away with applications for occupation permits with respect to sport had already been taken.'

In reply to a question in parliament as to whether coloured, Indian and African sports clubs could apply for international status, the Minister of Justice said that Section 72(3) of the Liquor Act only provided for the granting of an authority for international status to holders of on-consumption licences issued in respect of premises intended for occupation by, or for the convenience of whites or whites and persons who are not whites. Coloured, Indian and African sports clubs could, therefore, not apply for such an authority. In terms of Section 43(3) of the act, however, holders of liquor licences or special authorities in respect of black establishments could apply for the suspension of inter alia, the condition prohibiting the supply of liquor and meals to whites on such premises.
During 1978 an application in terms of Section 72(3) of the act was received from the Indian Eddels Sports and Social Club in Pietermaritzburg but was refused for the above reasons. There had been no other applications.3

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Sport said that municipalities were autonomous bodies and the use of municipal sports facilities in white group areas by members of other race groups was to be decided by the municipality concerned. To maintain good order it was expected of owners and sports bodies that they would consult the department before sports facilities were made available. This was in accordance with the announcement on October 27, 1979 that all sports activities were being dissociated from the Group Areas Act.4

In March the Prime Minister, in response to attempts by Mr Andries Treurnicht, Minister of Public Works, to block the involvement of coloured youths in the Craven Week of school rugby, said that he interpreted SA law as being unconcerned with the organisation of sports competitions unless it was to ensure the maintenance of law and order. Dr Craven's planned non-racial rugby week had broken no law. The involvement of whites and coloureds was up to the individuals themselves and their parents and the government would not interfere.' Dr Treurnicht had said that if concessions were made on integrated sport, it would be difficult to maintain separation in school and residential areas.

In reply to a question in parliament as to whether his department intended taking any steps in regard to the suggestion made in the report of the SA Olympic and National Games Association 1978-79, that representative sports organisations should decide how the money should be spent which was made available by the state for the promotion of sport, the Minister of Sport said that discussions on the matter had been held on October 25, 1979 between representatives of the association and members of the department. It was unanimously agreed that the department's method of dealing directly and separately with national sports controlling bodies, and then deciding on the allocations for the type of sports involved, was the only practical and acceptable method.'

During the debate on National Education and Sport and Recreation, Mr D Dalling (PFP) said that while the government proclaimed a policy of sports autonomy, it still adhered to the policy outlined in 1976, with the result that the practice of sport bore no resemblance to the policies expressed by the government. The discriminatory laws affecting sport were still on the statute book though they were being circumvented by administrative instruction.

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Sports Investigation
In September the first report of the HSRC investigation, submitted by the committee for the jurisprudential investigation into legislation that hampers sports relations in SA, was published.

Among the findings of the committee were that discriminatory legislation was unacceptable in principle in the field of sport, and that the principle of sports autonomy should be maintained and promoted. In this regard sporting organisations should be free to decide on their membership, on the enforcement of disciplinary measures, on the appointment of officials and on the arrangement of competitions.
Sports autonomy also included the right to differentiate on the basis of race, culture, religion, language etc., differentiation being distinguished from discrimination, a recognition of factors that were socially and culturally relevant in the particular circumstances. There should neither be legally enforced segregation nor enforced integration, the committee recommended, and sports should not be used as a political instrument by the authorities. However, any sports organisation openly or secretly working against the interests of sport and thwarting the law, should be regarded as abusing its autonomy and be open to investigation by the authorities. The committee further urged that legislation not by nature related to sports situations should not be made applicable to sport by proclamation. 'Administrative' exemption from legislative measures was legally impermissible and undesirable from a policy-forming point of view, the committee stated.

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HSRC Investigation

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HSRC Investigation

With regard to legislation affecting sport the committee recommended that:

1. Section 1(4) of the Group Areas Act, in terms of which the State President can by proclamation declare the presence of persons on premises reserved for particular purposes mentioned in the proclamation to be illegal occupation, and Proclamation R228 of 1973 which was issued in terms of this authorisation and which affected sport, should both be repealed. Alternatively they should not be applicable to sport;

2. Sports clubs that are the holders of a club or sports ground licence should be exempted from the Liquor Act (No 87 of 1977) so that they would not have to apply for 'international status' in order to supply liquor to blacks;

3. The committee found that it would be artificial to exclude only sport from the discriminatory effect of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No 49 of 1953), and recommended that the act in its totality together with other relevant discriminatory legislation be subjected to a comprehensive jurisprudential investigation;

4. The committee recommended that the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No 25 of 1945) be amended in order to allow for non-racial sport.

Implementation of Government Policy

It was announced that the government planned to construct a non-racial international sports stadium south of Johannesburg. In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Sport and Recreation said that the Committee of Inquiry into the Provision of a National Sports Centre had submitted a report. As a result of its recommendations funds had been made available for a feasibility study of a site. The committee also recommended that the building of a soccer
A feasibility study which would be completed by the end of August 1980. In reply to another question the Minister of Justice, Mr Schlebusch, said that by the end of 1979, 59 applications for international status by sports clubs had been approved subject to the usual conditions and nine had been refused. He said that reasons for the refusals were not made public. Every application was considered on merit with regard, inter alia, to the need for such a facility and the existence of similar facilities in the area concerned. Those refused were: University Club (Pietermaritzburg), Belgravia Bowling Club (Germiston), Point Yacht Club (Durban), Koeberg Civil Contractors Recreation Club (Malmesbury), aMatikulu Country Club (Munzeni), Somerset West Country Club, Paardevlei Club (Somerset West), Rustenburg Platinum Mine Sports Club and the Klein Zee Ontspanningsklub (Springbok). Mr le Roux, chairman of the Liquor Board, gave a provincial breakdown of the clubs granted international status as follows: Transvaal - 23, Orange Free State - 2, Natal - 14, Cape Province - 29.

**Racial Incidents**

In January controversy arose over the refusal of the Newlands Restaurant to serve Mr Omar Henry, a Western Province cricketer, who visited the restaurant with British cricketers during the match between Western Province and Transvaal. The Minister of Sport and Recreation said he would ask his department to investigate the incident. A spokesman for the Liquor Board said that the restaurant should have phoned Pretoria to obtain permission.

The Johannesburg City Council decided to prohibit the playing of professional soccer at the Rand Stadium during 1980, ostensibly because of the violence during the last soccer season. However, a member of the council's management committee said that the main reason for withdrawing the use of Rand Stadium from the Football Council of SA was because that body failed to send in their application for use of the stadium before the deadline for applications on November 30, 1979. Mr George Thabe, president of SANFA, said that the Rand Stadium would remain boycotted by the NPSL until clarification had been received from the government on its use. They saw the prohibition as being racially motivated.

In April the Johannesburg City Council refused permission for Lusitano and other NPSL clubs to use the Rand Stadium for matches during a tour by a Portuguese team. As a result the tour was cancelled. In June the management committee refused to attend a meeting with officials of the Department of National Education and Sport and Recreation to discuss the Rand Stadium as it felt that no good purpose could be served. In September the council reaffirmed its decision to bar blacks from the Ellis Park swimming baths.

In January the Western Transvaal Table Tennis Association (WTTTA), a member of SACOS, called for an urgent meeting with the Johannesburg City Council's Coloured and Asian Affairs Department after being refused the use of the Lenasia recreation centre. Association officials felt that they were being victimised since another table tennis organisation, which was not affiliated to SACOS, was allegedly granted permission to use the recreation centre.
There were several other complaints by non-racial organisations that they were being victimised by local authorities.

The Pretoria City Council refused the Arcadia Pepsi club permission to use the Caledonian Stadium on several occasions, ostensibly on the grounds that the matches clashed with rugby matches at Loftus Versveld and consequently that the crowd would be too large for the police and local authorities to handle. The club applied to the Northern Transvaal Football Association (NTFA), who controls the ground, but it too refused. In July the NTFA applied to the council for the removal of the racial clause in their agreement, which was to expire in 1987. This clause states that black players could not use the ground without council permission. As a result of the decision by the council, Mr Thabe, president of SANFA, placed a total prohibition on the use of the Caledonian Stadium for soccer matches. Mr Thabe met with the Minister of Sport in September to discuss the matter. In July the Pretoria City Council again created controversy when it refused permission for a marathon race from Kempton Park to Pretoria.

Racial Incidents

In September the council's Management Committee rejected the application from the Northern Transvaal Swimming Association for the 1982 non-racial national championships to be held at the Hillcrest swimming pool, giving as its reason the high cost of renovating the pool for the purpose. When the NTSA raised the necessary money, the council referred the matter back to the management committee and failed to make a definite ruling.

In February it was announced that the Witbank Town Council was planning a major sports centre, with a separate soccer stadium. The sports centre would be for whites only and open to all races only at regional level while the soccer stadium would be open at all levels.

In March, after initially granting an Indian cricketer permission to join the De Kaap Cricket Club which used the municipally owned Coronation Park, the Barberton Town Council reversed its decision when faced with opposition by the local branch of the National Party, the rugby club and the Junior Rapportryers, who were against the use of Coronation Park by non-whites. The council informed the club that its decision would be reversed again if the other sports clubs agreed.

In March coloured athletes and spectators were barred from the opening of a new athletics track at the De Jager sports complex in Oudtshoorn because there were no separate toilets.

Also in March an attempt to open the West Bank Golf Club in East London to all races was defeated at its annual meeting when it was decided not to apply for an international licence. The same month the Old Parktonians Club in Johannesburg prevented six supporters of the Kohinoor team from Lenasia from using the club's...
facilities. The team refused to continue playing the league match. Dr Ali Bacher, chairman of the Transvaal Cricket Council, said that there had been several incidents involving Old Parktonians which had gone against the principles of the council.13

In the same month two Indian bowlers at the New Germany Sports Club in Natal were prevented from using the club's toilets, bar or lounge. As a result all the bowlers involved in the game went to another club. In the Cape the Noupooort municipality refused the use of its grounds for white rugby teams to play coloured teams. The neighbouring Middelburg municipality also refused the use of its grounds for the matches, saying that the coloured team could only use the ground four times a season.

In April the Durban City Council applied to the Minister of Sport and Recreation for permission to open the Windsor Park Golf Course and the adjacent mashie course to all races. The Eshowe Sports Club under the control of the Eshowe Town Council opened its membership to all race groups and applied for international status.

In May, at a meeting of the parliamentary sports club, Fernwood, it was decided that the club's past customs should be maintained, namely that black guests were not normally allowed but that exceptions should be made on an ad hoc basis. The same would apply in the case of competitive sport. As a result, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the opposition, resigned as chairman of the club's committee. It was later revealed that the decision was unconstitutional.

The same month the first non-racial boxing match was held at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto. Professional boxers were barred from using the training facilities at the Western Holdings Mine in Welkom which had the only fully equipped training facilities for boxers in the province. Only amateur boxers were allowed to use the facilities. In May the Westview Cricket Club refused to host the annual meeting of the Eastern Province Cricket Union because the club's facilities were not open to all races, whereas there were a number of black clubs affiliated to the EPCU. A number of cricketers demanded that strong action be taken against Westview Cricket Club for failing to honour the non-racial constitution of the EPCU.

In June seven amateur boxers and a boxing official were arrested for failing to produce their reference books at a roadblock in Delnas while on their way to the Transvaal Amateur Boxing Union championships in Brakpan. The boxers were forced to miss the tournament when they were held in jail overnight. They were only released after the personal intervention of an official of the Department of Sport and Recreation. Three officials of SACOS from Kimberley were held for questioning by police in Port Elizabeth in June for more than two days while on their way to a meeting of their parent body.

In July the passport of Mr M N Pather, secretary of SACOS, was withdrawn a few days before he was to travel to the US to meet the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid and the ad hoc committee of an international convention against apartheid in sports.
In reply to a question in parliament, the Minister of Sport denied that a request had been made to the SA Rugby Board or any of its office bearers to take disciplinary action against Mr Cheeky Watson who played for the non-racial rugby team Kwaru in Port Elizabeth, because he broke the law by coaching in a black township. However, Dr Danie Craven insisted that he had been so instructed and had banned Mr Watson as a result.4

Finance
According to the estimates of expenditure the following amount was budgeted by the government for sport and recreation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Sport and Recreation</td>
<td>3 656 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Co-operation and Development</td>
<td>179 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Coloured Relations</td>
<td>1 056 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Defence</td>
<td>4 891 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>591</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Sport and Recreation said that during the financial year 1978-79, R1 540 748 had been spent to further sport among the white population of SA.16 According to figures supplied to the minister by the national sports controlling bodies there were 1 157 841 whites (excluding school children) who actively participated in all types of sport in 1979.17

The Minister of Coloured Relations said that the promotion of sport for coloured persons by the granting of funds for the purchase of equipment and defraying of administrative expenses was a matter falling under the control of the Coloured Representative Council and Sport administered countrywide by its executive. As far as the Administration of Coloured Affairs was concerned R91 780 was spent. The Department of Coloured Relations spent R49 427 making a total of R141 207. The number of coloured persons participating in sport (excluding school children) during 1979 was 74 442.18

In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Co-operation and Development said that R190 000 was paid from the SA Development Trust Fund and R128 954 from public funds to further sport amongst the African population. In addition the various administration boards had a total current expenditure of R3 645 911 and a capital expenditure of R1 864 445 in connection with the furtherance of sport among Africans. The Sport and Recreation Fund expended R402 400 on sports facilities in urban residential areas. The governments of the homelands further budgeted an amount of R245 500 to be expended on sports facilities in these states.19 The estimated number of Africans (excluding school children) who participated in sport in 1979 was 199 852.2
In reply to a question in parliament the minister said that funds were allocated by
the Department of Sport and Recreation on the basis of applications from
recognised national controlling bodies.
Funds were not separately made available to the different population groups but to
the recognised controlling bodies to be utilised as applied for. Separate amounts
for each population group could, therefore, not be provided.21
In reply to another question the Minister of Sport said that he had received an
application from the SA Games Committee for funds in 1979 for the SA Games.
An amount of Rlm was applied for and it was agreed, in principle, that an amount
of R300 000 be made available for the 1980-81 financial year.

School Sport
Controversy resulted from the announcement by Dr Craven, president of the SA
Rugby Board, that the Craven Week of school rugby held in July would include
coloured teams. Mr Preuyt, chair man of the SA Schools Rugby Association said
that an integrated Craven Week would go against the "spirit and identity" of the
occasion and he would not agree to their participation. He later conceded that
coloureds could participate but said that they would not play against
representative white provincial school sides and instead would play
against invitation sides from Boland and Western Province.22
There were reports that schools in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal intended
boycotting the Craven Week because of the participation of coloureds. In March
the chairman of the Eastern Transvaal division of the Afrikaans School Principals
Association announced that he would boycott Craven Week if a coloured team
participated.23 The principals of two Afrikaans schools in Germiston refused to
allow their pupils to participate in the trials. However, school inspectors said that
they had transgressed their powers as

they were not permitted to control the activities of pupils outside school.
Participation in Craven Week is by individuals and not by school teams. Five
pupils from these schools participated in the trials despite the decision of their
principals.24

A delegation of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, representing 19 000
teachers, warned the Minister of Sport that the association would be unable to
prevent the teachers from staging a mass demonstration against integrated school
sport. The association was emphatically opposed to integrated sport, not for
political reasons it said, but for educational reasons.25
Dr Andries Treurnicht, Minister of Public Works, told a National Party meeting in
Jeppe that coloureds should have their own rugby week and expressed strong
opposition to integrated sport. The Prime Minister Mr Botha, in reply said that he
could not associate himself with public statements or behaviour which could
cause further tension between whites and coloureds. The organisation of Craven
Week should be left to the rugby authorities, to the players and their parents who
had the exclusive right to decide whether to participate or not. The government
would not interfere unless a law was broken and there were, he said, no laws
regulating sport.26
Despite opposition, the congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond voted in favour of a non-racial Craven Week and expressed support for non-racial sport at high schools in general.

The SA Rugby Federation accepted an invitation to attend Craven Week and sent a coloured team which duly participated on the same basis as the white teams. In July the annual meeting of the SA Schools Rugby Association decided that coloured teams should be a permanent part of Craven Week. African teams should also be allowed to participate if they were strong enough and plans for their participation were being made by a committee.

In March, St Catherine's Convent in Florida applied to the West Rand High School Netball Association for non-racial netball teams of African, white, coloured and Chinese pupils to play in league matches. This was refused. Sports administrators in Vryheid decided that the children of Nardini Convent which had eight coloured pupils could not play on the same sports fields or swim in the same pool as pupils from white primary schools. The constitution of the North Eastern Natal Junior Sports Association allows for the participation of white pupils only in inter-school competition.

In March, the Board of Directors of the New Horizon School for the Blind in Pietermaritzburg decided not to allow four Indian pupils to participate in the SA championships for the disabled because they were not non-racial. A meeting between the Natal Director of Education and the chairman of the board failed to resolve the matter.

In May the Bethelsdorp Primary School Sports Union was expelled from the Eastern Province Schools Sports' Board for allegedly transgressing the double standards policy of SACOS by allowing a teacher who practised double standards to become vice-president. This meant that the nine schools affiliated to the union would no longer be able to play sport against schools affiliated to the board. The board controls all primary school sport in the Eastern Province.

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University Sport

The SA Senior Schools Sports' Association representing more than 200 schools and colleges throughout SA, called on all its affiliates to ostracise the touring British Lions rugby team who had chosen to ignore the demand by the majority of the world's sporting bodies that non-racial sports begin at school level. A spokesman for the association said that a number of schools affiliated to the multinational SA Rugby Board, were completely opposed to playing rugby with blacks.

In May a new schools sports organisation, the SA Schools Confederation, (SASCO) was formed combining the SA Schools Athletes' Union and the National Schools Sport Association which controlled soccer and netball. Thirty Northern Transvaal schools withdrew from the annual inter-school athletics meeting to be held at Pilditch Stadium in Pretoria in November because of the participation by an Indian youth. A separate white meeting was organised and the non-racial meeting had to be cancelled because of the small number of
applicants, the Principals' Association of Pretoria's Afrikaans primary schools took a decision that primary school sport should be for whites only.

In November the Kelo Kitso Senior Secondary School in Soweto entered five crews in the inter school St Martin's Regatta held at Wemmer Pan Club near Johannesburg. Eleven other schools participated.

University Sport
The Black Universities Sports' Council (BUSC) resolved to seek affiliation to the various provincial councils of SACOS, and instructed the black universities to implement the non-racial sports policy of SACOS.

In April African universities boycotted their annual inter-varsity sports at Turfloop because the host university was accused of practising double standards. The Turfloop soccer club had joined the SA National Football Association, which was accused of being an apologist for the government. The conflict between the soccer team and the rest of the student body assumed violent proportions.1 (See section on University Education.)

In August five black universities were invited to participate in the SA University Athletic Championships in Durban.

National Colours
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Sport said that since April 1979, when the Department of Sport and Recreation had taken over functions in respect of all racial groups, the State President's Award, the Sports Merits Awards and the Sports Administrators Awards would be presented at the same function for all racial groups. 2

According to the annual report for the Department of Sport and Recreation,"' the State President's Award for 1978 was won by 18 whites. The SA Sports Merit Award had been awarded to 128 whites in 1979 for achievements during 1978, and 17 white sports administrators received the Sports Administrators' Award.

In September Mr Errol Tobias became the first black to be awarded Springbok colours for rugby.

International Sports Contacts
In reply to a question in parliament the Minister of Sport said that during 1979 SA was expelled from the International Netball Association and was accepted as a full member by the International Radio Drivers' Association.4 Fifty-eight sporting bodies still had full membership and enjoyed full participation in international events.5 As at March 25, 1980 SA was excluded, barred or suspended from 23 international associations and was banned from participation in or had invitations withdrawn from 11 international sporting events." He said that as sports bodies arranged and controlled their own programmes he was not aware of all the international events in which SA took part in 1979. The department was aware of seven of such events which he listed."

During 1979, R286 930 was spent by the Department of Sport in assisting individuals and teams to visit SA. This involved 34 events in 35 different types of sports.8 In 1980 SA was expelled from the Amateur Basketball Federation. SA had been suspended from the federation in 1977 which meant that she was barred
from international competition. However, she had continued to maintain close links with other countries.

In January two investigating teams were sent to SA, one by the British Sports Council led by Mr Dickie Jeeps and the other by the French government led by Mr Marie.

The Jeeps Commission met with some opposition by groups in Britain such as SANROC and by most black organisations within SA. The Jeeps Commission, which included Mr Basil D'Oliveira, met with cabinet ministers, sports administrators and officials and visited different sporting venues and universities, attended various sporting events and visited some townships. Mr Hassan Howa, president of SACOS initially refused to meet the commission as he was opposed to any sports links with SA as long as apartheid existed. However, he eventually did meet with them, saying afterwards that he found Mr Jeeps biased and already in favour of white SA.

The report of the Jeeps Commission praised the progress which they felt had been made towards sports integration in SA. The six completely integrated codes, namely fencing, karate, athletics, judo, canoeing and paraplegics had just cause for readmission to the international arena. Soccer, according to the report, had made so much progress that it would be unfair of the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) to maintain its ban on SA soccer. Almost without exception SA sports administrators had condemned apartheid and pledged their belief in sports integration. The report recommended an end to sports isolation saying that international sports bodies in those sports which are integrated should visit SA, see the progress made and pressure for those sports to be given clearance internationally.

The commission categorised SA sports as follows:
1. those sports whose administrators had done everything they could to integrate and had won government concessions. These International sports included cricket, soccer, athletics and paraplegics and in the opinion of the commission now met international requirements;
2. sports in which a start had been made towards integration but which needed to be pressurised;
3. sports whose administrators needed to be given every incentive to move towards integration. The commission felt that if recognition was not given to those sports that had integrated, there was a danger of a backlash from segregated sports. One of the major obstacles to non-racial sport, pinpointed by the report, was the reluctance of local authorities to allow the use of their facilities for non-racial sports. The SA government should put pressure on local authorities to change their attitudes and make available their facilities for non-racial events. It called on the government to make a massive investment to provide sports facilities in black townships and coaching teams needed to be actively
encouraged. Black schools should be provided with better facilities, and a new national soccer stadium should be provided as a matter of urgency.

One of the members of the commission, Mr Bernard Atha, and several members of the British Sports' Council criticised the report for betraying an unconscious bias in favour of the SA establishment.

Mr Peter Hain said that members of the commission seemed blind to the fact that their own report confirmed just how racist SA sport was.41

Mr Paul Stephenson, a member of the Council, who was critical of the report was invited by SACOS to undertake his own investigation into the sport situation but he was refused a visa by the SA government.

The French investigating team consisted of eight members of parliament and three sports administrators. The leader of the team, Mr Bernard Marie, in his report said that certain sports in SA like soccer, athletics, boxing and fencing now met the requirements of international demands as they appeared to be fully integrated. Non-integrated sports included rugby, cricket and tennis. The report recommended that France postpone any resumption of relations at international level with non-integrated sports in SA but recommended the resumption of relations with integrated federations after verification by the competent national and international sports organisations that segregationist sport measures no longer existed in these federations. Boycotts and sanctions were opposed. The French anti-apartheid movement was highly critical of the report.

In June the General Secretary of the International Softball Federation visited SA at the request of the SA Softball Federation (black) which had complained that the umbrella body, the SA Softball Union, was not practising non-racialism. On his departure he said that if SA softballers wished to secure their membership in the international body, the different racial associations would have to unite to form a national non-racial organisation.42

At the meeting of the International Cricket Conference in August, the position of SA in world cricket was discussed. A SA delegation consisting of SA Cricket Union representatives was allowed to speak to the adjourned conference and the necessary two-thirds majority agreed to a resolution requesting SA to put its case in writing for the next annual meeting. English representatives proposed that non-representative sub-test tours of SA be resumed but no vote was taken on the matter. India, Pakistan and the West Indies insisted that Mr Howa, president of SACOS and the SA Cricket Board, be invited to speak at the 1981 conference.

In March, after the publication of the reports of the British and French investigation teams, the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA), the controlling body of world soccer, said that there was no possibility of SA soccer federations being accepted back into FIFA as long as apartheid continued to exist.

In March the International Rugby Board announced plans for 12 international tours of SA between 1981 and 1988, though whether they took place would depend on political developments within SA and other member countries.
In June the International Federation of Rugby Associations voted against an immediate and definitive break with SA rugby. In July the International Golf Association decided that it would not insist on host nations accepting Springbok teams. Previously the association had attempted to accommodate SA and insisted that host countries admit all member countries. In June the United Nations announced a plan to set up a centre based in London to co-ordinate a worldwide campaign against apartheid in sports aimed at the final and total isolation of SA in international sport and to prevent the use by the SA government of sports contacts for international propaganda. The UN Centre Against Apartheid decided to compile a register of all sports people who violated the sports boycott so that they could be blacklisted. A source of much controversy was the decision in January by the English Rugby Union to undertake a tour of SA. This went against the advice of the British Sports' Council and the policy of the British government, spokesmen for which said that while the government adhered to the Gleneagles Agreement it would not interfere with decisions taken by the rugby union."

In March the British government imposed a ban on paid leave for members of the Lions team who were in the armed forces or civil service. The opposition Labour Party denounced the tour as did SANROC, which also called on the Zimbabwe government to cancel the game against the Lions scheduled for July in Salisbury. In May the Zimbabwe government cancelled the match. In July African countries voted to call for a total ban on the participation of any British team in the Brisbane Commonwealth Games because of the tour. The alternative, if Britain was not banned, was a threat of a complete African boycott of the Games. On January 5 the Netherlands Council of State barred SA from participation in the Paraplegic Olympic Games to be held in Holland. In June the International Federation of Rugby Associations voted against an immediate and definitive break with SA rugby. In July the International Golf Association decided that it would not insist on host nations accepting Springbok teams. Previously the association had attempted to accommodate SA and insisted that host countries admit all member countries. In June the United Nations announced a plan to set up a centre based in London to co-ordinate a worldwide campaign against apartheid in sports aimed at the final and total isolation of SA in international sport and to prevent the use by the SA government of sports contacts for international propaganda. The UN Centre Against Apartheid decided to compile a register of all sports people who violated the sports boycott so that they could be blacklisted. A source of much controversy was the decision in January by the English Rugby Union to undertake a tour of SA. This went against the advice of the British Sports' Council and the policy of the British government, spokesmen for which said that while the government adhered to the Gleneagles Agreement it would not interfere with decisions taken by the rugby union."

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International Contacts

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International Contacts
in July. It rejected a request by the SA Sports' Association for the Handicapped that the council declare illegal the decision of the Dutch government to refuse financial assistance for the games if a SA team participated. A Dutch organisation, 'We Belong', which supported SA's inclusion, intended to contest the decision on the grounds of its illegality but this came to nought and SA, in the end, did not participate in the games. In March the French government threatened to withdraw financial backing for the world surfing championships if SA was invited. A tour of France by the Springbok rugby team was made impossible when the French government reiterated its policy of refusing visas to SA sportsmen. The French Rugby Federation (despite international protests) sent a French team to SA in October. After the tour the president of the French Rugby Federation said that he was not satisfied that SA had made enough progress in removing segregation from rugby.
The New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) invited SA for a tour in 1981. The New Zealand government said it would not interfere by refusing visas but would plan extreme pressure on the unions to prevent the tour. Inside SA an organisation 'CAST 81' (Committee Against Springbok Tour 1981) was established to fight against the tour. The All Black captain, Mr Graham Mourie, announced that he would not play against SA because of his opposition to apartheid. 

A group in America, the American Co-ordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS) launched a campaign to have SA golfers barred from competing in the World Amateur Golf Championships. The US government was asked to refuse visas to the SA team but this was refused and South Africans did participate despite the opposition. ACCESS, together with the Reverend Jesse Jackson, also campaigned against the World Boxing Association's heavyweight title fight between Mike Weaver (USA) and Gerrie Coetzee (SA) which was scheduled to take place in Bophuthatswana. Mr Blen Franklin, president of the SA Tennis Union, after attending the annual meeting of the International Tennis Federation in August, said that as a result of discussions with representatives of North and South American countries, he had decided to withdraw SA from the 1981 Davis Cup because they had all said that they would not be able to play against SA.44

In August the Canadian government refused visas to Springbok women bowlers wanting to participate in the 1981 World Bowls Tournament in Toronto. The Swedish government refused visas to SA participants in the World Squash championships in November. Several countries had threatened to withdraw if SA participated.

Before the Lions' rugby tour in June, a South American rugby team visited SA. A reciprocal tour by a SA rugby team was jeopardised when the Argentinian government refused entry visas to enable SA rugby players to join a World XV in Buenos Aires. However, rugby officials including Dr Danie Craven, were later allowed to enter the country to negotiate the proposed Springbok tour. The tour went ahead but the Springboks, including for the first time a black man, Mr Errol Tobias, were barred entry into Argentina. In September the government of Argentina said that all South Africans wishing to visit Argentina would have to sign a sworn affidavit to the effect that they would not participate in sport. This resulted in three SA SACOS golfers being refused visas to play in the South American golf circuit in November.

The SA golf professionals were invited by the Kenyan Golf Association to play in the Kenyan Open Championships. However, the Kenyan government said that no South Africans would be allowed to participate. Despite protests by the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, SA participated in the international golf tournament in the Ivory Coast in March.

In May Mr Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, said that one of the conditions of Zimbabwe's acceptance by international sporting organisations was the ending of ties with SA, and it was necessary for this to be done. Zimbabwe sports
administrators had been told by the government that they could maintain traditional sports ties and meet their SA commitments until further notice. The Soviet government refused to allow entry to any South Africans to attend the Olympic Games.

National Sports Bodies
SACOS came under attack by the government in January when the then Minister of Sport, Mr Janson, accused it of being linked with overseas organisations such as SANROC and the Supreme Council of Sport in Africa which were working against SA. SABC TV and Die Burger, an Afrikaans newspaper in the Cape, claimed that SACOS was aiding and abetting communism. Mr Howa denied any association with communism and said that if members of SACOS were given passports to go overseas, it would not have to rely on other organisations to represent non-racial sport abroad. In April Mr M N Pather, general secretary of SACOS, was the first SACOS official to be given a passport to travel overseas since the formation of the organisation in 1973. He addressed the UN on apartheid. However, his passport was withdrawn in June so that he was unable to take up the position as a consultant and adviser to the UN special committee on apartheid for three months.

The 'double standards' policy of SACOS continued to create controversy. In January Mr Howa announced a campaign against those who violated the policy by attending cricket matches of the rival SA Cricket Union (SACU) while those of the SACOS affiliated SA Cricket Board (SACB) had a negligible turnout. Action would be taken against SACOS members attending matches of organisations not affiliated to SACOS and those playing for such organisations. In August SACOS called for a total boycott of all sport which did not conform to SACOS standards of non-racialism.

In February a rival organisation was formed in opposition to SACOS. The initial meeting was attended by representatives of more than ten codes of sport. The convener, Mr Rajendra Chetty, said he wished to launch a watchdog organisation to expose double standards within SACOS itself. The new organisation would aim at the integration of all races in sport and would work from a basis of cooperation, placing emphasis on contact, communication and dialogue.

Codes of Sport
In January SACOS announced a research project to investigate the way in which business used its money to boost racist sport. The project was undertaken by Mr Morgan Naidoo, president of the SA Amateur Swimming Federation.

Rugby
In a memorandum to the Jeeps Commission, the SA Rugby Board (SARB) set out its policy as being:
1. the creation of a SARB consisting of all races;
2. the merit selection of national teams from all races after mixed trials selected by a national selection committee composed of representatives from all racial groups;
3. participation of all races in the Currie Cup and other board competitions formerly run separately by the various national bodies;
4. acceptance of the principle of the autonomy of clubs and unions;
5. organisation of joint coaching courses for all races; and
6. the provision of equal facilities and opportunities for players and spectators.

In June Dr Craven, SARB president, announced that the SA Rugby Federation (coloured) and the SA Rugby Association (African) would be dissolved the following season. All clubs and players would be directly affiliated to the provincial unions so that black players would be competing on an equal basis for places in provincial teams.

In February Mr Rillee Jonas became the first black player to join a white rugby club, the Crusaders, in Port Elizabeth.

In November after complaints by Mr Cuthbert Loristen, president of the SA Rugby Federation, about the lack of representation of blacks on the SARB executive, it was announced that he and the chairman of the SA Rugby Association, Mr Curnick Mdyesha, would become members as from 1981.

In November the North Eastern Cape Rugby Union decided at its annual meeting to admit the coloured club Excelsior from Middleburg as a full member of the union. It also decided to admit the NE Cape Federation as a fifth sub-union of the union for administrative purposes. Two members of their executive would serve on the executive committee of the NE Cape Rugby Union. This meant that all coloured players in the NE Cape who were affiliated to the NE Cape Federation would be eligible for selection for the NE Cape provincial team. Any coloured club which attained the required administrative standards would be eligible for admission as a full member of the NE Cape Rugby Union.

The Transkei Rugby Board applied to join the SA Rugby Union (SARU) in July. This was in defiance of a decision by the Transkei cabinet that all sporting bodies should disaffiliate from SA sporting bodies. Although opposed to separate development, SARU indicated that it would accept the affiliation of the Transkei Rugby Board.

Cricket

There was some conflict between the multiracial Transvaal Cricket Council (TCC) and the Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB) during the year. This was to a certain extent generated by the racial incident at Old Parktonians' Club (see section on the Implementation of Government Policy). As a result of the incident Old Parktonians' was suspended from the TCC although this was lifted when it reaffirmed its support for the ideals of the TCC.

Over the years 22 clubs had left the TCB to join the TCC and the TCB had decided, in 1978, that defectors would be automatically suspended for life. With
the reversal of this trend, a change in this policy was considered in August, being supported by the national SA Cricket Board.

There was controversy during the year over the allocation of cricket fields by the Johannesburg City Council with the TCB alleging a bias on the part of the council in favour of the TCC.

Soccer
The largest soccer body in the country, the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL), (a multiracial body which acts within the framework of government sports policy) had its most successful year since its founding in 1976. A new management which took control of the organisation during the year effected considerable improvement in the administration of the league, while crowd violence and racial incidents were kept to a minimum.

However, white clubs in the NPSL faced difficulties, particularly with regard to finding playing venues in white areas, where local authorities often prohibited multiracial games. The major soccer venue in the country, Johannesburg's Rand Stadium, fell into this category.

As a result, one of the founder-member clubs of the NPSL, Arcadia, seemed likely to withdraw from the league due to the refusal of the Pretoria City Council to allow multiracial matches on its home pitch, the Caledonian ground in Pretoria's city centre.

Commenting on problems faced by white clubs in this regard, one observer stated that only one club, Wits University, seemed assured of its future in the NPSL, since it had its own ground which did not fall under the control of the Johannesburg City Council.

In February, at the biennial general meeting of SACOS, the SA Soccer Federation (SASF) was expelled for failing to implement the 'double standards' policy, which had been the condition for its readmittance in September 1979. The expulsion of SASF created a great deal of controversy amongst soccer organisations. The Pietermaritzburg Football Association at its annual meeting resolved to reject all SACOS resolutions which undermined sportsmen rather than providing constructive solutions and to express support for the SASF and its president, Mr Codes of Middleton.

Sport
Athletics
In January Mr Sydney Maree, a student at Villanova University in the USA was permitted to run in one of the most important athletic events, the Philadelphia Trail Classic. In 1979 he had been barred from American meetings with international participation because SA was barred from the International Athletic Federation. This was made possible by the designation of the event as 'domestic' by its organisers. Thereafter several athletics meetings were declared domestic.

In December Mr Willie Smit left SA for America because of the hopeless international position of SA athletics. He alleged that progress by the SA Athletics Union was strangled by the control exercised by the Broederbond over that body.
In January Dr van Heerden, president of the controlling body, the SA Amateur Boxing Federation (SABF), said that non-racial boxing in the amateur ranks needed to be introduced gradually to avoid 'racial friction'. The three racially constituted member bodies - the SA Amateur Boxing Association (white), the SA Amateur Boxing Union (African) and the SA Boxing Board (coloured) - were responsible for the delay in introducing non-racial boxing at club level. They had adopted a three to five year plan for this.6

The SABF was threatened with a racial split in January because it would not allow non-racial fights. One unit, the Eastern Cape, had left while the Johannesburg and District Boxing Association had boycotted successive tournaments. The majority of clubs in Western Province, Border and Natal also threatened to leave the SABF. The dissatisfaction arose from the exclusion of Indians and coloured people from the SABF’s annual tournaments in which only Africans and whites participated. Indians and coloured boxers could belong to the same clubs as African boxers but for tournament purposes only Africans were considered. Dr van Heerden said that integration was being investigated but in the meanwhile Indian and coloured boxers could form one body and seek direct affiliation to the federation and thereby participate in national tournaments.57

In June the SABF assumed control over amateur boxing, the championships for which would be non-racial. Six non-racial regions were formed. The Southern Transvaal Amateur Boxing Federation held their first championships in August, which were non-racial.

In January the chairman of the SA Amateur Boxing Council requested that whites join the organisation, the constitution of which was non-racial. Only Africans, Indians and coloured boxers had joined but this was not sufficient for it to succeed with its application to SACOS for affiliation.

During the parliamentary debate on the Boxing and Wrestling Control Amendment Act,8 Mr David Dalling (PFP) criticised the national and provincial boards of control, which administered professional boxing, for not being representative. Only the Cape Board had an appointed member and, as the Minister of Sport pointed out, there was one in Natal. The boards were hampering boxing.

In October Mr Mike Weaver, despite both internal and external opposition, boxed against Mr Gerrie Coetzee in Bophuthatswana. He won the fight which resulted in celebrations in black townships through the country. The Boxing and Wrestling Control Amendment Act No 62 provided among other things that, if the Boxing and Wrestling Control Board had authorised the holding of any tournament and such tournament was attended by the board or any member of the board, the prohibition or stopping of a contest as provided for in the act would be taken only after consultation with the board or its members.

In moving the bill the minister said that SA was participating in world boxing and the powers vested in the police, magistrates or assistant magistrates to prohibit or stop the continuance of contests were out of proportion to the proper control required.
Tennis
In January the Tennis Association of SA (TASA) rejected suggestions by the SA Tennis Union (SATU) that the two amalgamate to form one controlling body, saying that it was not possible to have a single non-racial controlling body in the existing political system and also because SATU adhered to the government's sport policy. The conditions for amalgamation were the voluntary disaffiliation of SATU from the International Tennis Federation and the imposition of a moratorium on all SATU players, preventing them from competing in overseas tournaments. SATU president, Mr Franklin, accused TASA of being politically motivated and disinterested in the playing of non-racial tennis in SA. Any future initiatives would have to come from TASA. SATU would proceed to formulate a programme for the playing of non-racial sport at all levels.59

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StarJanuary 10
2 Star June 25
13 Citizen March 31
Cape Herald March 15
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Sunday Express March 9 Sport 24 Vaderland April 21
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13 28 Star March 20 29 Evening Post May 14 30 Cape Herald April 20 31 Daily
Dispatch April 10 32 Hansard 6 Q col 338 33 RP 66/80
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Hansard 4 Q col 237 38 Hansard 8 Q col 454 19 Eastern Province Herald January
10 40 Star January 16 41 Star March 11 42 Rand Daily Mail June 13 43 Rand
Daily Mail January 5 44 Rand Daily Mail August 15 41 Star May 25 46 Star
January 10 47 Argus January 10 48 Natal Post January 23-27 4” Natal Post
February 13-17, 20-24 10 Star February 29
LAY ORGANISATIONS
CONCERNED WITH
RACE RELATIONS
The activities of many organisations are necessarily to a greater or
lesser degree concerned with the field of race relations. This chapter 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 held its 51st annual conference in Cape Town in January. The theme
of the conference was 'The Riekert and Wiehahn Reports'. The following papers
were delivered:
'Industrial Peace and Industrial Justice - are these attainable in
the 1980 decade?' by Mr L C G Douwes Dekker;
'The Implications of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commission Reports - The
Government Response' by Professor P J van der Merwe;
'Shoes without Laces? The financing of urban black townships with special
reference to Soweto and the Soweto Community Council' by Mr John Kane-Berman.
The 1980 Alfred and Winifred Hoernle Memorial Lecture was delivered by the
Rev Leon Sullivan, the author of the Sullivan Code of principles for US
multinational corporations operating in SA, and was entitled 'The Role of
Multinational Corporations in SA'.
The Presidential address, entitled 'A National Strategy for 1980' was delivered by
the Institute's out-going president, Professor John Dugard.
Two past directors of the Institute, Dr Frederick van Wyk and Mr Quinton Whyte,
died during the year after long illnesses.
Various activities of the Institute are dealt with in the relevant sections of this
survey.
Women for Peaceful Change Now
The organisation is active in areas such as labour, housing, local amenities,
education and social contact. Its aims are:
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Organisations Concerned With Race Relations
1 to work for the elimination of discrimination; the promotion of
equal opportunities for all people of SA, and the recognition of
their human dignity;
2 to promote awareness of the needs and problems of all people
in SA;
to promote better communication and understanding between all people in SA;
4 to make such representations as are necessary in promoting peaceful change;
5 to respond within its power and mandate to crises as they arise;
6 to increase awareness among women of their power and to promote its use; and
7 to help people understand and accept change that will bring about a just society.
The organisation will host a symposium on education to be attended by delegates from all other Peace movements in SA in June 1981. Its membership is open to women of all races.

The Black Sash
The Black Sash maintained its opposition to injustice by all possible legal means during the year. It protested against detentions without trial, continued pass law arrests and banishments. Opposition was also demonstrated through letters to the press, members of parliament, cabinet ministers and the lobbying of opposition MPs.
Branches of the organisation operated in six regions. Seven Advice Offices, offering legal advice and assistance to Africans who fell foul of the country's many laws, continued to operate. According to the organisation's annual report the number of people assisted by the Black Sash at its Advice Offices in the period June 1979 to October 1979 had doubled over the corresponding period in 1978.
The organisation commemorated the 25th anniversary of its founding during the year. Speaking on the organisation's existence for 25 years Mrs Joyce Harris, national president, said that the fact that the Black Sash should still be striving for political morality and democracy in SA after 25 years was "a sad reflection upon conditions" in the country.' Members of the organisation marked the occasion by calling for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the ANC.
In an attempt to portray to the British Lions rugby touring team the effects of SA government policy on the lives of blacks in SA, the organisation invited the Lions to visit their Advice Office in Johannesburg. Explaining the invitation Mrs Audrey Coleman, regional chairman of the Black Sash, said that she "would like the British Lions to take what they hear and see (during the proposed visit) back with them so that they can act as true ambassadors for their country". The Lions did not take up the invitation.
In July, Mrs Sheena Duncan, the organisation's Transvaal president, said that the Black Sash was now in a position to give legal assistance to people arrested under the pass laws. Mrs Duncan was commenting on the acquittal of Mrs Rebecca Seshoka who had been charged under the pass laws. Mrs Seshoka was acquitted after the magistrate trying the case found that the arresting officer had not given her an opportunity to produce her reference book. The arresting officer's action was in contravention of a standing instruction of the West Rand Administration Board,
which states that inspectors Organisations should always ask the whereabouts of reference books)

Concerned
SA Bureau of Racial Affairs
(SABRA) Race
In July SABRA formed a society aimed at building "a growing Relations continuous region within the white area in which whites will live and work". Named 'Projek Oranje', the scheme envisaged the creation of an area from which blacks would be barred permanently. Dr Willem van Heerden, a senior member of SABRA, said that the most viable area for the project would be one where the existing (white) population supported the proposal. He said that people who did not wish to be involved would be asked to sell their properties to those who did. Dr van Heerden said that a likely place for the establishment of the white 'homeland' would be in the area around the Hendrik Verwoerd dam, on the border between the OFS and the Northern Cape. He said that blacks would be allowed to drive through the white 'homeland', participate in congresses or send sports teams there but would be forbidden to live or work in it.

According to SABRA's director, Dr C J Jooste, prominent industrialists, farmers and people with technical skills were already involved in the plan. Dr Jooste said that there was great interest in it. In August the plan was supported by the organisation's national chairman, Professor Carel Boshoff. Professor Boshoff said that it was imperative that there were also white growth points from which within the constellation of states -the white man could "make his contribution without selling out his geographical base from under him".

Addressing the SABRA Youth Conference in July the Reverend H F Verwoerd, son of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, former SA Prime Minister, called on whites to have large families. Commenting on the Reverend Verwoerd's call, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, said that it would cause a serious setback to family planning. He said that a similar call by Mr M C Botha, former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in the 1960s was still being quoted by those who opposed family planning on political grounds.

SABRA held its annual conference in Pretoria in September. Conference delegates voiced support for the plan to create a white 'homeland'. The chairman of SABRA and head of the Broederbond, Professor Carel Boshoff, said that the purpose of 'Projek Oranje' was to provide a secure base for whites in SA. Opening the conference he criticised the Prime Minister's plan to create regional economies because he said they would lead to economic and, ultimately, political integration.

Human Awareness Programme
Established by the SA Institute of Race Relations in 1977, the Human Awareness Programme operates a group of programmes on a national scale. The Programme has centres in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban and functions as a resource and information centre which works with groups that are capable of influencing existing centres of power with a view to creating acceptance of the concept of negotiation for peaceful change. To attain these ends the Concerned Human Awareness Programme assists interest groups or organisations...
involved in communicating the need for change and also initiates its own projects towards this end.

Relations Current Projects

The Human Awareness Programme
1 develops strategies for attitude change and publishes an Attitude Change Newsletter from time to time. It also publishes an organisational index, Bridge, which is updated annually;
2 facilitates training for selected organisations in relevant areas of need, e.g.
   (a) strategies of attitude change
   (b) leadership training
   (c) evaluating effectiveness
   (d) values clarification
   (e) organisational efficiency/project management
   (f) time management;
3 sets up or services occupationally-based pace-setter groups where individuals can examine their own commitment to change. Such groups include: businessmen's groups, politicians group, community worker groups, etc;
4 works with selected groups through identified agencies so as to achieve changes in customary modes of thinking and behaviour. Such projects include setting up of conferences and workshops, publication of popularised research material, the making and distributing of audio-visual resources and many other activities.

Centre for Intergroup Studies

Established in 1973 with the aid of a grant by the Abe Bailey Trust, the primary purpose of the Centre is to promote and conduct research into intergroup relations in SA, especially into relations between different race and language groups. The Centre continued its work during the year under the acting directorship of Professor Ampie Muller, head of the Department of Industrial Psychology at the University of the Western Cape. The director, Professor H W van der Merwe, was on study leave during the year.

The centre continued, to run 'The Constructive Programme for Sound Intergroup Relations' during the year. Launched in 1976, the programme aims to overcome obstacles in communication and cooperation in a positive constructive spirit by emphasising the advantages of contact between persons of different cultural and racial backgrounds. The programme is currently funded mainly by the Carnegie Corporation and the Algemeen Diakonaal Bureau of the Gereformeerde Kerken. However, the Centre's director said that a greater portion of the programme's financing would have to come from SA if it was to continue.

The Centre planned to establish a Community Resource Agency. The aims of the agency would be to give black individuals and communities access to resources; to make the findings of academic research accessible and of practical use; to make the Constructive Programme more representative of and responsive to the needs of communities; and to initiate, encourage and support self-help and growth in black communities as part of the programme toward a more balanced and open
society. It was hoped that the agency would be autonomous or semi-autonomous and it was suggested that it should be run by a committee of community workers drawn from the community or existing organisations. The Centre was also engaged in a number of areas of research and prepared a number of publications.

Urban Foundation

The Urban Foundation continued its operations during the year. Addressing the Advanced Management Programme at the University of Cape Town’s Graduate School of Business in January, Mr Justice Jan H Steyn, the organisation’s director, said that the creation of job opportunities for blacks was the primary priority of both the public and private sectors. He said that the education programme was aimed at the creation of technical skills to cope with the current economic boom. Judge Steyn warned that if the expectations of blacks in regard to job opportunities, education and housing were not met within the next 12 to 24 months, irreparable damage would be done to race relations in SA.

In June the Urban Foundation criticised the lack of evidence of real change in SA. Judge Steyn said that the pace at which the reforms recommended by the Wiehahn and Riekert Commission Reports had been implemented left much to be desired and the same could be said of the 99 year leasehold scheme, which he described as a step towards the ideal of freehold tenure. He welcomed the Prime Minister's pledge to institute equal education for all races and said that the Urban Foundation believed that this could only be attained through a unitary system and a single educational administration. Among other key matters which required urgent attention were the rapid elimination of discrimination and the creation of equal opportunity. Judge Steyn attacked unacceptable socio-economic conditions in urban areas and said that these must be eliminated.'

In March it was reported that the Urban Foundation had exceeded its initial five year target of R25m before the target date. A spokesman for the Urban Foundation said that as the target set in 1977 had been exceeded the organisation had set a target of R50m, which it hoped would be achieved as soon as possible. The initial target was exceeded following a donation of R5m from Anglo American, De Beers and Oppenheimer and Son.

During the period March 1, 1979 to February 29, 1980, the Urban Foundation approved projects in the following areas (Urban Foundation Funds only):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing Education and Training Community Facilities</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health Services</td>
<td>115</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Feasibility Studies</td>
<td>18</td>
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Total Cost-
5 659 000 5 343 000 3 202 000 564 000
1 124000 336 000
Total 356 16 228000 100
Total expenditure to date was as follows (all Funds):

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<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Total Expenditure-R</th>
<th>Total Expenditure-R of Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>8 595 000</td>
<td>42.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education and Training</td>
<td>6 912 000</td>
<td>34.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Facilities</td>
<td>2 316 000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 556 000</td>
<td>7.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research and Feasibility Studies</td>
<td>179 000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20 182 000</td>
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The organisation's budget for the 1980-81 financial year was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Budgeted Expenditure-R</th>
<th>Budgeted Expenditure-R of Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing/Home Improvements</td>
<td>6 902 000</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>4 253 000</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Development and Employment</td>
<td>2 401 000</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Facilities and Projects</td>
<td>2 329 000</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Services</td>
<td>1 115 000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Development</td>
<td>375 000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsive/Discretionary</td>
<td>970 000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigation Research</td>
<td>209 000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18 554 000</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>

In addition the organisation budgeted R1 947 000 tive and project overheads during the financial year. ture was planned to be R20 516 000.

The following organisations continued their operations in the field of race relations during the period under review (see 1978 Survey, pp 47-49, for details of their aims):

- Aksa (Aksie Suid Afrika/Action South Africa)
- Urban Kontak
- Mowbray Inter-Race Group
- Women for Peace
- Women's Legal Status Committee.

References
- Star March 11
- 2 Sunday Express April 27
- Rand Daily Mail July 8
THE CHURCHES

Tension between the government and English-speaking churches continued during the year. Leaders of these churches once again voiced outspoken opposition to government policy, holding it to be incompatible with Christian teaching. They particularly condemned aspects such as detention without trial, the migrant labour system, the Group Areas Act, influx control, the homelands policy and population relocation. During August a meeting between leaders of SACC churches and the Prime Minister and members of his cabinet relaxed the tension slightly (see p 615).

There were no notable ecumenical developments during the year, and no rapprochement between the English-speaking and Dutch Reformed churches. Relations between the white and black sectors of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the largest of the Afrikaans churches, worsened considerably (see p 619).

Reaction to the World Council of Churches (WCC)

As in previous years the WCC was severely criticised for the grants made by its Programme to Combat Racism to African nationalist guerrilla movements. Among more generalised criticisms was that of Professor Ernest W Lefever of Georgetown University (who recently authored a neo-conservative analysis of the WCC entitled Amsterdam to Nairobi). The WCC, he asserted, spoke "primarily for an activist minority consisting of top staff and officers, plus most members of the Central Committee".2

The Reverend Fred Shaw, chairman of the conservative Christian League of South Africa, said that anyone studying the WCC's policy would realise that its exploitation of Africans was of the worst kind and that the WCC aimed at the unification of mankind into one state, under one government and in one religion.3

The WCC continued to condemn the SA government's apartheid policies. In June, following a meeting in Holland, the WCC concluded that the global racial crisis was worsening and that "there is too little evidence of any dramatic improvement in the commitment of the churches against racism and too few churches perceive the racism implicit in their own structure".4

The WCC decided that Namibia and SA should receive priority for funding from the Programme to Combat Racism and condemned racism as "an assault on Christ's values and rejection of his sacrifice". Although SA was heavily criticised, the WCC also attacked the Soviet Union, both for the racism prevalent in the Soviet system and
for its invasion of Afghanistan. The Indian caste system and capitalist exploitation of underdeveloped countries were also attacked.

The WCC's executive met in August. Attending the meeting, Dr D L Cragg, a representative of the Methodist Church of SA, said that his church recognised the violence inherent in the SA political system and that many black South Africans had opted for a policy of counter-violence to oppose the system. However, he requested the WCC to reconsider the grants because of the possibility that they indicated WCC approval of violence, which was morally wrong whoever used it.

The WCC executive called on Christians to reject the concept of a 'constellation of states', bantustans and the consequent artificial creation of an urban/rural division of the African population as well as the use of a black middle class as a buffer against violence. These were viewed merely as new developments in the apartheid system. Christians were also called upon to press for the general isolation of SA through disinvestment and comprehensive sanctions. The executive also attacked Swiss bank loans to SA.

The SA Council of Churches (SACC)

Opening the annual conference of the SACC in May at Hammanskraal, Ds Sam Buti, president, said that the writing was on the wall for SA. He said that events such as the Silverton siege, the schools boycott and the attack on the Booyens police station underlined the need for the SA government to make the necessary adjustments quickly. Echoing Ds Buti's opening remarks, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the SACC's secretary-general, said that SA would be led by a black prime minister within five to ten years. He also supported Ds Buti's call to the church community in SA to support the 'Free Mandela' campaign.

Bishop Tutu attacked Prime Minister P W Botha's total strategy as being nothing more than "a slightly disguised apartheid". He said that the government was prepared to grant substantial privileges and concessions to certain urban blacks to co-opt them "to form a buffer between the white, capitalist have-nots and the black have-nots". In the light of this, he said that the church should oppose total strategy and that it should face up to the possibility that structured religion as it was understood at present might "die in the struggle".

The conference debated a resolution which called on delegates to go as a body to Church Square, Pretoria, to hold a service which would focus on the uprooting and relocation of people. The action would have been illegal in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. The SACC's vice-president, the Reverend Peter Storey, warned that the action might result in the organisation being banned, and this would seriously affect the many people who relied on it for their livelihood. The resolution was defeated by one vote. Resolutions adopted by the conference included the acknowledgement by the church of its guilt for having built and operated its own schools on racial grounds; a call on all Christians to withhold their co-operation in the further working of the present system; the encouragement of Christians to share the resources and wealth of the country; the encouragement of whites to open their homes to the homeless; the release of Mr 613

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SA Council of Churches
Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the return of Bishop Tutu's passport, which was confiscated earlier in the year; the establishment of a unitary, non-racial education system, and the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act.1 Other more controversial resolutions passed by the conference reflected a move towards still greater confrontation with the SA government. These included the church's support for young people who refused to undergo military or police training; the adoption in toto of the Freedom Charter; the refusal to obtain permits to enter group areas for other races; the refusal to condemn violence "executed in pursuance of a just society", the withdrawal from organisations likely to promote class divisions such as the Urban Foundation; a call for the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other 'authentic' political bodies and organisations to enable them to participate fully in the political processes of the country; and the determination to participate in peaceful mass demonstrations, thereby refusing to be intimidated by the Riotous Assemblies Act.11 The resolutions still had to be passed by the SACC executive.

Towards the end of May Bishop Tutu and 52 other clergymen including the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Timothy Bavin, Mr Chris Aitken, general secretary of the Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Joseph Wing, general secretary of the United Congregational Church, and the Reverend Stanley Pitts of the Methodist Church, staged a march to John Vorster Square, the Johannesburg police headquarters, to protest against the detention of the Reverend John Thorne of the Congregational Church.12 Mr Thorne had been detained in connection with the school boycott by coloured pupils. The marchers, who were singing hymns, were stopped by riot police armed with batons, rifles and teargas. After being detained overnight, the clerics were released on bail.

The clergy's arrest in Johannesburg and the country-wide schools boycott prompted approximately 40 Eastern Cape clergy to stage a protest march in Grahamstown.3 Bishop Tutu and the other arrested clergy appeared in court on July 1 on a charge under the Riotous Assemblies Act. They were all found guilty and sentenced to R50 or 50 days imprisonment. Giving judgement the presiding magistrate, Mr Krynauw, used biblical quotes to support his view that anyone disobeying the state's laws was "rebelling against God" because the authorities had been established by God.14 Three of the clergy, Father Christiaan Langeveld, Father Vincent Diepenaar, both Roman Catholic priests, and Mr John Stubbs, Anglican youth director in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, declined to pay the fine and were imprisoned. They were released after their parishioners had collected the money to pay the fines.

Throughout the year the SACC actively promoted the 'Free Mandela' campaign started by the Sunday Post, which called for the release from Robben Island of the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and other imprisoned African nationalist leaders. The organisation's national executive said that it recognised "the unique leadership role still accorded to Nelson Mandela by very many South
Africans", and believed "that the church in its role as peacemaker must help the people of SA to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed".5

The executive's statement said that only if Mr Mandela and others who were imprisoned or exiled were enabled to participate in the reshaping of a unitary SA could such suffering and bloodshed be prevented. Bishop Tutu repeated the call when addressing meetings on a number of occasions during the year, and appealed to individual churches to encourage their members to support the call. Following a special meeting of the SACC national executive which was called "in the wake of a rapidly deteriorating situation spreading strikes and boycotts, and explosive church-state confrontation and mounting hard-arm tactics by the police against peaceful demonstrators", (see chapter on School and University Boycotts), the SACC in June requested a meeting with Mr Botha as a matter of urgency.16

The Prime Minister said he would meet the SACC delegation if "they openly reject communism for SA, they disassociate themselves from undermining national service, they denounce any organisation connected with violence and they de, nounce the attempts by the ANC to overthrow orderly government in the RSA". "

Replying to Mr Botha's demands, the national executive said that the SACC rejected violence as a means of maintaining or overthrowing the authority of the state including institutionalised violence such as forced population relocations, detention without trial and the pass laws. Their statement denied that the SACC undermined national service in SA. It said that the organisation accepted that it was the duty of citizens of SA to perform national service. However, it insisted on the right of conscientious objection and that citizens be allowed alternative forms of national service. The SACC did not support communism or any other ideology and had never identified with the aims of the ANC or any other political movement.8 After receiving the SACC's reply Mr Botha agreed to meet a delegation in August.

Bishop Tutu welcomed the Prime Minister's decision and said that it was a sign of hope. The SACC was criticised by various black theologians for agreeing to the talks.

A wide variety of issues were raised at the meeting but, reportedly, few of these were discussed. The meeting was described by both sides as frank and cordial and a good starting point for further discussions. The most concrete development to come out of the meeting was the suggestion that the two parties should meet again later in the year. The SACC delegation welcomed the opportunity of further meetings with the government.

However, the possibility that these would take place was impaired by a television interview given by Mr Botha after the meeting. He said that further discussions would only take place if the churchmen refrained from making "provocative and antagonistic" anti-government statements in the intervening period.9 Observers said that it was unlikely that the SACC would be able to abide by this condition and pointed out that the annual conference at Hammanskraal had agreed to oppose unjust laws. Earlier Mr Botha had invited the SACC delegation to visit the
'operational area' and told the delegation that political negotiations with the church were not right.

SA Council of Churches

The SACC's decision to participate in talks with the SA government was criticised by Dr Alan Boesak, chairman of the Broederkring. He said that he doubted whether the SACC knew what it had started and expressed the fear "that it is the old game of talking and talking while the government retains all the instruments of power to continue executing its policies". Dr Boesak called on church leaders not to deviate from their path of creative confrontation with the authorities. Bishop Tutu said he refused to become so sceptical that he did not want to participate in attempts to break the log-jam and while he understood Dr Boesak's view, neither he nor any other church leaders shared it. Allegations of misuse of funds from the Asingeni Relief Fund, established by the SACC's then general secretary, Mr John Rees, in 1976 to help people who had suffered in the disturbances of that year, surfaced again during the year. Bishop Tutu said that the continued innuendoes had made it impossible for work to continue and that a prominent external auditor had been appointed "to sort the matter out once and for all".

Mr T S Potter, past president of the Transvaal Society of Chartered Accountants, was appointed to conduct the investigation. Mr Potter presented his report on the SACC's finances for the period 1976 to early 1978 in August. The report stated that no funds were misappropriated or used for personal gain during the period he investigated. Despite Mr Potter's finding that an extension of his investigations would not serve any purpose, the SACC's national executive asked him to complete the study for 1978 and examine the organisation's financial operations in 1979 as well. He was asked to complete his report by November if this was possible.

Mr Potter found that there was material irregularity in the organisations accounts for 1979. Bishop Tutu said this had occurred because the SACC Accounting Service (SACCAS), which had since been disbanded had not kept proper books. In March the government confiscated Bishop Tutu's passport approximately ten days before he was due to address the Protestant French speaking churches in Switzerland. The confiscation provoked widespread condemnation with protests coming from the Association of Churches and Missions in Switzerland, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the British Council of Churches, the US National Council of Churches, the All African Council of Churches, and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. Commenting, Bishop Tutu said "It will not stop my voice being heard. What it has done is make it difficult for those who say we are changing to justify this particular action". The government gave no reason for the confiscation of Bishop Tutu's passport.

In August an anonymous telephone caller, claiming to be speaking on behalf of the extreme right-wing Wit Kommando, warned that Bishop Tutu would be murdered if he did not leave SA within a month. Bishop Tutu said he would
take no extra precautions despite the threat. The Wit Kommando was active in the country during the year. (For further details see section on Other Right Wing Political Organisations, and chapter on Security.)

The English-speaking Churches
Roman Catholic Church
Presenting his annual report to the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop J P Fitzgerald, the president, warned that political, economic and defence expediency would never solve SA's political problems. Opening the conference, Archbishop I E Cassidy, the Apostolic delegate, called on "men of goodwill" to take courageous steps where necessary to save SA from violence and disaster. He said that the church did not pretend to point out political solutions to governments or people but it did, and was required to, "speak out on questions of moral principle and take a stand in defence of the dignity of the human person and of the values that emanate from it".2

Delegates to the conference strongly criticised the Land Act of 1913, the pass laws, the inadequate system of black education, the homelands policy and the SA economic system which operated largely on the assumption that economic activity had little or no social responsibility.26 They urged the government to start an emergency public works programme, expressed support for worker organisations and trade unions as well as the right of workers to join trade unions. The bishops were urged to do everything in their power to encourage leadership training among workers through the trade unions themselves.

Earlier the bishops had expressed astonishment at the SA government's unexplained withdrawal of the visa exemption of Bishop Mandlenkoso Zwane of Swaziland, which had prevented him from attending the conference. Bishop Zwane was killed in a car accident in Swaziland later in the year.

Earlier a spokesman for the Pope had said that a visit by Pope John Paul II to SA would present political problems. The spokesman said there were "obviously certain aspects of the country's domestic policies" which the Pope could not accept. Among the questions which would have to be resolved before the Pope would visit SA was whether the SA government would permit him to speak out freely, as he would be unable to remain silent.27

A major meeting of bishops, clergy, members of religious orders and lay persons was held during September. The three-day meeting resolved that the church in SA should commit itself to working for the total liberation of the country's population. The meeting endorsed the 1977 recommendation of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference to redistribute the resources and wealth of the church and to break away from the prevailing social and economic system in SA.28 The meeting also recommended that the Catholic bishops should set up a body to develop ways to minister to "those who are drawn into the armed struggle" on both sides of the conflict and should give public support to conscientious objectors.

Church of the Province of SA
The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, attacked the church for barring security policemen from church posts. He said that for as long as this was the case Anglicans would not be allowed to serve as EnglishSpeaking Churches

EnglishSpeaking Churches
SA Police chaplains. Church spokesmen replied that security policemen were not barred from holding church posts. They said that the provincial synod had emphatically resolved in December last year not to bar security police members from holding office because it would be wrong to single out any profession for special action.

In April the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Bill Burnett, said that the ultimate crisis was looming before SA and although change was inevitable, it appeared to be beyond attainment by peaceful means.29 He warned against zealots, crusaders and ideologues who tended to make good causes absolute and despise those who did not see the solutions as clearly as they did. Later in the month Bishop Burnett called on the SA government to use the country's unexpected excess of money to improve black education. He said that the government had a unique opportunity to demonstrate its determination to achieve a peaceful, acceptable future for South Africans by taking radical steps to narrow the expenditure gap between black and white education.30

In July Bishop Timothy Bavin, Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, told a Johannesburg magistrate that SA law was subordinate to the law of God.1 Addressing the court during his trial under the Riotous Assemblies Act (see section on SACC for further details), Bishop Bavin said he knew himself to be morally blameless even though he might be found guilty by a "human tribunal". He said he had taken part in the march because both he and the church to which he belonged "had repeatedly and openly recorded our disagreement with legislation which allows people to be detained indefinitely without public trial" and that repeated representations to the government had apparently been without any effect.

Methodist Church
The decision at last year's annual conference of the church to refer the SACC's civil disobedience resolution to the local governing bodies32 was given effect during the year. Methodist synods throughout SA endorsed controversial proposals in support of civil disobedience. The first synod to endorse the proposal was that of the South-Western Transvaal District. The District's endorsement recommended that "the church should withdraw as far as it is possible from cooperation with the State in those areas of our society where the laws of men violate the justice of God".33 Two other Transvaal synods as well as synods in Kimberley, Bloemfontein and Swaziland endorsed similar proposals. At the Natal West, Natal Coastal, Queenstown and Grahamstown District synods tacit approval for interracial action such as refusing to carry reference books or permits was given. The Natal West synod stated that God rather than man should
be obeyed and called for support for church members whose conscience caused
them to make a stand. The Grahamstown District resolved that "in the spheres of
politics, education, economics and group relations" the will of Jesus Christ had to
be paramount.34
The South-Eastern Transvaal District synod urged that the areas of society in
which the laws of man violated the laws of God should
be investigated. Once these areas had been identified Such manmade laws should
be disobeyed.
The Methodist church held its annual synod at Welkom in October. Resolutions
adopted included a decision to minister to guerrillas in armies formed by the
African nationalist movements and support for members who, on matters of
conscience, contravened certain laws, which were left undefined.
Methodist churchmen at the South-Western Transvaal District synod endorsed the
participation of the Reverend Stanley Pitts in the march by clergy to John Vorster
Square (see section on SACC).
Commenting on the march the Reverend Andrew Losaba, president of the
Conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, said the state had forced
the church into a confrontation. He said the refusal of the police to allow those
arrested to see their legal representatives until just before their initial court
appearance and the government's apparent failure to severely reprimand or
dismiss those responsible was an indication to the world that SA had become a
police state.35
The Transkei ban on the Methodist Church of Southern Africa was amended
slightly during the year to allow Methodist ministers to perform their pastoral
duties at funerals. The relaxation was announced by the territory's president, Chief
Kaiser Matanzima, in a letter to the former chairman of the Black Methodist
Consultation, the Reverend Ernest Baartman. Chief Matanzima said in the letter
that a minister of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa would be allowed to
conduct a funeral in the Transkei when the service had been opened by a
Transkeian minister of the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa.6 The ban
was imposed by Chief Matanzima, a church member, while he was still the
territory's prime minister.
The Dutch Reformed Churches
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)
Relations between the white NGK and its three black 'daughter' churches, the NG
Sendingkerk (coloured), the Reformed Church in Africa (Indian) and the
Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (African), reached a new low during
the year. In March the joint Moderators of the Reformed Church in Africa and the
NG Sendingkerk issued a statement which accused Dr E P J Kleynhans,
Moderator of the NGK, of gross misrepresentation and committing a double
breach of faith, and which questioned the desirability of any further contact with
the white church.7
The statement resulted from an apparent reversal of Dr Kleynhans's position on
the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts. This followed a meeting of the Broad
Moderature which issued a joint statement with the other two churches to the
effect that if circumstances justified the reconsideration of the acts, the church could "bring no objections in principle against it". Despite a joint undertaking not to comment on the statement Dr Kleynhans, less than 12 hours later, said that the statement did not refer to the Immorality Act and that although there was no biblical basis for the Dutch Reformed Churches

Mixed Marriages Act, the church still regarded mixed unions as undesirable for practical reasons.

Despite urgent demands by the coloured and Indian churches, the NGK refused to summon an emergency meeting of the Moderature and stated that it did not want the acts repealed. Commenting on the NGK's reaction, Dr Alan Boesak, chairman of the Broederkring, said that the black churches should break away from their white counterpart and concentrate on liberation and "a total change in the system".

The refusal to summon the Moderature was also criticised by three white church leaders. Dr Pierre Rossouw, chairman of the church's Ecumenical Affairs Bureau, Professor Johan Heyns, vicechairman, and Dr Frans O'Brien Geldenhuyss, secretary, repeated an earlier call for a meeting of the Moderature, which had been turned down by Dr E P J Kleynhans as being unnecessary. The three black churches supported the call, saying that a definitive statement on the church's attitude to the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts was necessary to restore the trust of the 'daughter' churches in the white NGK.

Towards the end of April a spokesman for the white NGK said that the dispute in the church had its roots in an apartheid issue and the perception by the three black churches of the white NGK's ambivalent stand on the matter. Although he was personally saddened by the state of the relationship between the four churches, the only way a split could be avoided was for the white NGK to make a sincere and heartfelt pledge against apartheid.

NG Sendingkerk members expressed strong criticism of the Moderature of their church for attending a bilateral meeting with the white NGK despite the latter's failure to repudiate the Moderator of the NGK, Dr Kleynhans's, support for the Immorality Act. The critics said that the decision to attend the meeting had harmed relations with the Reformed Church in Africa and that the Moderature of the Sendingkerk was negotiating on matters of principle which had been decided at the church's 1978 synod and on which it had no authority to negotiate.

Despite the criticism, a further bilateral meeting between the white NGK and the NG Sendingkerk took place in May. The Sendingkerk challenged the NGK to state explicitly its position on the grievances of the coloured community. Warning the NGK that its response would determine the future relations between the two churches, the Sendingkerk said that it had called the meeting because of the "shattering silence" of the NGK on the grievances and causes underlying the school boycott by coloured pupils.

In July Die Kerkbode, the NGK's official
newspaper, said that apartheid was not to blame for the grievances of blacks and the unrest in the country. Earlier Dr Kleynhans had resigned as Moderator to take up a university teaching post.

Ds Sam Buti, president of the SA Council of Churches and scribe of the NGK in Afrika refused to accompany white NGK churchmen to a meeting of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES) in France, as had the representatives of the Reformed Church in Africa earlier. In an open letter to all reformed churches in SA and elsewhere Ds Buti at-
tacked black church representatives, particularly from the Sendingkerk, for attending the meeting, saying that by doing so they were supporting the "sinful attitude of superiority, paternalism and arrogance of the NGK which was part and parcel of the oppressor". Soon after the letter was issued the NGK in Afrika decided at a meeting with white NGK ministers in Johannesburg that it was futile to continue talks with the white church as long as it continued to support government policies. This decision, and Ds Buti's outspoken attacks on the white church, resulted in him being threatened by Ds P C Oosthuizen of the NGK who, in a letter warned Ds Buti that "if you do not put an end to your devilish talk, a plan will have to be made with you".

When the party of ministers left for the RES synod in Nimes, France, representatives of the Reformed Church in Africa did not accompany them. Despite strong support for Ds Buti and the decision of the Johannesburg meeting, the Moderator of the NGK in Afrika, Ds M J Lebone and Ds David Botha, Moderator of the Sendingkerk, accompanied the white NGK representative and acting Moderator Ds Kobus Potgieter. The dispute between the four SA churches was not discussed during the RES Synod. Reports indicated that the SA delegation had convinced other delegates that it was an internal issue of the NGK in Afrika.

The RES synod called on the white NGK to denounce all social injustice and oppression caused by racial discrimination. Warning the NGK that if the pace of change was not speeded up "there may be blood on the hands of God's children", the Reverend Arend de Graaf of the Reformed Church of Australia questioned whether the white NGK was taking SA's problems seriously enough. Replying to the Reverend de Graaf, Ds Kobus Potgieter said nothing was achieved by such accusations and refused to accept that SA was experiencing "increased strains". Ds Potgieter demanded to know what evidence the synod had that tension in SA was increasing.

Towards the end of July it was reported that in addition to the threatened split along racial lines, a number of white members of the church were threatening to break away from it. The development came about after Ds Beyers Naudé, banned former director of the Christian Institute, and Ds Roelf Meyer, a white member of the Broederkring, severed their association with the NGK.

Spokesmen for the white NGK members who were contemplating the break said that the NGK was irrelevant and would remain so while it remained white and did not help to break down the colour bar. Black church leaders said that white NGK
members who broke away were welcome to join their churches if they accepted
the position of the black churches on apartheid. In September it was reported that
numbers of Afrikaans-speaking professional people had resigned from the church
because of its support for apartheid.
Along with reports of the threatened white split, Dr Alan Boesak said that the
black churches were attempting to unite after they had split with the NGK.
According to Ds Eddie Leeu, the major problem facing the black churches was
their financial dependency on the white NGK. Ds Leeu, who attended the RES
synod, said on his return to SA that he was attempting to work out a way in which
the Send-
Dutch Reformed Churches

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Christian League

ingkerk could be financially independent of the NGK. The NGK has been
repeatedly accused of using its financial underpinning of the black churches to
attempt to control them.
In September a meeting of the four churches in an attempt to heal the growing rift
between the black and white churches was planned.
Just before it was scheduled to take place Dr Frans O'Brien Geldenhuys, secretary
of the NGK's ecumenical council, announced his resignation following
differences with other leaders in the white church. Dr Gerrie Lubbe, of the
Reformed Church in Africa, said Dr O'Brien Geldenhuys had particularly opposed
NGK policy on the SACC and that he had often unwittingly acted as a buffer for
the NGK against the opinion of overseas churches. The meeting did not heal the
rift between the churches, which continued to grow.
At the October synod of the Reformed Church in Africa it was resolved to cut ties
with the white NGK because of its support of apartheid. It was proposed to form
closer links with the NG Sendingkerk. The Reformed church in Africa also
decided to join the SACC.
Nederduitsche Hervormde Kerk (NHK)
The NHK continued to take the most conservative stance of all the churches in SA
both on political issues and the retention of overt racialism in its constitution. It
was criticised by both white and black churches, who questioned the christian
basis of its policy. Following a number of incidents in which NHK ministers
refused to conduct funeral services because of the presence of blacks in the
congregation, the church reiterated its 'whites only' policy. A meeting of
approximately 300 NHK ministers decided in March to retain the policy which
does not permit blacks to be members of the church but decided that it should be
reviewed by the church's general council. In July the church's official organ,
Die Hervormer, supported the strictest interpretation of apartheid.
A group of academic church members condemned the church's attitude to black
membership. They were warned by Professor Albert Geyser of the University of
the Witwatersrand, an expelled member of the NHK, of the possible
consequences of their opposition. Professor Geyser said that his opposition to the
church's apartheid clause had led to his being tried and convicted of heresy and that the church's critics would "either have to leave or be kicked out as I was".

One of the critics, Professor J A Loader, of the University of SA, said he did not think that the church would split because of views such as his and those of Professor Piet van der Merwe, University of Pretoria, and Ds J M Wolmarans, Rand Afrikaans University, which opposed the church's apartheid clause.

Christian League of Southern Africa
In April Mr John Rees, former secretary-general of the SACC and currently director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, sued the chairman of the Christian League of Southern Africa, the Reverend Fred Shaw, for defamation. The civil action arose out of an article in December 1978 in the Christian League's newspaper Encounter, which claimed Mr Rees advocated violence as the solution to SA's 623 political problems and that he had persuaded the WCC to support violence as the only solution to SA's problems.

Mr Shaw defended the action. He said in evidence that he had Zionist not stated that Mr Rees advocated violence and the article was not Church intended to damage Mr Rees's good name.49

Giving judgement, Mr Justice van der Walt found that the article was understood to imply that Mr Rees advocated violence, that he had persuaded the WCC to support violence as the only solution to SA's problems, was guilty of deception and hypocrisy, and had enlisted the aid of a foreign organisation to support violence in SA. The judge said he had found Mr Shaw an unsatisfactory witness, who "could not see and would not concede the defamatory nature of the particular paragraph" and "consequently, he did not, and saw no need - even as a confirmed christian - to offer any apology to the plaintiff"."0 The court awarded Mr Rees R5 000 damages and the costs of the action.

In June it was reported that members of the Christian League had written to the Prime Minister asking that the SACC be declared an affected organisation, which would mean that the SACC would not be able to receive grants from outside the country.

Also in June the League hosted a press conference by Bishop Isaac Mokena, a former staff member of the SACC who had been charged and acquitted of charges of fraud and misappropriation of SACC funds earlier in the year. Bishop Mokena attacked the SACC's "policy of confrontation with the state" and the inclination of Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the SACC, "to issue press statements without the mandate of the other churches"."1 He described the clergy march to John Vorster Square as "childish, especially at a time when the country was faced with the boycotting students".

In July it was reported that the League was in serious financial difficulties. According to reports the League received at least R280 000 from state funds annually while it was a front for the defunct Department of Information's secret projects, and it regularly overspent this amount. Reports stated that in the financial half-year March 1-August 31, 1979, the League was R35 534 in debt.2 Mr Shaw denied the reports.
The President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Reverend Andrew Losaba, wrote to Mr Shaw, a minister of the church, asking him to resign from the League, promising that he would "welcome him (Mr Shaw) back into the fold" if he did so. Mr Shaw asked for time to consider the church's request. He resigned from the church in October, claiming that he had been forced to do so.

African Churches
The Zion Christian Church celebrated its 70th anniversary during the year. Approximately two million people attended the church's gathering at Moria, near Pietersburg, in April and were addressed by Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, and Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa. Dr Koornhof told the

624 crowd that a new era based on spiritual and moral values had dawned and that the church should allow more whites into its ranks. The church's leader, Bishop Barnabus Ramarumo Lekganyane, called on his followers to respect and submit themselves to the laws of SA.

Other Religious Organisations
In July the SA Jewish Board of Deputies, official mouthpiece of the SA Jewish Community, warned that unless there were significant social, economic and political changes in SA, the inevitable result would be violence and bloodshed. The board's new president, Mr Arthur Suzman QC, warned that "when the voice of legitimate protest goes unheeded, bombs will be heard". The board's new president, Mr Arthur Suzman QC, warned that "when the voice of legitimate protest goes unheeded, bombs will be heard". The board's new president, Mr Arthur Suzman QC, warned that "when the voice of legitimate protest goes unheeded, bombs will be heard". The board's new president, Mr Arthur Suzman QC, warned that "when the voice of legitimate protest goes unheeded, bombs will be heard".

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The Churches

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS
AFFECTING SA

Defence and foreign policy maintained their close interconnection during the year. Government and opposition spokesmen concentrated on both the defensive and economic aspects of the constellation of states policy, striving to present it as being in the best interests of the whole of Southern Africa. Relations with SA's traditional partners in diplomacy, the West, were also characterised by the attempt on the part of both government and opposition political parties to portray the importance of SA in both an economic and defence sense. Once again the dangers of Soviet imperialism were stressed as was the vital importance of SA's raw materials. Spokesmen warned that the growing Soviet influence in Africa could have a serious effect on Western survival because if the Soviet Union was able to gain control of SA it would be in a position to deny the Western economies vital raw materials.

The geo-strategic argument advanced by SA's white political parties gained some credence during the year. There were reports that various senior military figures in the US and Nato were urging that Simonstown be used by the West as a naval base once again. However commentators pointed out that such a re-alignment was highly unlikely at present. SA foreign policy makers appeared to realise this as greater attention was paid to points of common interest with Western nations rather than clashes of interest as was the case last year.

The Republic's relations with international organisations such as the UN continued to deteriorate during the year. This stemmed from the continuing Namibian impasse (see chapter on SWA/Namibia), the repeated cross-border attacks on Angola and Zambia and the Republic's apartheid policy. However beyond once again criticising SA, the UN took no new action. International attention, due to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, the American hostages issue in Iran and the Iraqi-Iranian war, tended to focus the UN's attention on these issues and away from SA.

Relations with Taiwan improved during the year after the visit to SA by the Taiwanese Prime Minister and the return visit to Taiwan by the SA Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha. Like Israel, Taiwan has experienced increasing international isolation in recent years. Observers pointed to the similarity of this with other SA links with 'pariah' states, such as Israel and Paraguay. The Taiwanese link had economic motives and it was also suggested that there could be a defence aspect to the improved relations with the territory.

Overall, SA foreign policy followed the lines outlined last year
RELATIONS WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Constellation of Southern African States

SA policy was further clarified during the year. Speaking in March, Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said that a constellation agreement in Southern Africa could be expected to include a security pact, a wider customs union, the creation of wider markets, and the flow of capital and expertise. Dr Koornhof said that the members of the constellation would not threaten each other and would present a united front to any external threat. He said that a wide customs union would facilitate the flow of goods in the region which would be to the benefit of all states.

Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr R F 'Pik' Botha, expanded on the concept in May. Mr Botha said that the formation of a constellation of states would facilitate the establishment of various regional bodies such as a transport commission, a telecommunications union, and a food and agricultural organisation. Mr Botha said that a development bank and a development corporation would also form part of the proposed constellation. He pointed out that the region had vast potential wealth because of its mineral reserves and said that by acting as a unit in international affairs it could be a major factor in international politics.

Speaking after the Minister of Foreign Affairs during the debate on the Foreign Affairs vote, Mr C J van R Botha, NP MP for Umlazi, said that the constellation would "develop naturally through economic co-operation, through agricultural co-operation (and) through technical co-operation".

Various opposition MPs stressed the need for internal reforms in SA's political structure if the constellation of states was to become a reality. Mr G S Bartlett, NRP MP for Amanzimtoti, said that if SA wanted to protect its position in Southern Africa "we have to identify the grievances which our Black (i.e. African) people have and remove these and thereby cause them to identify with us". Mr I F A de Villiers, PFP MP for Constantia, warned that SA would not be able to extend its foreign policy initiatives without local reforms. Both government and opposition spokesmen agreed on the desirability of creating some kind of economic organisation in the region and stressed the benefits that this would have for increasing SA security and economic development.

As SA policy unfolded during the year it became apparent that increasing emphasis was being placed on the Republic's potential as the supplier to the region of needed commodities. Exports of maize to Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya were continued during the year despite malnutrition in the Republic (see chapter on Health). Commenting on the Republic's 'mealie diplomacy' Mr Deon Fourie, seForeign nior lecturer in strategic studies at the University of SA, said that the Policy export of food "can be used as a political lever, or as a means to buy the goodwill of countries unable to feed their own populations". The Republic was reported to have a surplus production of 3,5m tons of maize during the year which it would export at a potential loss in
excess of R1 50m.

In spite of the apparently increasing urgency of a successful SA regional policy, the country experienced a number of setbacks in achieving its aims. The main reasons for this were the government's apartheid policy, the emergence of Zimbabwe under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe after the Lancaster House agreement and the perception of African states of the SA government's aim as being the creation of a neo-colonial empire in Southern Africa.

Zimbabwe's independence on April 18 revived the stalled initiative to establish a bloc of African states which would lessen their dependence on SA. At the beginning of April a meeting of the representatives of nine African states was held in Lusaka. The states decided to establish a Southern African Development Fund and agreed on co-operation to eradicate diseases such as foot-and-mouth, which seriously affected the cattle industry in Southern Africa.

Observers stated that the exclusion of SA, while expected, was significant as was the presence at the conference of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. Opinion was divided on the possibility of the new association's chances of success because of the Republic's exclusion. One view was that Southern African economic grouping without SA participation was bound to fail because of the lack of development capital, expertise and an industrial base.6 Others pointed out that the aim of the bloc was to lessen the members' economic dependence on SA and that this was a long term goal. They stated that SA had captured many of Zimbabwe's traditional markets for secondary and tertiary industrial goods while economic sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia after UDI and that Zimbabwean exporters would seek to regain these markets. They pointed out that Zimbabwe was the most industrially developed African country to gain independence to date and stated that political factors would play a role in the choices made by African countries regarding the source of their import requirements. Both groups agreed that the move had greater political than economic significance in the short term at least.

Mr Deon Geldenhuyse, assistant director of the SA Institute of International Affairs said that the move represented an attempt by the African states to disassociate themselves from SA and an indication that they did not want to become SA client states.

Another meeting of the nine African states was held in Maputo in late November. It was attended by representatives of the EEC, the UN and the World Bank. Delegates were reportedly reasonably satisfied with the initial promises of aid made to the nine participants by these sources' representatives.

Zimbabwe

Relations between SA and Zimbabwe deteriorated during the year, following the election victory of Mr Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party. The Republic was not invited to the country's independence Foreign celebrations in April which were attended by representatives from 90 Policy countries. The celebrations were also attended by representatives from the ANC and PAC.
Outlining his country's attitude towards SA, Mr Mugabe said that Zimbabwe would give full diplomatic and political support to people struggling for their "national independence" in SA. Mr Mugabe said: "We are against apartheid and have a duty to assist our brothers and sisters in SA". He added however that Zimbabwe could only help "in accordance with our ability to do so".7 SA concern at Mr Mugabe's election victory was revealed by the Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, during debate on the Foreign Affairs vote when he said "it would be a lie, it would be deceit for me to claim today that I enjoyed the result of the last election in Zimbabwe. I did not at all. I would have preferred Bishop Muzorewa to have won. Let me be very frank about that".8

In May steps were taken to reduce Zimbabwe's dependence on SA export and import routes. Trial shipments of Zimbabwean exports were despatched via Mozambique. However, according to a Zimbabwean business delegation, Maputo harbour was working at only 40% capacity due to staff shortages and inefficiency and this meant that Zimbabwe would continue to export through SA.9

In June Senator Enos Nkala, Zimbabwe's Minister of Finance, said that the country would sever both diplomatic and economic links with SA. He said that practical realities prevented Zimbabwe from achieving greater independence from SA in the immediate future but that the relations between the two countries would be on a strictly economic basis.0

At the end of June Mr Mugabe announced that diplomatic relations with SA would be severed. He said that SA would only be allowed to operate a trade mission in Zimbabwe and that diplomatic and political relations would only be resumed when SA "puts its own political house in order and kills the repugnance and revulsion that we have to apartheid"."

In September it was announced that the two countries' respective trade missions would have diplomatic status. In terms of agreements negotiated between the two countries, their trade representatives would also carry out consular duties. The SA diplomatic mission in Salisbury ceased operating in September. Sports links between the two countries were also severed.

Angola, Mozambique and Zambia

There was a deterioration in relations with Mozambique, Angola and Zambia. This was due largely to SA suspicions that Mozambique was harbouring ANC guerrillas and SA attacks on SWAPO positions in Angola and Zambia. In February the SA government rejected Mozambiquan assurances that the country was not harbouring guerrillas and warned that SA would take steps to protect itself against subversive attacks.2

The escalation of SWAPO guerilla activity in Namibia (see chapter on Namibia) led to a number of cross-border attacks by the SA army on SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia during the year (see Foreign chapter on Defence). Both the Angolan and Zambian governments Policy condemned the actions and said they showed the Republic's aggressive intentions toward other states in the region. The Angolan government repeatedly accused SA of supporting the Unita movement, led by Mr Jonas Savimbi, which continued to resist the MPLA government in Angola. In February
this claim was given some credence when former guerrillas said that UNITA received logistic support from SA and described the movement's leaders as SA puppets. Both the Angolan and the Zambian governments called for UN action on the SA attacks. The Security Council condemned SA aggression against both countries.

The BLS Countries

Relations with Botswana and Swaziland remained unchanged during the year. The death of the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, and his replacement by Dr Quett Masire in July did not lead to any change in the country's policy towards SA. Botswana continued to condemn SA government policy, describing it as inhuman and a denial of human rights, but retained its pragmatic approach towards trade and communication links with SA. Botswana also remained a member of the SA customs union. SA was not invited to attend Sir Seretse Khama's funeral. Observers said this was a diplomatic snub but was to be expected given Botswana's opposition to apartheid.

Swaziland's claims to land in northern KwaZulu and the eastern Transvaal were the central focus of relations between the two countries during the year. In April it was reported that a high level Swazi delegation had visited Cape Town to re-open talks on the claims. Swaziland claimed land in the Ingwavuma and Makhatini Flats areas of northern KwaZulu as well as part of the eastern Transvaal. Official sources refused to confirm or deny a visit by the Swazi delegation, headed by Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini, which was confirmed unofficially. Reports that King Sobhuza of Swaziland was seriously ill sparked off speculation and concern for the future political stability of Swaziland. Fears were expressed that his successor would adopt a more radical approach to SA. Earlier in the year the Mozambiquan Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, said that Mozambique was looking forward to closer cooperation with Swaziland on the question of African unity in the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid. Swaziland continued to voice its opposition to SA government policy during the year and adopted a pragmatic approach to trade and economic links with the Republic.

Relations with Lesotho improved during the year. Speaking at a luncheon in honour of a four-man delegation from the SA chemical corporation, Sentrachem, Mr Mooki Molapo, Lesotho's Minister of Commerce and Industry, said that Lesotho considered itself an integral part of Southern Africa and its people had a common destiny with the people of SA. Mr Molapo said that it was logical that South Africans should be the primary contacts between Lesotho and the rest of the world.

Earlier in the year the Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, accused the SA government of being behind the attacks by Foreign Basotho Congress Party supporters on police stations and units in the country. Chief Jonathan claimed that the SA government wished to depose him.
On May 26 Chief Jonathan announced that he would meet the SA Prime Minister for talks. The talks took place in September. No details of the discussion, which was described by both as fruitful, were released.17

Towards the end of September Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr C D Molapo, attacked the SA government's constellation of states policy in the UN General Assembly. The SA Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, said that the SA government regretted the attack which he described as intemperate. He said that the SA government would contact its Lesotho counterpart on the issue. Responding to Mr Botha's remarks, Chief Jonathan said that it was regrettable that Mr Botha had seen fit to comment on the Lesotho Foreign Minister's remarks in the press. He said that normal practice was for an approach to be made at government level. Observers said that Chief Jonathan's implied rebuke of Mr Botha did not signify that the recently improved relations had soured again. The Lesotho Foreign Minister's attack on SA government policies was to be expected given the country's opposition to apartheid and it consisted largely of rhetoric. They pointed out that Lesotho's geographic and economic situation was such that it was forced to adopt a pragmatic approach to relations with SA and said that the SA government had probably been seeking an assurance that this approach had not changed.

Relations with the West

SA's relations with the West continued in much the same pattern that had been established by the latter part of last year (see 1979 Survey, p 651 et seq). Speaking during the debate on his vote the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that he was concerned at the increasing lack of leadership given to the Western world by the USA. Mr Botha said that everywhere in the world the USA was on the retreat in the face of Soviet imperialism. He placed SA firmly in the Western camp when he said: "... However we may differ with the USA - and we do differ frequently and vehemently with the USA - it still remains the leader of the West and, whether we like it or not, only America stands between the continued freedom of mankind and slavery"). Mr Botha expressed the hope that relations between the USA and SA would improve due to the development among Americans of "a clearer and more balanced appreciation of the facts about SA".9

Opposition spokesmen also stressed the need for SA to establish good relations with the Western world. However, whereas government spokesmen tended to emphasise that Western nations did not understand SA's policies, opposition speakers once again emphasised the need to improve race relations and remove discrimination if relations with the West were to improve. By contrast with last year the debate on the Foreign Affairs vote was far more muted. Government spokesmen apparently accepted that differences of opinion with the Western world existed but no longer viewed the Foreign West, and in particular the USA, as an enemy of SA.

Mr John Barratt, director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said after his return from the USA in August that Americans were generally better informed about SA and more aware of it as an issue than they had been in 1977. People were also more pessimistic about SA's future. Mr
Barratt said that there would be a reduction of US pressure on SA once the
country had begun negotiations which would lead to power-sharing at the very
least. He believed that US pressure on SA would be maintained until such time as
this process had begun regardless of whether a Republican or Democratic
administration took office after the November presidential elections.2°
Commenting on the election of Mr Ronald Reagan, the SABC said that no change
in US policy towards SA was expected.
Observers said that there were three major reasons for the decline of tension
between SA and the West. These were the Iranian crisis, the Soviet invasion of
Afghanistan and the presidential election in the USA. They stated that the crises
had moved the international focus of attention to the Middle East and pointed out
that US presidents seldom took new policy initiatives during an election year. The
USA's allies also tended to be more restrained during an
election year.
In August it was reported that Western nations were becoming increasingly
sceptical about the rhetoric of change expounded by SA government ministers.
Western perceptions of the possibility that the SA government would introduce
meaningful changes in the country because of the Prime Minister's 'adapt or die'
approach last year had shifted to a belief that all the SA government was prepared
to do was to assuage black grievances by giving blacks a modest share of the
benefits of the boom experienced by the economy, while rigidly maintaining the
barriers against black participation in the country's political life.21 The lack of
movement towards a settlement of the Namibia dispute also disillusioned Western
policymakers.
Relations with the UN
SA continued to be prevented from taking its seat at the UN General Assembly
and continued to withhold payment of the country's membership dues. However
the Minister of Foreign Affairs ruled out the possibility of SA withdrawing from
the UN, for the time being at least, but said that the matter was constantly being
reviewed.
The Republic was repeatedly censured by the UN for its cross border attacks on
SWAPO camps. In April the Security Council condemned SA for its attacks on
Zambia and warned that if there were any attacks in the future the Security
Council might take action against the Republic under Chapter VII of the
Charter,22 which empowers the Security Council either to use force against an
offending member of the international community or to impose economic
sanctions on such a member.

The UN Special Committee against Apartheid held hearings dur-
Uddhav Deo Bhatt, Nepal's UN representative was also elected as vice-chairman.23

In August it was reported that the ANC had occupied SA's seat in the UN Trusteeship Council during the council's session on Namibia. The head of the ANC's UN observer mission, Mr Johnstone Makatini, who occupied the seat, said that the ANC had decided to take the step to demonstrate its legitimacy. The presence of Mr Makatini in the SA seat was commented on by the Nigerian ambassador who expressed his "joy" at the sight and said: "I hope it will not be long before this becomes a legal reality".24

Commenting on the ANC's action Mr Riann Eksteen, SA ambassador to the UN, said that the Republic would lodge an objection with the UN. Mr Eksteen said that "situations should be avoided where the impression is created more and more that the United Nations is not to be trusted and where its impartiality is called into question".25 In September it was reported that Mr Eksteen was being recalled to Pretoria and that the status of SA's representation at the UN would be downgraded.

Relations with Other Countries

SA continued to strengthen its links with other international 'pariah' states. In March the Prime Minister of Taiwan, Mr Sun Yunsuan, visited the Republic. His visit followed that of the Taiwanese Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Chang Kwang-sin, last year. During Mr Yun-suan's visit, a R400m trade agreement between the two countries was signed. In terms of the agreement SA undertook to supply Taiwan with approximately 4 000 tons of uranium over a six year period between 1984 and 1990.26 Agreement was also reached on co-operation between the two countries in scientific and technological research. The agreement was to remain in force for a period of five years.27 The SA Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, visited Taiwan in October. During Mr Botha's visit a joint statement was issued committing both countries to the opposition of Communism.

Relations with Israel also reportedly improved during the year. It was reported in March that the Israeli Defence Minister, Mr Ezer Weizman, secretly visited SA.28 The report was denied by the Israeli Ministry of Defence but sources in Jerusalem said that it was almost certain that Mr Weizman had visited SA while the Taiwanese Prime Minister was in the country.

Observers surmised that SA could be trying to reconstruct the previous Pretoria-Jerusalem-Teheran axis, using Taiwan as the third point. They pointed out that the collapse of the Shah's government in Teheran had damaged SA's overall defensive strategy.

634 After disclosure of the infiltration of anti-apartheid organisations headquartered in Geneva (see Security) the Swiss government lodged a formal protest with the SA government over the activities of Foreign Captain Craig Williamson and Brigadier Johan Coetzee, head of the Policy SA security police.29 The SA government declined to give details of its reply. Switzerland markets most of SA's gold production.
Speaking at the International Monetary Fund Conference in October Senator Horwood, the Minister of Finance, repeated his earlier denials of reports that SA had decided to swap gold for oil to secure supplies for the country. The speculation arose after Senator Horwood announced that the Republic had changed its gold marketing policy earlier in the year.

In August it was reported that the Indian government was negotiating to sell SA 200 Centurion tanks through an American broker. Earlier in the year the former Indian Prime Minister, Mr Moraji Desai, admitted that he had held talks with the SA Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, in June last year. Mr Desai defended the talks saying that secret talks did not mean clandestine deals.

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SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)
INTERNATIONAL PLANS FOR A SETTLEMENT
UN Resolution 435 (1978)
As described in more detail on page 524 of the 1978 Survey during that year the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, formulated a plan for a settlement in South West Africa/Namibia which was endorsed by the UN Security Council in its Resolution 435 (1978).

The essence of the plan was that the Secretary-General’s Special Representative for Namibian Affairs, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, would come to the territory to share responsibility for its interim administration with the SA-appointed Administrator-General. Mr Ahtisaari would be accompanied by a UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) composed of administrative personnel and a military force. Major General H Philipp, an Austrian, was first suggested as commander of this military force, but subsequently an Indian, Lieut-General Prem Chand, was selected instead.

On an agreed date hostilities would cease, and both the SWA/N security forces and SWAPO troops would be restricted to specified camps. These processes...
would be monitored by UNTAG’s military force, which would be composed of contingents of men from various countries selected by the UN Security Council in consultation with the parties concerned. All discriminatory and restrictive laws in force in the territory which might abridge the object of free and fair elections would be repealed. Political prisoners and detainees would be released and exiles allowed to return, all being able to participate fully and freely in the electoral process. Seven months after the ceasefire, elections would be held under UN supervision. The constituent assembly thus elected would formulate and adopt a constitution for independence.

Reservations by South Africa in 1978
After negotiations had taken place, SA agreed to co-operate in the implementation of this plan subject to various conditions, including the following:
"there should be no reduction of SA troop levels in the territory until a comprehensive cessation of violence had been achieved;"
"the election should be held not later than September 30, 1979;

636 * the Administrator-General should exercise legislative authority until after the election;
0 agreement would have to be reached on the monitoring of SWA/SWAPO bases after the ceasefire and pending the elections. (It Namibia was understood by SA that 'SWAPO bases' referred to existing bases in Angola and Zambia. The SWAPO troops within SWA,Namibia consisted of dispersed mobile groups of guerrillas who infiltrated the territory from time to time.) In an official letter addressed to SA's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Waldheim said that the African frontline states had assured him of their co-operation to enable UNTAG to carry out its mandate. Reporting to the Security Council in February 1979, Dr Waldheim stated that the UN 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.

Demands by SWAPO
In February 1979, after the negotiations described had taken place, SA first became aware of demands that SWAPO had made to the UN some time previously. These had the effect of delaying the proposed time-table.
Inter alia, SWAPO insisted that during the three weeks following the declaration of a ceasefire this should be considered binding only on SA - not on SWAPO - since SWAPO would have difficulty in transmitting information about it to its dispersed fighters. (During a debate in the UN General Assembly in May 1979 the then American Ambassador to the UN, Mr Andrew Young, described this call for a one-sided ceasefire as an 'absurd claim'.)
A further demand by SWAPO was that bases to accommodate those of its fighters who were within SWA/N at the time of the ceasefire should be established in the territory at five specified places, including the capital, Windhoek. SWAPO would agree to these bases - but not bases outside the territory - being monitored by UNTAG forces.

It insisted that those of its fighters who were in neighbouring countries at the time of the ceasefire should be allowed to enter Namibia with all their weapons, ammunition and equipment, bringing material to establish bases.

In an attempt at a compromise Dr Waldheim suggested that SWAPO guerrillas who found themselves within SWA/N at the time of the ceasefire should be restricted to 'designated locations' selected by Mr Ahtisaari. These locations and the SA bases would be monitored by UNTAG forces.

Addressing the SA House of Assembly on March 6, 1979 the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, expressed SA's determined opposition to SWAPO's demands which, he said, deviated completely from the UN settlement plan that SA had accepted.

Mr Pik Botha wrote to Dr Waldheim stating that the latter's recent suggestions were clear capitulations to SWAPO's demands.

SA's complaints of partiality

In 1974 the UN General Assembly by a large majority vote resolved that SWAPO was "the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia". Similarly-worded resolutions were passed at SWA/ each annual session of the assembly up to and including 1979. The Namibia status thus conferred on SWAPO enabled it to obtain a great deal of financial and material assistance from the UN and various of its agencies. Mr Riaan Eksteen, the SA Ambassador to the UN, is reported to have stated in October 1980 that at a conservative estimate the direct and indirect assistance given to SWAPO by the UN totalled between R7,5m and R1,25m a year.

Mr Eksteen made it clear that the Security Council had not followed the example of the General Assembly in recognising SWAPO as the sole representative of the people of SWA/N.

SA consistently argued that there were other parties and groups in the territory whose views would have to be taken into account in any settlement plan. Another of SA's grievances was that, while military action by SWAPO was deemed legitimate by the majority of UN members, counteraction by SA was condemned. Resolutions by the Security Council in the years 1978 to 1980 inclusive which censured SA are described later in this chapter. In 1979 SA's Mr Pik Botha proposed a counter-resolution asking the Security Council to call upon SWAPO to cease immediately its violence and terror and to co-operate in the implementation of the settlement proposal. When this proposal was rejected, Mr Botha told the Security Council that the inhabitants of SWA/N had lost faith in the impartiality of the UN.

Proposals for a demilitarised zone
Angola had maintained that UN monitors in its territory would amount to an infringement of its sovereignty, but it was reported in August 1979 that the then Angolan President, Mr Agostinho Neto, would be agreeable to the establishment of a demilitarised zone extending for 50 km on each side of the SWA/Angola border, which might be monitored by the UN during the period between a ceasefire and the holding of elections. (The area of such a zone would be roughly 140,000 square km.)

When the Conservatives gained power in the British general election in May 1979, Sir James Murray was appointed British Ambassador to the UN. He visited SA to discuss a plan which had been devised by the 'Five Western Nations' (the Western member-nations of the Security Council, i.e. the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada).

In terms of this plan the UNTAG military force would monitor the demilitarised zone (DMZ) from the time of a ceasefire. During the 12 weeks that followed SA, Angolan (MPLA), and Zambian troops would be stationed at selected temporary bases in the zone, each of the governments concerned being responsible for demilitarising its area. SWAPO guerrillas in SWA/N or the DMZ would have the option of being escorted out beyond the DMZ or of handing over their weapons and remaining as civilians. By the end of the twelfth week

the zone would be cleared of all troops except those of the UN force.

Armed SWAPO guerrillas would be required to remain in bases SWA/beyond the DMZ until one week after the certification of election results. Unarmed men, however, might be allowed to return to SWA/N peacefully.

As contemplated in UN Resolution 435 (1978), elections would be held under UN supervision to elect an assembly which would formulate and adopt an independence constitution.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen (who in August 1979 succeeded Mr Justice M Steyn as the SA-appointed Administrator-General for SWA/N) told the press that SA had reservations about the possibility of effective monitoring of a DMZ by the proposed UNTAG force, and could not accept that the monitoring of SWAPO forces by the Angolan authorities would be adequate protection.

Geneva Conference

Dr Waldheim invited SA, SWAPO, the five Western powers, and the five African frontline states to attend talks in Geneva during November 1979, to clarify points of difference. At SA's insistence representatives of the internally-based SWA/N political parties were invited as well. The UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr Brian Urquhart, was in the chair. The SA and SWA/N teams on the one hand, and SWAPO on the other, had separate talks alternately with the other delegates.

No agreement was reached. Afterwards, Mr Pik Botha wrote to Dr Waldheim stating that SA would accept the concept of a DMZ provided it was satisfied with arrangements for:

* the number of SA bases to be allowed in the DMZ (SA had asked for 20 bases);
"the disarming of SWAPO troops in bases in Angola after an election;
* the size of the UNTAG force to be deployed in the DMZ.

Visit by UN mission
Lt General Prem Chand, the commander-designate of an UNTAG task force, with assistants, visited Angola, Zambia and Botswana early in 1980, then proceeded to SA to discuss the practical and technical aspects of establishing a DMZ.

He was met in SA by a team of senior UN officials headed by Mr Brian Urquhart and including Mr Ahtisaari. After discussion with SA representatives the UN officials went to Windhoek for talks with the major internal parties in SWA/N, then visited the African frontline states and Nigeria before returning to New York.

Speaking at a news conference in Windhoek on March 10, Mr Urquhart said the UN felt the proposals it had made in regard to a DMZ constituted a viable proposition. It was now up to SA and SWAPO to decide whether they wished to go ahead with the DMZ and the independence operation as a whole.

Dr Waldheim reported to the UN on March 31. SA, he said, had indicated that it needed some time to review its position in the light of the talks with the UN officials. He urged the "expeditious accep- 639 tance" and time-tabling of the UN proposals. The "two-year talk marathon" he asserted, had exhausted its usefulness. In a message clearly meant for SA, Dr Waldheim pointed out that there was a limit SWA/ to the degree of precision with which the details of an operation Namibia could be established in advance, especially when no specific starting date had been decided upon. UN experience had shown that many anticipated problems could be worked out relatively easily in practice, provided that all concerned wanted to go forward and were prepared to co-operate. He tentatively proposed June 15 as the target date for putting the plan into action.

In SWA/N Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the DTA party, claimed that Dr Waldheim was avoiding important issues which had been raised with the visiting UN mission.

Reactions to Dr Waldheim's report
At a press conference on May 12 Mr Pik Botha answered questions about a letter he had sent to Dr Waldheim. He had again asked for clarity on the three issues raised after the Geneva Conference. In addition, he had asked:
* for assurance that the claim by SWAPO to bases inside SWA/N would not be revived;
* that the UN Secretariat should refrain from giving effect to elements of General Assembly resolutions on SWA/N which singled out SWAPO for preferential treatment;
* that the Secretary-General should refrain from applying funds from the UN budget for the use of SWAPO.

Mr Botha had stated in his letter that the SA government deemed it imperative that all participants in the political process should be placed on an equal footing -
i.e. that the internal SWA/N parties should be accorded the same status as SWAPO in negotiations.

Dr Waldheim's reply
In a letter to Mr Pik Botha released to the press on June 23 Dr Waldheim replied to most of the points that had been raised by SA:

1. He noted that the frontline states and SWAPO regarded SA's proposed 20 bases in the DMZ as "unnecessarily large", but added that they would accept this "in the interest of obtaining a final settlement";

2. On SA's request that an adequate UNTAG force should be employed in the DMZ, Dr Waldheim recalled that in terms of UN proposals outlined during the visit of the mission led by Mr Urquhart, five of the proposed seven UN battalions would be deployed in the DMZ as well as "substantial elements" of the UN back-up personnel (i.e. communications, transport and other units). Final decisions concerning deployment could, however, be taken only in the light of the circumstances prevalent at the time of implementation;

3. On the demand that the Un accord equal treatment to all parties, Dr Waldheim said: "I for my part would reiterate that the principle of impartiality has been, and will be, consistently followed SWA/ in the implementation of Resolution 435";

4. Dr Waldheim's letter did not revive the SWAPO claim to bases within SWA/N;

5. In regard to the monitoring of external SWAPO bases he said: "Angola and Zambia have reassured me that no infiltration of armed SWAPO personnel will take place from their territory into Namibia after the ceasefire";

6. On SA's need for reassurance that SWAPO insurgents would be disarmed immediately after an election (in other words, that they would not contest the result by force) Dr Waldheim said: "The governments of Angola and Zambia have undertaken to ensure that the outcome of the election for a constituent assembly would be respected";

The closure of SWAPO bases and the disposition of arms and equipment would be undertaken by the host governments in consultation with the government of the independent state of Namibia. Personnel from these bases would be allowed to return to Namibia.

7. Dr Waldheim said: "In the interests of establishing a climate of confidence, the frontline states informed me of their desire for a reciprocal undertaking by the government of SA that it also would accept and abide by the outcome of free and fair elections held under UN supervision and control";

8. He urged that the earliest possible date be decided upon for a ceasefire and the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

Mr Botha's reply
Mr Botha's reply to Dr Waldheim was made public on August 30. He talked of a "threatening impasse", and said that at the root of this was the fact that the UN was required to play a neutral role in respect of the implementation of the
settlement plan, yet at the same time was the most ardent protagonist of SWAPO, which was one of several parties contending for power. Scrupulous impartiality was necessary as a prerequisite for securing the support of all parties in the territory.

Calling for visible evidence that the UN was distancing itself from SWAPO, Mr Botha wrote: "It lies in your power to make a substantial contribution to condemning SWAPO's campaign of intimidation and violence against the civilian inhabitants of SWA/Namibia".

Mr Botha demanded that the internally-based political parties be included in all further consultations.

Second visit by UN mission

An eight-man UN delegation visited SA from October 22 to 25, again led by Mr Brian Urquhart and including Mr Ahtisaari and Lieut General Prem Chand. The SA delegation was once more led by Mr Pik Botha.

Both sides agreed to appoint a sub-committee to examine SA's remaining reservations about the DMZ.

According to a press report, Mr Urquhart's team wanted SA to agree to a firm date for the start of the settlement process. During SWA/ the implementation of this process the UN would demonstrate its impartiality. But SA insisted that before a date was decided upon the UN should demonstrate its ability and willingness to be an impartial administrator of the settlement.

All internal parties in SWA/N that wished to accept an invitation to meet the UN delegation and express their views were given transport for their delegates to Pretoria by the SA Air Force.

No specific progress was reported. The impression was widely created that for a number of reasons SA was delaying matters.

Mounting international condemnation of SA

Since 1965 there has been sporadic guerrilla activity by members of SWAPO coming from bases in Angola, and in some cases from Zambia. Although the SA forces invaded Angola for some months in 1975-76 to fight the Cuban-backed MPLA, they refrained for some time from crossing the border in pursuit of groups of Angola-based SWAPO insurgents who had been intercepted by them in SWA/N. In October 1977, however, the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, issued a general warning that SA might exercise the right of 'hot pursuit' if SWAPO raids continued.

A few days later, after a running skirmish to and fro across the border the South Africans drove the insurgents back, pursued them, and launched devastating attacks on three SWAPO bases in southern Angola.

Periodically during the next three years groups of SWAPO guerrillas continued to infiltrate SWA/N, laying landmines, assaulting and killing African and white civilians, abducting Africans, attacking SA army bases, and carrying out acts of sabotage against the Ruacana power station, pylons carrying electric wires.
railway lines and other objectives. The SWAPO bases in southern Angola and Zambia were strengthened.

In order to prevent large-scale incursions into SWA/N, especially in the event of a cease-fire, the SA forces made further attacks on SWAPO bases: at least two in 1978, four in 1979 and four during the year under review (one of these being an attack on bases in Zambia). The operations, described later in this chapter, were increasingly massive, involving ground and air assaults.

In 1978 the UN Security Council unanimously condemned SA's armed invasion of Angola. It again censured SA during 1979 (on this occasion the United States, Britain and France abstained from voting). The council rejected a counter-resolution proposed by SA's Mr Pik Botha asking it to call upon SWAPO to cease immediately its violence and terror, and to co-operate in the implementation of the UN settlement proposal. As mentioned earlier, Mr Botha then told this body that the inhabitants of SWA/N had lost faith in the impartiality of the UN.

In April 1980 the Security Council passed a resolution condemning SA military incursions into Zambia and stating that if these con-

642       tinued, further UN action would be contemplated, including the imposition of mandatory sanctions. Britain, the United States and France voted for this resolution.

SWA! During June the council unanimously condemned SA for armed Namibia invasions of Zambia, again giving warning of more effective measures if attacks continued. A panel was set up to formulate precise proposals for tightening the arms embargo against SA.

SWAPO hosted a conference during September, held in Paris, to mark its 20th anniversary - the "international conference in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia". Assistance was given by the UN Council for Namibia and the Organisation of African Unity. According to press reports, official delegates from 24 countries (mainly socialist) attended, together with representatives of the EEC socialist group, the Islamic Conference, the ANC and other 'liberation organisations'. The Western powers were not officially represented, although most of them sent observers. The conference drew up a sweeping plan of action against SA, including mandatory economic sanctions and an oil boycott, to be submitted to the Security Council. An 'International Campaign for the Liberation of Namibia' was launched in a number of countries.

On November 17, for the 17th year in succession, the UN General Assembly called upon the Security Council to impose mandatory economic sanctions. The voting was 117 to 10 (Western states) with 15 abstentions (those abstaining including Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Japan and Malawi). A further General Assembly debate was scheduled for November 26 but, as explained later, this was postponed.

Proposals for a multi-party conference

Mr Pik Botha arrived in London on November 8 for discussions with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, and other senior officials. It was reported' that before these meetings took place, Mr Botha
received a telex message from Dr Waldheim proposing that a multi-party conference be convened as soon
as possible to facilitate implementation of the UN's settlement plan.
At press conferences held after his meetings with Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington, Mr Botha said that they had both supported the idea of such a conference. SA would agree to this, he said, subject to several conditions.
SWAPO's international status as the sole and authentic representative of the people of SWA/N would have to be rescinded. The UN would have to prove that it could and would be an impartial arbiter; at some point UN officials would have to desist
from overtly expressing their solidarity with SWAPO.
The talks, Mr Botha continued, would have to be structured around a direct meeting, on equal terms, between SWAPO and the internal parties. SA would not itself take part, but would be present only as an interested party and to give advice if asked. The parties which claimed the support of the peoples of the territory must make
the decisions.'
While he was overseas Mr Botha had discussions with Mr Henry Kissinger, a former US Secretary of State and one of the foreign pol-
icy advisers of the US President-elect, Mr Ronald Reagan. He also 643 met the Belgian and French foreign ministers.
On his return to SA Mr Botha said5 that the foreign leaders he
had met were unanimous in pressing for a speedy solution. He made SWA/ it clear that sanctions were likely if SA declined to accept the UN Namibia plan, but warned the West that these would be a "double edged sword".
While Mr Botha was having these meetings Mr Ahtisaari had been visiting the frontline African states, evidently to obtain their views on the plan for a conference.
SWAPO continued to insist that the only other party at any talks should be the SA government. If internal SWA/N parties attended, they must do so as members of the SA delegation.
Elaboration of proposals
Dr Waldheim released further details of his proposals on the eve of a planned General Assembly debate, structured to begin on November 26. A "pre-
implementation multi-party meeting" should be held in January 1981, he suggested, under the auspices and chairmanship of the UN, for talks based on Security Council Resolution 435 "and other practical proposals". These talks would be followed, in March, by a ceasefire and the arrival of the UN Transitional Assistance Group. Elections would then be held for a constituent assembly which would draw up a constitution. The aim would be to seal the independence of Namibia by the end of 1981.
A compromise formula was suggested for attendance at the meeting. SWAPO would meet a delegation headed by Mr Danie Hough (the Administrator-General for SWA/N recently appointed by SA). He would be free to select a negotiating
team. (The press speculated that he would choose the leaders of the internal political parties.)
SA would have a presence at the meeting, but would not be a formal participant. (It would, thus, avoid the possibility of being seen as having concluded a deal with SWAPO.)

Postponement of UN debate
An agenda, list of speakers, and draft resolutions had been drawn up for the UN General Assembly debate that had been scheduled to start on November 26. The plan had been to re-endorse the recognition of and financial assistance to SWAPO, and to call on the Security Council to impose very extensive sanctions on SA.

In view of the new initiative by Dr Waldheim and with the agreement of the African bloc this debate was postponed for the time being. Meanwhile, the authority for the channelling of money to SWAPO lapsed.

Reactions to the New Proposals
Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in SWA/N, told the press that his party would join a delegation led by the Administrator-General provided that it went in its own right. All the members, he considered, should be drawn from elected mem-

644 bers of the National Assembly. (As described later, this would exclude the Namibia National Front, SWAPO Democrats, and a number of smaller parties.) He called on the Western nations to demonstrate SWA/ that they would adopt an impartial attitude during negotiations with Namibia SWAPO.
Mr Sam Nujoma, leader of SWAPO, sent a message to the UN stating: "SWAPO categorically rejects the idea of multi-party meetings if this means that the puppets (the internally-based parties) will participate independently from the SA delegation, on an equal footing with SWAPO". Only two parties, SA and SWAPO, should be invited, he insisted.
The meeting scheduled to start on January 7, was eventually located in Geneva.
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
Background
In 1978 SA decided that, while it would co-operate with the UN in attempting to reach a settlement in SWA/N, it would unilaterally organise internal elections for a constituent assembly, in order to determine the true leaders of the people and to create a body which could be of some assistance to the Administrator-General.
The Security Council condemned SA for this decision.
The elections were held during December 1978. They were boycotted by SWAPO's internal wing, by the breakaway SWAPO Democrats, and by the multiracial Namibia National Front (NNF) (described later). There was a comparatively high percentage poll among the remainder of the population.
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 assembly,
Mr Mudge thus becoming leader of this body. The DTA consisted of delegates to
the Turnhalle Conference, representative to some degree of each of the eleven
ethnic groups in SWA, which was called by the SA government in 1975 to try to
arrive,
by consensus, at an independence constitution for the territory.
Of the remaining seats in the assembly, six went to Aktur, the action front of the
National Party, and one each to three smaller
parties.
Constitution of the National Assembly
The SA government informed the five Western powers in May 1979 that in view
of the delay in implementing the Settlement Proposal contained in UN Resolution
435, it had been decided by SA to give the people of SWA a greater share in
running their local affairs.
This development would in no way affect the status of SWA/N.
A National assembly would be established, consisting initially of the 50 members
of the Constituent assembly. This body would be able to increase its membership
to a maximum of 65 by nominating
additional members to represent bona fide democratic parties not thus far represented. The assembly's term of office would be for one year, after
which the Administrator-General would have power to extend it for six months at
a time pending the holding of general elec-
SWA/ tions.
Namibia
The assembly would have legislative powers except in regard to matters
governing its own composition and competency. Laws passed would be referred
to the Administrator-General for approval. A number of members of the assembly
would be nominated to assist the Administrator-General in the exercise of his
administrative functions.
The SWAPO Democrats and the NNF decided against accepting invitations to
serve in the assembly.
As mentioned later, in 1979 the assembly by majority vote approved the Abolition
of Racial Discrimination (Urban Residential Areas and Public Amenities) Act.
This caused a strong backlash among the white citizens of the territory. Aktur
applied to the Supreme Court, Windhoek, for an interdict declaring the
Administrator-General's proclamation which established the National Assembly
to be invalid, and declaring the operations of the assembly to be null and void.
But before the conclusion of the court proceedings the SA State President issued a
proclamation stating that the relevant proclamation of the Administrator-General
would be deemed to have been issued by him. The validity of the assembly and of
laws passed by it was thus beyond doubt. For a time, Aktur boycotted proceedings
of the assembly, but this boycott was ended as from February 1, 1980.
During November of the year under review (1980) the Ovambo leader, Pastor
Cornelius Ndjobo, resigned as president of the DTA and member of the National
Assembly. He was succeeded by another Ovambo, Mr Peter Kalangula.
Powers of the National Assembly
Until the beginning of 1980 the main budget of SWA/N was part of that of SA. In March, however, Mr Mudge presented the territory's first budget, the planned expenditure for 1980-81 totalling R520m.

Also in March the assembly, by majority vote, approved an act transferring certain powers from the white Legislative Assembly (which was controlled by Aktur) to the National Assembly. Among these powers were nature conservation and tourism, control of local authorities, and roads. As described later, the Legislative Assembly was to be relegated to the status of a second-tier ethnic authority. These authorities, created if the groups concerned so desired, would control their own education up to the level of primary school teachers' training, health services, social welfare and pensions, agricultural services, and land tenure.

During June the then Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, clarified the division of executive powers relating to matters of international and national consequence.

SA would, pending independence, retain control over foreign affairs, the overall defence and security of the territory, post and telecommunications, railways and the Supreme Court.

A Council of Ministers would be appointed, drawn from members of the National Assembly, to exercise the executive powers of various other governmental functions that had previously been controlled by SA through the Administrator-General. The Administrator-General would retain the right of veto, but only in defined circumstances such as unconstitutional action. The council would not be divided into portfolios, but would make collective decisions.

The National Assembly nominated Mr Dirk Mudge to be chairman of the council, and eleven other ministers, one from each of the ethnic groups. They were sworn in on July 1.

In September Mr Danie Hough succeeded Dr Gerrit Viljoen as Administrator-General.

Creation of a Department of Defence

In terms of proclamations published in Pretoria and Windhoek on August 1, a SWA/N Territorial Force was created, composed of existing military units, and a Department of Defence was set up within the National Assembly. The executive control of the Territorial Force was transferred from SA to the SWA/N Council of Ministers. The Administrator-General announced that until the territory became independent the Territorial Force would remain part of the SA security forces operating in the area. The Council of Ministers would have to be consulted about operations, however, in particular hot pursuit raids across the border.

Education

An Academy for Tertiary Training was opened at the beginning of 1980, open to students of all races. For a start it would concentrate on courses generally offered at technikons or technical colleges, but certain university courses would be available as well. Students taking the university courses would follow the
syllabuses and write the examinations of the University of South Africa in
Pretoria.

Abolition of racial discrimination
The Abolition of Racial Discrimination (Urban Residential Areas and Public
Amenities) Act was described on page 637 of last year's Survey. As mentioned,
the bill provided that 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. But following a strong white backlash
against this measure, 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.

An amendment bill was passed by the assembly in June, by 38 votes to six. Aktur
members opposed the measure in all ways open to them. This legislation brought
the penalty clauses into effect together with an amendment providing for the
withdrawal or suspension of trading licences of owners of public amenities who
refused to

admit people of all races. The Director of Economic Affairs was em-
powered to withdraw existing licences, without court action, if the holders failed
to comply with the provisions of the act.

The Administrator-General announced in June that, with the SWA/
transfer of control of nature conservation from the Legislative As-
sembly to the central government, all of the 16 nature resorts would be opened to
all races.

Of the 67 hotels in the territory, he said, only 7 were totally closed to blacks and
29 partially closed. He called on the owners of these hotels to change their
policies.

Some municipalities were slow in doing away with discrimination. It was reported
in August, for example, that the Windhoek municipal swimming pool was still
open to whites only, while its library was open only to persons who were property
taxpayers and registered consumers of municipal services. This excluded residents
of coloured and African townships.

The Ministers' Council announced in October that all new permits for taxis would
enable owners to transport persons of any population group, or mixed groups.
Taxis would not be allowed to carry discriminatory signs.

The question of admission to churches was left to the controlling bodies.

A member of the DTA announced in the National Assembly in August that
everyone in the territory would be taxed on the same basis as from March 1981.
Members of the African groups had previously not been required to pay taxes.

The Namibia National Front (NNF) was formed in 1977 as an umbrella
organisation, drawing together various groups that were opposed to SWAPO but
could not accept the DTA's constitutional plans which would perpetuate ethnic
differentiation.

At the beginning of 1980 it consisted of six political parties or groups: the SWA
National Union (SWANU), the National Independence Party, which later changed
its name to the Namibian Independence Party (NIP), the Damara Council, and the splinter groups of Herero, Nama, and Rehoboth Baster people. During the year the Damara leader, Chief Justus Garoeb, took over the presidency from Mr Gerson Veii. The NNF lacked support in Owambo and the other northern areas. The SWAPO Democrats, on the other hand, had considerable support in Owambo as well as in the south. This body, often referred to as SWAPO-D, was formed during 1979 by Mr Andreas Shipanga, a former member of SWAPO who had been under detention in Tanzania for some time after having criticised Mr Sam Nujoma's leadership.

Early in 1980 the NNF and SWAPO-D planned to merge. A congress for this purpose was to be held in April, but negotiations broke down. According to the press, SWAPO-D insisted that the two organisations should have equal representation at the meetings, but the NNF was adamant that each of its constituent groups should have the same representation as was afforded to SWAPO-D, since some of these groups, i.e. SWANU and the NIP, were stated to have more members than SWAPO-D possessed.

Instead of a merger, creating a strong third force, there were SWA splits in the two bodies. Four executive members of SWAPO-D reNamibia signed during August, stating that they lacked confidence in Mr Shipanga's leadership.' The NIP and the Rehoboth group broke away from the NNF in May. Later, in October, the NNF disband in its previous form. Its central committee decided that the organisation would become merely an electoral alliance for UN-supervised elections.

Elections for second-tier authorities
During November 1979 the National Assembly accepted proposals drawn up by the Administrator-General for the creation of second-tier authorities constituted for those ethnic groups that wanted to have such bodies. Groups that preferred not to do so would fall directly under the central government in respect of matters to be dealt with by the second-tier bodies.

These authorities would have legislative and executive powers in respect of land tenure, agriculture, education up to the level of primary school teachers' training, health services, and social welfare and pensions, for members of the ethnic group for which each was constituted.

Some of these groups already had legislative bodies. A white Legislative Assembly had been established in 1925, consisting of 18 persons elected by white voters. Its powers were limited in that the more important government functions, including 'native affairs', were reserved to the SA authorities.

A Coloured Council had been created in 1962. The Rehoboth Basters had a 'Kaptein's Council' and a legislative council. The Namas also had a legislative council, with very limited jurisdiction. Legislative councils for the Owambo, Kavango, and East Caprivian peoples had been established in terms of legislation
passed in 1973. An embryo Damara representative authority with designated members was set up in 1977.

It was decided that elections for the second-tier authorities would take place on November 12, 13 and 14. All adults with one year's residence in the territory would have the franchise. Whites would vote on a constituency basis and blacks according to a system of proportional representation.

No election would be held in Owambo because of warfare in this area; the existing council would remain in office. The Bushmen were excluded because they had evinced no interest in having a governing authority. The Rehoboth Basters were also excluded because they had fairly recently held elections for their Kaptein's and legislative councils. (The composition of these was described on page 463 of the 1976 Survey.) The Kaptein, Chief Hans Diegardt, had become a member of the National Assembly but opposed DTA measures for the abolition of discrimination. SWANU, the NIP, SWAPO-D and the internal wing of SWAPO all decided to boycott the elections on the grounds that these would entrench ethnicity, and would do nothing to solve the crucial prob-lem of the territory such as poverty, massive unemployment, discriminatory expenditure between white and black on education, health and welfare, and the crippling war in the north.

Mr Dirk Mudge led the white Republican Party which broke Namibia away from the National Party in 1977 and became a member-organisation of the DTA. As chairman of the DTA, Mr Mudge was the leader of the National Assembly. In the elections for the second-tier Legislative Assembly, however, his Republican Party was defeated by the National Party (Aktur), led by Mr A H du Plessis; the NP gained 11 seats and the RP seven. In a number of constituencies the margin of victory was narrow. Press commentators speculated that the result did not necessarily represent the views of the majority of whites of SWA since about one-fifth of the voters were public servants seconded from SA. It was considered, however, that the result reflected the considerable white opposition to the elimination of racial discrimination in SWA.

The DTA suffered another setback in the Damara elections. Chief Justus Garoeb's Damara Council, a former member-body of the NNF, gained 23 of the 40 seats in the legislative council. The African People's Democratic United Front (SWAPDUF), which represented the Damaras in the DTA, gained 16 seats, while one went to a representative of the Damara Executive Committee. SWAPDUF challenged the result, appealing to the Supreme Court, Windhoek, for the election to be ruled invalid because of alleged irregularities in the registration of candidates. This appeal failed.

In three ethnic areas elections proved to be unnecessary because there were unopposed candidates, all of whom belonged to member-parties of the DTA: the Caprivi Alliance in Eastern Caprivi, the Seoposengwe Party of the Tswanas, and the Nama Turnhalle Party.
In the coloured election the Labour Party (DTA) won 11 seats and the opposition Liberal Party four.
The Herero people gave overwhelming support to the DTA. The National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) won 34 of the 35 seats in the representative authority. Its leader was Mr Kuaima Riruako, chief of the Western Hereros and a prominent DTA personality. The rival group which took the remaining seat also supported DTA policy.
The DTA Kavango Party captured 19 of the 20 seats in the Kavango area. According to the press the DTA groups obtained 64% of the total of 95 770 votes cast. The DTA commanded majorities in all the second-tier authorities except those of the whites, Damaras and Rehoboth Basters. Its opponents were groups of people of very widely divergent ethnic origins and views, ranging from extreme right to left.
Right-wing terrorism
As described on page 639 of last year's Survey, a number of whites protested actively against the abolition of racial discrimination. Demonstrations took place during the period when the relevant legislation was being debated in the National Assembly. A grenade was thrown into a hall in Windhoek, killing one man and wounding five.
SWA/Namibia Subsequently Lieut Bernadus Williams was charged in the Windhoek Regional Court with various offences. The prosecution alleged, inter alia, that he had established a private army under the auspices of the SA Wit Weerstandsbeweging, (a right-wing organisation) and had acquired large quantities of arms and ammunition. He had planned to blow up the home of Mr Dirk Mudge, and one of his men had been responsible for the grenade attack.
Mr Williams was acquitted on the main charges against him. A state witness testified that the Weerstandsbeweging had "never got off the ground in SWA". But he was sentenced to R500 or 12 months for possessing and supplying others with explosives, plus a suspended jail term totalling 41/4 years for supplying civilians with hand grenades.
Detention of persons in SWA/Namibia
During 1979 numbers of members of SWAPO's internal wing 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/N Proclamation, AG 26/1978, which empowered the Administrator-General to order detention without trial in order to prevent violence and intimidation.
According to various reports 75 persons were being detained at the end of June 1979, including all but one of the members of the executive committee of the internal wing of SWAPO.
Their cases were frequently reviewed. By the end of 1979 more than half of the persons concerned had been set free. Others were conditionally released during January, the conditions being:
* confinement to a specified municipal area or town unless with permission;
* a prohibition on attending meetings or gatherings of more than five people;
* restrictions on movement from their homes during the evenings and nights, and on receiving visitors during these hours; " in some cases, a restriction on certain professional activities. The Administrator-General stated that these conditions could be relaxed or altered by local police commanders.
It appeared that other members of SWAPO may have been detained subsequently.
According to press reports,9 during June officials of the International Red Cross visited a special detention camp near Mariental in the south of the territory, where about 118 men were being held, and filed a confidential report to the then Administrator-General.

Refugees From SWA/N
Another press report10 stated that in mid-1980 there were some 35 000 SWA/N refugees in Angola. The UN was allocating R3m to assist them during the forthcoming year.

Amnesty offered to guerrillas
An amnesty proclamation was published in January, inviting guerrillas who had not killed or grievously injured anyone other than during armed skirmishes with security forces, to lay down their arms SWA/ and return to the territory. They would have to surrender themselves Namibia to the authorities at assembly points established in Ovambo and Caprivi, hand over their arms, and agree to be held in custody for a maximum of 30 days for identification, health requirements and arrangements for settlement in society. They would then be issued with certificates indemnifying them from legal proceedings or detention for any action performed before the date of surrender.
News of this offer was broadcast by radio and in leaflets dropped by aircraft, but it met with scant success. Press reports stated that only 12 men had surrendered by November 7.11

Warfare
General review
In the course of a press interview given on February 8 by the then General Officer Commanding SWA Command, Major-General J Geldenhuys, he said that the pace of military action increased greatly from 1978 to 1979. SWAPO losses in the latter year had averaged 80 a month: 33 SWAPO guerrillas had been killed in 1979 for every security force member. In all, that year, some 2 000 guerrillas had been put out of action temporarily or permanently.
During 1979, General Geldenhuys continued, landmine explosions killed 55 African civilians and five members of the security forces. The precise number of local people who had been injured in explosions was not known, but at least 99 had been treated in hospitals. SWAPO had murdered 102 African tribesmen and abducted more than 600. More than 50 incidents of sabotage had been reported, the main targets being telephone links, power lines and water supplies.
No information was given about the number of security force men who had been killed or wounded.

Incidents near the border between SWA/N and Angola

Casualties due to landmine explosions continued during the year under review.

One of those killed was Mr Thomas Shikongo, the Owambo Minister of Works and a leading figure in the DTA.

A number of skirmishes between the security forces and SWAPO bands took place during February and March; the deaths of at least nine members of the security forces and 140 guerrillas were reported.

During May, security force men walked into a large enemy ambush on the border. Fourteen of them were killed then and in the fighting that followed; SWAPO lost 81 men killed. Another skirmish in July resulted in the deaths of one SA soldier and nine SWAPO insurgents.

In August, guerrillas entered the hostels of a school about 12 miles from the border in Owambo, and abducted 70 boys and girls. Of these, 17 escaped; the rest were presumably taken into Angola.

652 During the following month the security forces received warning of a planned incursion by some 150 well-trained guerrillas, timed to coincide with SWAPO’s 20th anniversary conference in Paris. The SA SWA/ and territorial forces launched an attack, killing 85 guerrillas without Namibia loss to themselves.

In October a SWAPO gang abducted a white businessman who was visiting Owambo, and his driver. The businessman managed to escape.

Attacks on electricity supplies

The Ruacana hydro-electric 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 that would irrigate Owambo, and electricity from the Ruacana power station would be supplied to Angola and also fed into the SWA/N grid.

On various occasions after the MPLA takeover in Angola the power station was put out of commission when the Angolans refused to open sluices which would send water down a diversion weir to turn the turbines. Early in April, in a daring unofficial raid, a French Foreign Legion veteran, Capt J Migeotte, who was employed by the SWA Water and Electricity Corporation, flew twelve men into Angola in a helicopter. [hey jammed shut gates of the dam, thereby leaving the sluice permanently open. Capt Migeotte was subsequently dismissed for having taken unauthorised action.12

SWAPO continued to interrupt the flow of electricity, however, by blowing up pylons. Seven were destroyed shortly after the raid, and others later in April. The corporation was reported to have decided not to repair the line until it could be adequately protected, and meanwhile to rely on thermal stations elsewhere in the territory with assistance from Escom if a cable could be built from the Cape.

Swapo incursions into farming areas in the south
Twice during the year under review SWAPO insurgents penetrated into the white farming area around Tsumeb, some distance to the south of Owambo. Hiding places were easily found there, among hills and dense bush.

During February a security patrol tracked down a group of armed insurgents, but the group split up and its members fled into the bush. A land and air search was instituted. A few days later a farmer came upon five of the men at a waterhole and opened fire, killing one man. The others again ran into the bush. Among the arms found on the dead man's body was an anti-personnel mine of Czechoslovakian origin: two policemen and three trackers were wounded by such a mine shortly afterwards. Another farmer caught brief sight of the infiltrators and fired, wounding at least two of them.

A group of these men was seen approaching another farmhouse in the area, near Grootfontein. The farmer hid his family in the house and ran from window to window firing at the attackers, wounding one or more. After throwing a hand grende on the roof, they fled.

Three days later the insurgents entered yet another farmhouse and shot the farmer dead. His 16-year old daughter grabbed a rifle and shot at the men, killing two.

Before leaving the area the remainder of the SWAPO group killed a defence force man and his Bushman tracker, and damaged Namibia the Otavi-Grootfontein railway line.

During October another group of about 15 SWAPO guerrillas entered the Outjo farming area, to the west of Tsumeb. In a series of skirmishes 13 members of the gang were killed, the others escaping.

Security force incursions into Angola

In the belief that SWAPO was mustering its forces for a largescale invasion of SWA/N, the security forces decided to attack SWAPO bases in Angola. An operation code-named 'Smokeshell' was launched on June 7, consisting of a successful two-day ground and air assault on a SWAPO camp which was the nerve centre from which SWAPO operations in SWA/N were planned and supplied. This camp consisted of various strongpoints spread over a considerable area. The men lived and the materials were stored in underground bunkers.

Ding the operation 16 SA soldiers and at least 200 guerrillas were killed. It was stated that many other SWAPO bodies were hidden in the bush and could not be counted. More than 100 tons of equipment was seized.

A SA helicopter was shot down by Angolan troops, who attacked the two-man crew as they emerged. The flight engineer was killed, but the pilot fought his way to safety, killing several Angolan soldiers in self-defence.

The security forces then undertook a three-week mopping-up operation code-named 'Sceptic', attacking more than 30 dispersed SWAPO storage depots, one of them being SWAPO's main logistical base. There were apparently no further security force deaths, but another 160 SWAPO guerrillas were killed. A further
150 tons of arms and ammunition were captured, other equipment being blown up. According to senior military spokesmen," wherever possible the security forces avoided contact with Angolan soldiers, and at all costs kept clear of Angolan civilians. Leaflets were dropped over the south of the country assuring the MPLA government and the civilians that the operation was aimed only at SWAPO. At one stage an offensive column of about 300 SWAPO men in Soviet trucks and armoured personnel carriers headed towards a security force position. The SA Air Force pinned them down, and the ground forces attacked the column in an engagement that lasted for about three-quarters of an hour, until darkness fell. It was found next morning that some of the SWAPO men had been killed and the rest had fled, leaving behind their transport and equipment. All of the security force personnel had been withdrawn from Angola by the end of June. Angola asked the Security Council to meet to discuss its charge that South Africans were invading its country and had killed about 370 civilians and injured 250 more. Mr Pik Botha addressed a letter to the President of the Council in which he emphatically rejected the accusations. If civilian casualties had occurred, he said, these might have resulted from the civil war raging between the MPLA and the UNITA groups within Angola, but SA was not responsible.

During July, SWAPO insurgents lobbed about 40 heavy Russian Namibia mortar bombs into a SA security force camp at Ruacana, wounding six men and damaging some buildings. In retaliation, a small elite force of SA troops was dropped by helicopters near to a SWAPO transit base at Chitado in Angola, 5 km north of the border. The South Africans killed 27 men, without loss to themselves. There was a further attack on a SWAPO base in southern Angola during October, when 28 guerrillas and MPLA soldiers were shot dead, again without loss to the security forces. A senior officer of the SWA/N Territorial Force stated:"It was unfortunate that despite repeated warnings MPLA soldiers still operated with SWAPO and had to suffer the consequences of their co-operation".

Incursions into Zambia
Zambia, too, complained to the Security Council during April that SA planes were violating its airspace, and that SA troops had operated in its territory. Six people had been killed and 13 injured, it was claimed. Mr Pik Botha replied that Zambia must bear full responsibility for allowing terrorist elements to establish sanctuaries in, and to operate from, its territory. SA remained responsible for the peace and security of SWA/N and had no alternative but to take protective action against aggression committed from outside, he said.

References
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BACKGROUND
The internal settlement plan
The numerous attempts that were made to find an internationally acceptable solution to the problems created by Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence on November 11, 1965 have been described in earlier volumes of this Survey. In 1977 Britain, with the backing of the United States, proposed yet another settlement plan, but this failed to gain acceptance by any of the parties involved - the white Rhodesian government, the leaders of various African groups based within the country, and the leaders of the externally-based guerrilla armies. The leaders of the internally-based groups were Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United Africa National Council (UANC), the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole who headed the Rhodesian-based faction of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Chief Jeremiah Chirau who headed the mainly tribal Zimbabwe United People's Organisation.
There were two guerrilla armies. ZANLA (the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army), based in Mozambique, was headed by Mr Robert Mugabe of ZANU, and consisted mainly of Karanga, Shona and related people. The Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) based in Zambia, was led by Mr Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and most of its members were Ndebele or related peoples. In 1976 the two armies formed a loose alliance called the Patriotic Front (PF).
In November 1977 Mr Ian Smith announced that he and the three Rhodesia-based African leaders had agreed on an internal settlement which would exclude the PF. They would, he said, create a 'Government of National Unity'.
In terms of this plan, elections for a 100-member legislative assembly were held during April 1979, all adult citizens who had been resident in the country for at least two years being eligible to vote. The assembly consisted of 72 black and 28 white members elected by voters on separate black and white rolls.
Mr Smith's Rhodesia Front won all the white seats. Blacks voted for political parties, which were allocated seats in proportion to the number of votes each
received. Bishop Muzorewa's party won 51 of the black seats and thus had the largest following in the assembly. Accordingly, the Bishop became Prime Minister when the new constitution came into effect on June 1, 1979. The country was renamed Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

The PF repudiated the internal settlement and announced that it would continue fighting until power was transferred completely to the black majority.

On April 30, 1979 the UN Security Council rejected the settlement as being null and void.

The Settlement

The Conservative Party headed by Mrs Margaret Thatcher came into power in Britain in May 1979. Despite a pre-election promise to recognise Bishop Muzorewa's regime made at a Commonwealth summit meeting held four months later, Mrs Thatcher announced that her government was willing to accept its constitutional responsibility for Rhodesia and was committed to genuine black majority rule there. Britain was prepared to call a constitutional conference to which all the parties concerned would be invited.

The heads of the Commonwealth governments welcomed this offer. They agreed, inter alia, that independence on the basis of majority rule required the adoption of a democratic constitution which should include appropriate safeguards for minorities. The government formed under such a constitution should be chosen through free elections supervised under Commonwealth authority.

Lancaster House Conference

Britain promptly convened an independence conference which commenced proceedings on September 10, 1979 at Lancaster House, London, under the chairmanship of the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington. Bishop Muzorewa, as Prime Minister of the government that had been formed in Rhodesia, and the PF, were each invited to send twelve delegates. The Bishop sent a multi-party group, including four white Rhodesian Front members. With short adjournments, the conference lasted for 103 days.

A draft constitution drawn up by Britain was placed before the conference. This provided that the independent state would be named Zimbabwe. There would be a 100-seat House of Assembly comprising 80 members elected on a common (black) roll and 20 on a separate white roll. The Senate would have 10 members elected by white roll MP's, 14 elected by common roll MP's, 10 elected by the council of chiefs, and six appointed by the President on advice of the Prime Minister. The President, who would be titular head of state, would be elected by members of these two houses. A declaration of human rights, enforceable by the judiciary, would be entrenched for ten years.
After lengthy discussions the conference accepted the constitution subject to agreement on the transitional arrangements and on the ceasefire procedure. British proposals for dealing with these matters were then debated. Eventually, on December 21, 1979, a ceasefire agreement was signed by Lord Carrington and by representatives of each of the two delegations.

Legal provisions
On November 12, 1979 the House of Commons passed a Southern Rhodesia Act which empowered the British government to install a British Governor in Salisbury, thus restoring the country to legality - i.e. the position prior to the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. The Governor would supervise a transition to full independence.
This was followed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Amendment Act, passed by the then Salisbury government on December 11, 1979, which declared: "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia shall cease to be an independent state and shall become part of Her Majesty's Dominions".
The British parliament then passed a Zimbabwe Act, providing for independence for the country on the basis agreed at the Lancaster House Conference.

Lifting of international sanctions
The UN Security Council lifted all economic sanctions on December 21, the day that the ceasefire was signed.

Appointment of British Governor
Lord Christopher Soames was appointed as British Governor. He and his senior officials arrived in Salisbury on December 12, 1979. He announced that, pending elections, the country would again be known as Rhodesia.

Ceasefire Arrangements
Lord Soames proclaimed a timetable for the ceasefire. By midnight on December 21 all movements across the country's borders were to cease. Hostilities were to end by midnight on December 28.
There would be a seven-day assembly period, ending on January 4, 1980. During this period the security forces would return to their bases. Patriotic Front forces would assemble at 24 prepared rendezvous points, from which they would be directed to 16 assembly places where camps would be established. These men would retain their arms and equipment. Any PF members who had not reported as required by the end of the assembly period would be regarded as having acted unlawfully.
Lord Soames announced before December 28 that members of a British and Commonwealth monitoring force would begin monitoring the security force bases, PF rendezvous and assembly places, and main border crossings.
The monitoring force was reported to consist of some 3 000 men, the majority from Britain, but including contingents from Australia, New Zealand, Kenya and Fiji. Members were flown to Salisbury from where they were dispersed rapidly to assume duty. They wore distinguishing uniforms. About 130 senior PF commanders were flown via Salisbury to join the groups at rendezvous and assembly points and to act as liaison officers.
Lord Soames established a ceasefire commission, on which the military commanders of the security forces and the PF forces were represented. It was chaired by the governor's military adviser, the British General John Acland.

Assembly of Guerrillas
It was reported that at the deadline on January 4 only about 6,000 ZANLA (Mugabe) and 3,000 ZIPRA (Nkomo) guerrillas had reported at the rendezvous points. The authorities then extended the deadline, realising that many of the dispersed bushfighters had probably not received the message, and that most of the PF men were likely to be apprehensive. Thereafter numbers swelled until, according to press reports, more than 30,000 guerrillas were in camp at the assembly points by mid-May, about two-thirds of them being members of ZANLA. But unknown numbers had failed to report, and some of those who did allegedly subsequently absconded from the camps.

Just prior to the common roll election the governor's spokesman, Sir Nicholas Fenn, said that after the end of the extended assembly period there had never been less than 22,000 guerrillas in the assembly points and that there had been no significant interchange of personnel.

The overseas monitoring force was withdrawn during March.

Return of exiles
Mr Nkomo returned from exile in Zambia on January 13. He addressed a crowd of excited people, estimated to number 150,000, in an African township of Salisbury.

Mr Mugabe had planned to return from Mozambique a few days later but, according to reports, the Rhodesian Department of Civil Aviation, acting on instructions from Lord Soames, refused him landing rights in Salisbury until he had released about 64 ZANU dissidents who were being held in detention in Maputo. These men, members of the Karanga tribe, were duly set free and flown home to Rhodesia.

Next day, January 29, Mr Mugabe arrived in Salisbury. He, too, addressed an enormous crowd in the African township. Reporters estimated that at least 250,000 people were present.

Continuance of violence
As could have been foreseen, the ceasefire did not put an immediate end to violence. ZANLA guerrillas remaining at large were alleged to have established a virtual reign of terror in the eastern districts of the country. Lord Soames was reported to have met Mr Mugabe at the end of January, to express "grave concern" at the level of violence and political intimidation of tribesmen, and to urge him to do all within his power to ensure that this ceased. Mr Mugabe sent out teams of men to try to persuade the guerrillas concerned to report to assembly points.
Some ZIPRA members were stated to have remained behind in Zambia. A number of others who had stayed outside the camps hid in the bush mainly in the midlands and they too apparently terrorised local Shona people; ZIPRA was mainly Ndebele.

On January 18 Lord Soames extended for another six months the state of emergency which had been proclaimed by the Smith government and renewed periodically thereafter. He found it necessary to order a number of contingents of security force men to leave their bases and assist the police in the restoration and maintenance of law and order. Clashes occurred when roving bands of guerrillas were challenged by the police reinforced by Rhodesian troops. It was reported on January 31 that during that month 51 guerrillas and 4 members of the security forces had been killed. The guerrillas had murdered 41 black and two white civilians, some of these black people having being killed when attacks were made on two buses. The Ceasefire Commission met regularly to consider breaches of the peace and to warn leaders of the men who were judged to be responsible. According to the press, 128 breaches had been reported by the end of January and 243 by February 17. The largest number of offences were attributed to ZANLA. At the request of Lord Soames both Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe made broadcasts to the nation denouncing violence and calling on their men to comply with the ceasefire agreement and to stop attacks on civilians and on representatives of rival parties. On February 1 V Lord Soames ordered further security force troops to leave their bases and go to the eastern part of the country to quell widespread violence and intimidation. On the same day he published an ordinance laying down that if the deterioration of law and order did not cease one or more of the following actions might be taken by him and made applicable in one or more of the 56 administrative districts:
1 restrictions on political meetings and on who might attend them;
2 suspension from election campaigning of people who disrupted the peace or encouraged others to do so;
3 the disqualifying of a political party from contesting the pending election in any of the districts if, with the knowledge of local party leaders, supporters disrupted the election campaign in that district.
In terms of this ordinance the governor banned one of Mr Mugabe's top lieutenants, Mr Enos Nkala, from campaigning in the election (although not from standing for election) because of an inflammatory statement he had made. On February 12 Lord Soames issued another ordinance giving him power to exclude from the election parts of the country where intimidation and violence existed. Two days later this was brought into effect in a district in the south-west where ZANLA guerrillas were preventing parties other than their own from campaigning.
Party leaders were asked to sign an agreement re-dedicating themselves to the letter and spirit of the Lancaster House agreement and to fulfil their responsibilities in this regard. All did so. During the weeks preceding the elections, due at the end of February, there were a number of attacks with petrol bombs or rockets and grenades on the homes of political leaders and officials, par-

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particularly those of ZANLA. Mr Mugabe's Salisbury home was blasted one night, but he and his wife escaped injury. Mr K Kangai was seriously wounded in another attack that night.

A few days later another attempt was made to assassinate Mr Mugabe: explosives were detonated in a culvert near Fort Victoria as he passed in a convoy of cars. He was unhurt but five of his officials were treated for minor injuries. At least another eleven homes of Mugabe officials and one of an official of Bishop Muzorewa's party were attacked causing a reported three deaths and a number of injuries.

In mid-February there were attacks on property. A rocket was exploded in an alley between the Presbyterian Church in the centre of Salisbury and the neighbouring Monomotapa Hotel, causing much damage. Fortunately no-one was seriously injured. The Kingsmead Chapel in Borrowdale, Salisbury, had its entrance portico and all its windows shattered. Another bomb, placed in the city's Roman Catholic Cathedral, failed to explode.

Armed men (apparently ZANLA) attacked one of Bishop Muzorewa's party offices in Bindura; the occupants escaped unhurt. Mr Mugabe cancelled a speech he was to have made at a political rally in Bulawayo. A massive rocket blast destroyed a building in Gwelo in which three political parties had offices. The offices of Mambo Press, a pro-ZANU-PF newspaper, were also destroyed in a bomb blast.

Ms Pat Deary of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission claimed the bombings were the work of the Selous Scouts, a unit in the Rhodesian army. It was reported on February 146 that since the first phase of the ceasefire had come into effect at least 391 people had died as a direct result of the war. The number included 191 guerrillas, 177 black and four white civilians, and 19 members of the security forces. The total was reported to have mounted to more than 450 by February 25.7 On a daily basis the death rate was approximately 5% of the rate in the latter stages of the war. Sir Nicholas Fenn said that the ceasefire had been effective.

After the elections at the end of February violence died down but isolated instances continued. During November there was serious fighting between armed members of ZIPRA and ZANLA forces who had been moved to housing provided in an African township near Bulawayo.

Amnesty and ending of martial law
The martial law regulations introduced in September 1978, described on page 507 of the Survey for that year, were terminated on March 21.
The governor announced that a general amnesty would be granted to all people who had committed politically-motivated offences at any time before the beginning of March.
The state of emergency, giving the authorities powers of detention without trial and arrest and search without warrant, continued.

Guarding by SA of Beit Bridge
Early in January there was considerable international protest against the presence of SA troops in the south of Rhodesia. It transpired that the South Africans were guarding both sides of Beit Bridge, which supports the major road and rail links between the two countries. Lord Soames had agreed to this arrangement.
A joint statement by the governments of Britain and SA, published on January 28, announced that as a result of the "political exploitation" of this situation, the SA government had decided to withdraw its troops from the Rhodesian side of the bridge. The British government "expressed appreciation of the constructive contribution of the South African government, not only as regards the Rhodesian settlement, but also as regards the protection of this vital communication link".

Elections of representatives of whites
The new constitution provided for 20 members of the House of Assembly to be elected by voters on a separate 'white' roll. According to various press reports there were approximately 210,000 white and 35,000 coloured and Asian names on this roll. All but six of the twenty seats were uncontested.
Elections were held in these six constituencies on February 19, a very low poll being recorded. All twenty seats went to members of Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front.

Common roll elections
Election procedure and arrangements
The dates for the common roll elections were February 27, 28 and 29. The country was divided into eight electoral districts, boundaries drawn in accordance with the number of potential voters (all Africans of the age of 18 years and over who were Rhodesian citizens or who had lived in the country). Parties wishing to participate were required to register in each district that they wanted to contest. Each had to submit its party symbol. These symbols, together with the initials or names of the parties concerned, would appear on ballot papers.
The voters would vote for parties. Seats would be allocated to the parties in accordance with the votes cast, using the system of proportional representation. On registering, each party would submit a list of its candidates in order of preference. Once the number of seats allocated to each had been ascertained, the Registrar General would determine from the lists which candidates should be declared elected.
Because of the intimidation of voters that had taken place, the governor decided to establish an impartial presence to reassure the people. Five hundred British policemen were flown to Rhodesia. Lord Soames promised that all voting papers would be taken to Britain and destroyed there after six months. At every polling
station there were several policemen, including at least one unarmed British 'bobby', the latter taking charge of the ballot boxes.

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662 Officials in control of polling stations determined whether or not people who arrived there were eligible to vote. Local teachers helped them to decide on the age of youths. In order to avoid duplicate voting, each voter was required to dip a hand into a bowl of liquid chemical which showed up under ultra-violet light. During the voting period armed Rhodesian troops guarded all strategic installations.

Parties contesting the elections
The parties contesting the elections were as follows (in alphabetic order). National Democratic Union, led by Mr Henry Chiota National Front of Zimbabwe, led by Mr Peter Mandaza Patriotic Front (previously ZANU), led by Mr Joshua Nkomo United African National Council, led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa United National Federal Party, led by Senator Chief Kayisa Ndiweni United People's Association of Matabeleland, led by Dr Frank Bertrand Zimbabwe African National Union, led by the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole Zimbabwe African National Union (PF), led by Mr Robert Mugabe Zimbabwe Democratic Party, led by Mr James Chikerema. Chief Jeremiah Chirau dissolved the party he had led in the previous election and joined Mr Nkomo's PF.

Commonwealth election observer group
A Commonwealth election observer group was invited to watch the elections and report on whether these had been fair and free. It had 63 members from eleven nations, the chairman being an Indian diplomat. A large number of non-official observers, among them representatives of the SA Institute of Race Relations, also observed the elections and submitted reports on whether they were free and fair.

Result of the elections
The poll was officially stated to have reached 93.6% of the estimated number of potential voters, the votes cast totalling 2,702,275. Only three parties gained enough votes to entitle them to seats in the assembly. They were:
- ZANU-PF (Mr Mugabe) 57 seats
- PF (Mr Nkomo) 20 seats
- UANC (Bishop Muzorewa) 3 seats

The percentage of the votes gained by Bishop Muzorewa's party was 8.1. Only ten months before this he had gained 64% of the votes in the internal elections. Even allowing for the fact that the external parties did not participate in those elections, there could be no doubt that the Bishop had then commanded considerable popular support. Commentators considered that he had been drawn into a deal that could not end the war nor give the black population the changes they wanted; the white
blocking veto” and white retention Zimbabwe of control of the security forces and civil service prevented him from making changes that the Rhodesia Front did not want. It was said that he had come to be regarded by blacks as a ‘sell-out’. Reports on the elections
In a report on the polling the British Election Commissioner, Sir John Boynton, said that intimidation and double voting had taken place, but not to a degree great enough to invalidate the overall results. There was no doubt that in the towns the elections had been free and fair. The Commonwealth observer group agreed. Its members had observed polling in 409 of the 657 polling stations, the group stated. Deficiencies observed in the conduct of the poll were insignificant and would not affect the outcome in any material way. The polling could be considered to have been free and fair. Unofficial observers reached similar conclusions. The new government
Lord Soames invited Mr Mugabe to form a government. On March 11 he announced the creation of a 23-member ‘Cabinet of National Unity’. He included Mr Nkomo and three other members of Mr Nkomo's party, two whites (Mr David Smith as Minister of Commerce and Industry and Mr Denis Norman as Minister of Agriculture), and one woman (as Minister of Youth, Sport, and Recreation). Some leading cabinet ministers were:
Mr Mugabe - Prime Minister and Minister of Defence
Mr Simon Muzenda - Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr Enos Nkala - Minister of Finance
Mr Edgar Tekere - Minister of Manpower
Mr Simbi Mubako - Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs.
Mr Nkomo became Minister of Home Affairs, responsible for the registration of births, marriages, deaths and immigration, and for control of members of the police who were charged with maintaining law and order. (The security police fell under a Minister for State Security.)
The Senate and President
The senate was then constituted. In terms of the Lancaster House agreement it comprised 40 members:

664 14 elected by the 80 black MPs
10 elected by the 20 white MPs
10 elected by the Council of Chiefs Zimbabwe 6 appointed by the British Governor on the advice of the Prime Minister
One of those appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister was Mr Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister. Later in the year he was invited to give the Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture at the University of Witwatersrand, but the SA authorities refused him a visa.
On April 11 the two Houses of Parliament met and chose the Reverend Canaan Banana to be President.
Independence
Lord Soames handed over his responsibilities at midnight on April 17, the country becoming the Republic of Zimbabwe. The ceremony was attended by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, representing the Queen. At 11.45 p.m. on April 17 Prince Charles, Lord Soames, the Reverend Canaan Banana and Mr Mugabe entered a stadium, the Union Jack was lowered and a message from the Queen was read.

It was reported that some 96 countries were invited to this ceremony (SA was excluded), together with the leaders of the nationalist liberation movements SWAPO, the ANC and the PAC. Zimbabwe became a member of the Commonwealth, the OAU and the United Nations.

Major problems facing the new government
Expectations of blacks and apprehensions of whites
Mr Mugabe had to walk a tightrope between the expectations of the blacks who had voted him into power and the apprehensions of whites.

In a national radio and television broadcast on March 4, he assured the whites that they would be secure under his government. He would not interfere with their property or pension rights. In introducing the budget for 1980 the Finance Minister, Senator Enos Nkala, said that the government would not interfere with the payment outside the country of pensions earned in Zimbabwe, although "naturally we hope that pensioners will prefer to continue to reside in this their homeland or adopted homeland".

The Deputy Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development is reported to have stated on May 12 that the government had no intention of interfering with the "efficiently-run commercial farms" (almost all owned and managed by whites) which were responsible for the country's food production.

In the broadcast mentioned earlier Mr Mugabe (who is a Marxist) said he would maintain the country's free enterprise structure "while removing certain inequalities". A press report on June 2012 stated that black advancement within the Civil Service would be accelerated, even where this meant the superseding by blacks of white officials with better experience and qualifications.

The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation reflected propaganda for Mr Mugabe's policies instead of those of Mr Ian Smith as in the past. The names of Africans were prefixed by the title 'Comrade'. Whatever the context, the country to the south was referred to as 'racist South Africa'.

Many of the whites decided to accept the new situation and remain; large numbers of these were said13 to be people in the higher education, higher salary categories who would continue to provide the necessary expertise. Others were held back by restrictions on the amount of capital that could be taken out of the country. But large numbers did emigrate, probably more than half of them to SA. The press estimated that nearly 50 000 people left between January 1977 and April 1980, leaving a total of some 230 000 whites in Zimbabwe.
Capital and foreign debt
The years of warfare and of economic sanctions caused an acute shortage of capital and of various consumer goods. It was estimated at the end of 1978 that the war was costing the then government about R875 000 a day: the cost was stated to have risen to R1 m a day during 1979. Press reports at the time of independence14 speculated that Zimbabwe's external debt amounted to between R450m and R550m, of which R270m was owing to South Africa.

Merging of armies
Lt General Peter Walls, the former Rhodesian Commander of Combined Operations, was charged by Mr Mugabe with the task of creating a unified Zimbabwe national army composed of elements of the Rhodesian security forces, ZANLA and ZIPRA. General Walls carried out the initial planning for this, but after he had made some indiscreet remarks in public about the political situation he was dismissed and was not allowed to return to Zimbabwe after he had been away from the country on leave.

The assimilation of members of the former guerrilla armies began late in February. Selected men were sent to army bases for training as conventional soldiers by British and Rhodesian instructors. It was reported on March 24s that four companies of different composition had paraded together: black and white regulars, black and white national servicemen, ZIPRA and ZANLA. The programme went more slowly than had been hoped because of insufficient facilities and instructors. Press reports in June16 stated that a mere 1 200 of the approximately 32 500 guerrillas had been selected for training. Temporary employment was offered in agricultural rehabilitation projects (Operation Seed), but this scheme was not popular.

Because of widespread unemployment few could be absorbed in civilian occupations even if they wanted this. At the end of the period under review between 25 000 and 30 000 of the ex-guerrillas, still with their arms, remained at the camps or in housing schemes established near Salisbury and Bulawayo. As mentioned earlier, serious fighting between the ZIPRA and ZANLA ex-guerrillas who had been moved to Bulawayo took place for some days in November.

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Meanwhile, the number of civilians carrying out national service was reduced and the age-groups of men liable for call-up for training were considerably limited.

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State of emergency
Mr Mugabe's administration renounced many of the arbitrary powers which the previous government had arrogated to itself, but it extended the state of emergency for further periods covering the whole of 1980. The emergency regulations included powers of detention without trial, and arrest and search without warrant. The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Nkomo, stated that the
government needed to retain these powers in order to suppress the continuing
instances
of post-war lawlessness and factional violence.

Devastation
War had brought terrible devastation to the country. An editorial in The Star on
March 24 summarised the situation as follows:
"More than 400 000 primary school children are without education; of 48 doctors
once operating in rural areas, only two remain; only 1 500 of the 5 000 rural
stores still function; all but 1 500 of the 6 000 cattle-dips have been destroyed;
two-thirds of the former cattle population of three million have died or been
stolen; 20% of the population is estimated to be suffering from malnutrition; in
Zambia and Mozambique an estimated 175 000 refugees await repatriation;* 225
000 people living in the protected villages in the Tribal Trust Lands must now
struggle to re-establish themselves; an estimated
750 000 people live in shanty towns."
*Other reports gave considerably higher estimates of the numbers involved.
Many hundreds of men, black and white, had been maimed or disabled.

Refugees
In response to a request from Britain, an office of the United Nations High
Commission for Refugees was opened in Salisbury in January and an appeal was
made to UN member-countries to contribute toward the costs. The Commission
itself made an initial grant of about R6m during June.
For a start, nearly 26 000 Zimbabweans who had been living in camps in
Botswana for up to two years were brought back, as many as possible in time for
the elections. They were taken in trucks to the railhead at Francistown, then by
train to Plumtree across the border,
where a transit camp was established.
More than 20 000 refugees were reported to be in Zambia. Many were brought
back in buses during January. Later, in May, the process was speeded by using a
Boeing 707 aircraft which shuttled between Lusaka, Salisbury and Bulawayo.
The largest numbers, possibly exceeding 150 000, were in Mozambique living in
six main refugee camps. Buses were sent to these
camps to transport the people to railway stations.
The rehabilitation and resettlement of the refugees presented 667 difficult
problems. Thousands lacked homes to go to, few jobs were available and
hundreds of war orphans had to be cared for.

Zimbabwe

Unemployment
During the years of warfare hundreds of thousands of black school-leavers and
black people who had been forced off the land were unable to find employment.
Many streamed to urban areas hoping, mostly in vain, to find work and
accommodation there. As mentioned earlier, an estimated 750 000 at least were
living in shanties on the outskirts of the main towns at the close of the war.

Land resettlement
The new Minister of Agriculture, Mr Denis Norman, in a press interview on March 12, announced three priorities:

* extensive land resettlement;
* restoration of viability to commercial farming, particularly food production;
* rehabilitation of farmers, both black and white, who had been forced off their land because of the war.

Zimbabwe was fortunate, he said, to have vast tracts of unoccupied land with which the aspirations of young black farmers could be met. Much of this land, owned by whites, remained untitled and some was owned by semi-bankrupt small farmers. As reported on page 617 of the 1979 Survey it was agreed at the Lancaster House Conference that the new government would be entitled to expropriate under-utilised land to be used for settlement for agricultural purposes, provided that adequate compensation was paid promptly. Britain promised to give backing for an international fund to help the government to buy such land, but stipulated that it would not itself be able to contribute much in the way of cash.

No large contributions to such a fund had been received at the time of writing, hence the land resettlement programme was proceeding slowly. In June the government was able to purchase 86 vacant farms from whites, on which some of the refugees, former guerrillas and tribal farmers needing extra land, could be settled.

Relations between SA and Zimbabwe

In a press statement made on March 4 the SA Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said: "The Republic of South Africa has never interfered with the affairs of its neighbours except in instances where assistance has been requested by governments. In these instances our own interests have always been taken into consideration. This will also be our attitude in future.

"Any neighbour, however, which allows its territory to be used for attacks on or the undermining of SA and its security will have to face the full force of the Republic's strength."

Further events in Zimbabwe with particular concern for SA are described in the chapter of this Survey dealing with international matters.

Zimbabwe

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2 Further details of this constitution were given on page 616 of the 1979 Survey
3 Star January 31
4 Rand Daily Mail February 2 and 5, Star February 18 February 6
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9 Seamus Cleary and Paul Weinberg: Zimbabwe is Born. SAIRR, Johannesburg 1980 '0 Rand Daily Mail March 8 11 See 1979 Survey p 605 12 Rand Daily
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Checklist of some books and monographs of interest to Race Relations

SA Institute of Race Relations

CLEARY, Seamus and VAN DER MERWE, Stoffel: The African Homelands - a neo-colonial solution to SA’s future? (Research Department Occasional Paper No 1)
CLEARLY, Seamus and WEINBERG, Paul: Zimbabwe is Born

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